THE MORNING EXERCISES

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PURITAN SERMONS
1659-1689

BEING

THE MORNING EXERCISES

AT

CRIPPLEGATE, ST. GILES IN THE FIELDS,

AND IN SOUTHWARK

BY

SEVENTY-FIVE MINISTERS OF THE GOSPEL

IN OR NEAR LONDON

with Notes and Translations by James Nichols

IN SIX VOLUMES

VOLUME 6

The Conclusion
of the Morning Exercise
Against Popery

RICHARD OWEN ROBERTS, PUBLISHERS
Wheaton, Illinois
1981

Volume 6

Originally Published in London, 1675

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by James Nichols for Thomas Tegg

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by Richard Owen Roberts, Publishers
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BY THE REV. HENRY WILKINSON, SEN., D.D.

SOMETIME CANON OF CHRIST CHURCH, AND MARGARET-PROFESSOR OF DIVINITY, IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD.

THE POPE OF ROME IS ANTICHRIST.

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Let no man deceive you by any means: for that day shall not come, except there come a falling away first, and that man of sin be revealed, the son of perdition; who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped; so that he as God sitteth in the temple of God, showing himself that he is God. Remember ye not, that, when I was yet with you, I told you these things? And now ye know what withholdeth that he might be revealed in his time. For the mystery of iniquity doth already work: only he who now letteth will let, until he be taken out of the way. And then shall that Wicked be revealed, whom the Lord shall consume with the spirit of his mouth, and shall destroy with the brightness of his coming: even him, whose coming is after the working of Satan with all power and signs and lying wonders, and with all deceivableness of unrighteousness in them that perish; because they received not the love of the truth, that they might be saved.—2 Thessalonians ii. 3—10 1

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BY THE REV. PETER VINKE, B.D.

SOMETIME FELLOW OF PEMBROKE HALL, CAMBRIDGE.

PROTESTANTS SEPARATED FOR CHRIST'S NAME'S SAKE.

Blessed are ye, when men shall hate you, and when they shall separate you, and shall reproach you, and cast out your name as evil, for the Son of man's sake. —Luke vi. 22 26

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THE POPE OF ROME IS THAT "ANTICHRIST," AND "MAN OF SIN," SPOKEN OF IN THE APOCALYPSE, AND BY THE APOSTLE PAUL.

THE POPE OF ROME IS ANTICHRIST.

Let no man deceive you by any means: for that day shall not come, except there come a falling away first, and that man of sin be revealed, the son of perdition; who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped; so that he as God sitteth in the temple of God, showing himself that he is God. Remember ye not, that, when I was yet with you, I told you these things? And now ye know what withholdeth that he might be revealed in his time. For the mystery of iniquity doth already work: only he who now letteth will let, until he be taken out of the way. And then shall that Wicked be revealed, whom the Lord shall consume with the spirit of his mouth, and shall destroy with the brightness of his coming: even him, whose coming is after the working of Satan with all power and signs and lying wonders, and with all deceivableness of unrighteousness in them that perish; because they received not the love of the truth, that they might be saved.—2 Thessalonians ii. 3—10.

We will first give you an account of the apostle's writing here so fully concerning Antichrist, and so proceed to handling the words. The reason of his falling on this subject here was upon the preaching of some among them, who told them that the coming of the Lord to judgment would be very suddenly in that age and time in which they lived: upon which report they were in a very great fear and dread; they were "shaken in mind;" (verse 2;) and this terror and consternation of spirit there is expressed under a double metaphor:—

1. From a sea-storm that tears the vessel from the anchor and harbour: so much the word σαλευθηναι, here used, doth import; which comes from σαλος, which signifies "a tempest at sea."

2. By ϑροος, taken from soldiers, who, by a panic fear arising among them, puts them [are put] into a disorder and confusion, so that they have neither head nor heart nor hand to act in a due manner.

So it was with the Thessalonians by reason of false teachers, who, by their blasts and storms of false doctrines, (Eph. iv. 14,) shake men from their steadfastness. They were at present under great distraction and fear from the false teachers, who did delude them, 1. By a pretence to an extraordinary "spirit," or visions and revelations; 2. By "word" and preaching; 3. By "letter" as from Paul: by which works they did exceedingly deceive them, and persuaded them to believe that the end of the world was at hand.

Whence we observe,

1. That false teachers do use all possible means and diligence to prevail with persons to believe their false doctrines.

2. False teachers do so far prevail with many, that they rend and tear them as with a tempestuous wind, and put them into a consternation of spirit as by a panic fear, so as that they can neither keep to the truth nor act according to it.

In the words you have,

I. *The revelation of the greatest enemy that ever was against Christ and his church,* in the third verse and the eighth.

II. You have *a full and large description of that enemy by several circumstances of time, place, &c., as also by several characters and names, by which this enemy may be known from all other enemies of Christ that ever were or should be in the world.*

I. I shall wholly wave their opinion who, contrary to the whole stream of interpreters, do take the meaning of this place to be concerning Christ's coming to destroy Jerusalem and them that crucified Christ; and the apostasy to be the Christians' breaking off compliance with the impenitent Jews, and departing from them to the Gentiles: and the "man of sin" here described they take to be Simon Magus, together with the Gnostics. But that this cannot be so meant, is plain from the season of entering of the man of sin, &c.; who was to be revealed, and upon his revelation there would follow an apostasy from the faith, before Christ's coming to judgment. That which did so terrify the Thessalonians was this,—that Christ's second coming was at hand: then the apostle tells them, that there was to be a great apostasy upon the revelation of the "man of sin," which was to be many years, some hundreds of years, after this. As for Simon Magus and the Gnostics, they were revealed before the writing of this epistle. (HUGO GROTIUS, DR. HAMMOND, &c.)

This enemy is set forth as if he were a single person: but it is not so to be taken in this place; for it is frequent in scripture to set forth a body politic, or a kingdom or state, by a particular person or *individuum.* In Dan. vii. 1—13, there be four kingdoms or monarchies, which were in a succession one after another in the world, deciphered by "four great beasts;" which are interpreted to be four kingdoms, or "four kings;" (verse 17;) and the fourth beast is called "the fourth kingdom;" (verse 23;) and the Vulgar translation renders verse 17, "four kingdoms:" so that each beast signifieth a multitude of men in a succession under one government for several ages; and so consequently the head and horns signify the power and sovereignty of such a kingdom for a long time in a succession.

So we find the state of the primitive apostolical church set forth by a woman in travail, (Rev. xii. 1, 2,) and by a woman in the wilderness. (Verses 6, 14.) So the two-horned beast, (Rev. xiii. 11,) which is the same with "the false prophet," (Rev. xvi. 13; xix. 20; xx. 10,) doth not signify a single person or a succession of single persons, (suppose the popes,) but a body of deceivers under one head or government.

It is generally agreed on by Protestant writers, that the pope, as head of that Antichristian state which is here described, is pointed at in this place: or that the Papacy, head and members, in a succession making up one body politic, is that monster which they call "Antichrist." It is on all hands agreed on, that wherever we find all these characters, together with the circumstances set down in the text, to concentre, that must be the Antichrist, who was to be brought forth into the world before the second coming of Christ. He tells us of one to come, a strange one, a monstrous one, such an one as never was before; and, that you may not be mistaken in this prodigious one, he gives us the lively portraiture of him.

II. Let us now descend to the particulars as they lie in the text.

THE FIRST CHARACTER BY WHICH ANTICHRIST IS SET FORTH IS THE GRAND APOSTASY WHICH SHOULD ATTEND HIS RISE AND REIGN.

1. Antichrist is described by *the apostasy which should arise in the church upon the coming of this monster.*—He is an apostate, and the cause of an apostasy: there was to be ἡ αποστασια, ["the apostasy,"] a very great apostasy, before his full revelation. (Verse 3.) "Apostasy" is taken,

(1.) *Politically:* so some take it for a falling from the Roman empire.

(2.) *Ecclesiastically:* to fall from the church or true religion.

(3.) *Figuratively:* the subject for the adjunct; meaning the chief in place and power, that causeth others to fall away; as 1 Tim. iv. 1. There shall be "an apostasy;" there shall be such as shall fall away, and cause others so to do.

In the two latter senses it is taken here; for the ecclesiastical hierarchy, set out by the lamb with two horns, (Rev. xiii. 11,) is the grand apostate, and a cause of the great apostasy of many, by causing by force and fraud to worship the beast and his image. (Verses 12—16.) The time of this apostasy is a special mark of Antichrist's rising. (1 Tim. iv. 1—3.) This apostasy was to be "in the latter times" of the fourth monarchy; set out by "forty-two months," and "one thousand two hundred and sixty days." (Rev. xi. 2, 3; xiii. 5.) The apostasy of the church from the rule of faith and worship by spiritual fornication, is a signal note of Antichrist, or the Antichristian state, of which the pope is the head; and his proper see is Babylon, the metropolis; and the body which was to be ordered by this false prophet as its supreme head, was and is the beast of Rome, with seven heads and ten horns, and ten crowns on his horns. (Rev. xiii. 1.) This apostasy, as to the time, is upon the rising of the Antichristian Papal state, when those "doctrines of demons," and forbidding marriage and meats, which are peculiar to the church of Rome, came into the church. The old Pagan Roman empire was broken to pieces, and had its deadly wound: which afterwards was healed by the two-horned beast, (Rev. xiii. 12,) framed into a likely image of the former Pagan beast; by reason of which, the visible worship of Christ in the church gradually was cast out, and the spiritual fornication of saints and angels, relics, images, and such-like, which is renewed Gentilism and refined Paganism, came up gradually into the church of Rome.

The revelation of the Man of Sin doth appear by his rising gradually; and the time of his rising will appear by the apostasy from the rule of faith, worship, and manners: so that, if we can find the defection of the church, we know one chief character of Antichrist. Some begin the apostasy from the primitive purity about A. D. 396. Many Popish errors come into the church. (WOLPHIUS *in Centenariis.)* Jerome, A. D. 390, complains of the avarice and corruption of the clergy, and of the prohibition of marriage and meats. And Augustine, A. D. 399, complains how the church was fallen from her purity. Wolphius, in his "Epistle" and in his book, *ad ann.* 390 and 400, brings-in a large catalogue of errors crept into the church, by which the times of the grand apostasy may be known. And it pleased God to speak in a wonderful way from heaven in those times, by prodigious comets, A. D. 383 and 389. (ALSTEDII *Chronologia Cometarum.)* Thus was the man of sin gradually revealed, and the apostasy did gradually proceed. Indeed, the pope could not yet show himself in the full exercise of his power in the Roman empire; for the civil power of the Roman empire would not bear such a competition as the hierarchy of Rome; and therefore the Roman empire, which is a civil state, was to be taken out of the way. (2 Thess. ii. 6—8.) It was to be removed from the seventh head,—the old Roman beast, as it was a civil government; and placed somewhere else; that is, on the pope or ecclesiastical hierarchy, which usurps the power of both swords. This could not be done before the deadly wound was given to the Cæsarian family, which the idolatrous, blasphemous beast was to succeed. This is the beast which carrieth the whore; (Rev. xvii. 3;) which could not be done, till the imperial sovereign power of Rome was broken, and translated to the pope. Then the Man of Sin was more fully revealed. Upon this ground, Jerome, when he heard of the taking of Rome by Alericus, [Alaric,] king of the Goths, expected the coming of Antichrist. *(Epist. ad Ageruchiam.) Qui tenebit,* saith he, *de medio fit; et non intelligemus Antichristum appropinquare?* "He that letteth is removed; and shall we not know that Antichrist is nigh?" So *in Præfat. lib. viii. in Ezech.: Pascitur anima, et obliviscitur, &c.*

Some state the beginning of the apostasy and the revelation of the Man of Sin higher; some, lower: but they agree in the main,—that this apostasy was by the pope, and upon the fall of the Roman empire. Some will have his revelation to be about the time of king Pepin and

Charlemain [Charlemagne]. It is true, the Papacy then came to a great height; but the church was very corrupt in doctrine, worship, discipline, and manners, and polluted with spiritual fornication after saints and angels and images, &c., long before that time. So that we may infer, that if the apostasy came in with the pope or Papacy,—as this did rise to a height, so did the apostasy from the truth,—then this character doth agree to the pope, by which he may be known to be the Antichrist.

THE SECOND CHARACTER IS THE SPECIAL AND MOST SIGNIFICANT EXPRESSIONS APPLIED TO ANTICHRIST.

2. The second character by which the pope is set forth, so as to be known to be Antichrist:

(1.) He is ὁ ανθρωπος της ἁμαρτιας, ὁ υἱος της απωλειας, (2 Thess. ii. 3,) ὁ αντιϰειμενος, (verse 4,) ὁ ανομος, (verse 8,) "the man of sin, the son of perdition;" by a Hebrew phrase expressing one that is a superlative, supereminent sinner, *impietatis coryphæus*, ["the leader of impiety,"] as Peter Moulin phraseth him; as we say, "a man of blood," for "a man thirsting after blood," or "a cruel, bloody man." "The son of perdition," *perditissimus*, one (by a Hebraism) set upon destruction of others, the most flagitious, profligate sinner, the most inhuman, cruel destroyer, to whom the titles of Apollyon and Abaddon do most properly belong. He is actively and passively "the son of perdition." (Rev. xvii. 8; xix. 20.) He is the great destroyer of souls. (2 Thess. ii. 12.) He is the ὁ αντιϰειμενος, "the great enemy," of all enemies of Christ: though he is not called by the name of "the Antichrist," yet here is a word, with the article prefixed to it, which carrieth the like importance with it. He is the worst and greatest enemy of Christ, who, under a pretence of friendship and love to Christ, doth usurp and undermine his offices. He appears like a "lamb" in his deportment, and "speaks like a dragon." (Rev. xiii. 11.)

(2.) The Papacy is, of all other bodies politic, the worst; being set out with such expressions as have the greatest emphasis in them. It would be too great a business for a sermon to give you an account of their tyranny, cruelty, luxury, rapaciousness, avarice, blasphemy, whoredom, spiritual and corporal. All the abominations of the three former monarchies do meet in this fourth, of which the Papacy is the last edition. (Rev. xiii. 1, 2.) That beast set out there is the Roman empire, as Papal, not Pagan: as appears by the crowns on the horns; but the Pagan empire had the crowns on the heads. (Rev. xii. 3.) Now that wickedness in which those former empires did excel did meet in the Papal; and therefore it is set out by the lion's mouth, the feet of the bear and the leopard. (Rev. xiii. 2.) He is set out in his type in Dan. xi. 28—32: or he himself is set forth, as some think, wholly "against the covenant," expressing an indignation against it with all his might, setting himself against the sanctuary and daily sacrifice. Graserus and others understand it of Antichrist, and not of Antiochus. The scripture, when it expresseth a person or thing in a signal way, doth it by an affixed article, (as here,) or by an abstract. Here the article showeth an eminence of wickedness: so the abstract: "*The upright* love thee:" (Canticles i. 4:) Hebrew, "uprightnesses," by which righteous persons are set forth. So a proud person is set out by "pride:" (Jer. l. 31:) we render it, "O thou most proud!" So "sin" for "a great sinner." (Prov. xiii. 6.) So "the man of sin" signifies "the most sinful man."

He is called the ὁ Ανομος, (verse 8,) "that Wicked one," "the most lawless one;" breaking all bounds and bands, and casting away the cords of Christ; (as they, Psalm ii. 3;) that will not come under the yoke of Christ, nor stoop to his sceptre; that will not that Christ should reign. (As, Luke xix. 14.) This boundless, lawless one is therefore set out by a most unruly beast; (Rev. xiii. 1—8;) and by the whore of Babylon, riding the beast, and making the kings to commit fornication with her, and making the inhabitants of the earth drunk with the wine of her fornication: (Rev. xvii. 1—4:) this is "the mother of harlots and abominations, drunken with the blood of the saints and martyrs." (Verses 5, 6.) This "the lawless one" is the Antichristian state, the man of sin under another notion: "Lawless," ὁ Ανομος, as to scripture; so in point of doctrine, worship, government, and manners; as to human laws and powers, being above them all; as to oaths of allegiance, &c.; as to exemption of his clergy, and such-like.

If these epithets which the Holy Ghost gives to Antichrist, do all belong to the pope or Papacy, then he may be justly thought to be described in this place.

THE THIRD CHARACTER IS THE PLACE WHERE HE SITTETH AND RESIDETH.

3. The third particular by which Antichrist is set out is *the place*.*—"He sitteth in the temple of God,"—there he exerciseth his jurisdiction and tyranny,—and "shows himself that he is God;" (2 Thess. ii. 4;) that is, in the church, the place of the visible, external worship of God; which is called "the outward court;" (Rev. xi. 2;) which is trodden under foot by the draconizing beast, or Papacy, profaning the whole worship of God, and bringing-in a new Gentilism: therefore the outward court is "cast out," and forbidden to be measured, in regard [that] that lawless monster hath broken all bands, and will not come under any laws and rules of Christ; therefore, they and their worship are cast out. The place where he sits is called ὁ ναος, "the temple" or "house of God's worship." So it is said of the king of Babylon, that he "will sit upon the mount of the congregation;" (Isai. xiv. 13;) that is, Mount Zion, the place of God's residence and worship. So here the king of Babylon: he takes upon him to sit in "the temple," or "church of God;" which is called ναος, Eph. ii. 21; 1 Cor. iii. 16; 2 Cor. vi. 16. Some will have it for the temple of Jerusalem, that must be the seat of Antichrist, which is in the power of the Turk: but this cannot be, in regard [that] the other characters will not suit with the Turks, but do fall in suitably with the Pope. And so Jerome takes the notion of ναος, *(in Quæst. ad Algasiam,)* and Augustine, *(De Civit. Dei*, lib. xx. cap. 19.) He saith, *Rectiùs dici sessurum in templum Dei;*—εις τον ναον του Θεου· so the Greek;—*tanquam ipse sit templum Dei,*

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* PHILIPPUS NICOLAI, *De Antichristo*, proves the pope to be Antichrist from this character. See DR. WHITAKER, DANÆUS, CHAMIER, PETER MOULIN, JUNIUS, &c., that write of Antichrist, and prove the pope to be the Antichrist from this place.

quod est ecclesia : * as we say, *In amicum, id est, velut amicus.*† This may very well agree with the Papacy, who pretend to be the holy catholic, and the only true, church. So, then, the pope sits in the midst of his holy catholic church of Rome, exercising his tyrannical power over the people of God: so that Mahometans cannot be the church; they wholly renounce the name of "the church of Christ."

Objection. "But how can the Antichristian synagogue, where Satan's throne is, be called 'the temple of God?'"

Response. The scripture speaketh of things as they once were, though they do not continue so to be; and speaks it of persons as they are in pretence and outward profession, though they be not such as they pretend to be. Abigail is called "the wife of Nabal," when he was dead; (1 Sam. xxx. 5;) and Simon, "the leper," though he were healed. (Matt. xxvi. 6.) So the city that was "a harlot" is called "the faithful city." (Isai. i. 21.) It was called "the holy city," where they worshipped; (John iv. 21;) it was called "the holy place," till the "desolation" by Vespasian; (Matt. xxiv. 15;) and "the holy city;" (Matt. xxvii. 53;) though they had turned the house of God into "a den of thieves," (Matt. xxi. 13,) and the city was a bloody city "that killed the prophets." (Matt. xxiii. 37.) Besides, sometimes the scripture speaks of it *quoad opinionem hominum,* "as they are reputed by men." They "sacrificed to the gods of Damascus," that they would "help them;" (2 Chron. xxviii. 23;) they are called "gods" on that account: so, Judges x. 13, 14. This character doth very well agree to the pope, or Papacy, to prove it to be the Antichristian state here set forth.

THE FOURTH CHARACTER IS HIS SELF-EXALTATION.

4. He is set forth by *self-exaltation.*—Ὑπεραιρομενος επι ϖαντα λεγομενον Θεον· "Exalting himself above all that is called God." And not only above all that have the title of "gods,"—as the civil magistrates, (Psalm lxxxii. 1, 6,) who have the title of "gods" by virtue of the authority that God hath invested them withal, (John x. 34, 35,)—but also above the true God, by taking on him to do more than God himself: η σεϐασμα, *quicquid est augustum,* "whatsoever is held worthy the highest degree of civil reverence," as is the majesty of kings. *He as God*—He takes on him the honour due to God himself, and will be adored by the highest power upon earth. He that does all this must needs be the Antichrist: But such things doth the pope: let him look to the conclusion.

Moulin *(in Vale.* cap. 6) shows how the pope is called God, how they plead that he ought so to be; whereof several of their own writers; especially out of the *Glossa Extravagant. cum Inter.;* which hath these words: *Credere Dominum Deum nostrum papam, conditorem dictæ decretalis et istius, sic non potuisse statuere ut statuit, hæreticum censeretur:* "It is heretical to believe our Lord God the pope, the maker of the said decretal, not to have power to decree as he hath decreed." And Bellarmine *(De Pontif.*, lib. i.) saith, speaking of the pope's supremacy, *Ecclesia, secluso etiam Christo, unum caput habere debet:* "The church, secluding Christ, ought to have one head; this is the pope, who is œcumenical bishop." So they attribute the offices and excellences of Christ to the pope. They say [that] he is the father of all Christians; which belongs to Christ: (Isai. ix. 6:) that he is the teacher of the church, and the spouse of the church, the foundation of faith, the lord of lords, the chief corner-stone, universal judge and infallible, who is to judge all others, but to be judged of none. These all belong to Christ alone; and he that thus exalts himself, and arrogates these things to himself, must needs be Antichrist. Philip de Nicolai *(De Antichristo)* shows how the pope, taking all these titles to himself, proveth that he is Antichrist: as also the Protestant divines generally prove him to be Antichrist by this character.

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* "It is rightly said that he will sit *for* the temple of God; as if he were the temple of God, which is the church."—Edit. † "For a friend;" that is, "as a friend."—Edit.

Some go further in this argument, and show how the pope takes on him to do more than God. It is frequent among their divines and canonists to say, *Papam posse dispensare contra apostolum et contra Vetus Testamentum*, "that the pope can dispense against the apostles and against the Old Testament," that the pope can make new symbols, that he can dispense with things forbidden of God. Bellarmine *(De Pœnitent.* lib. iv. cap. 13) saith, *Indulgentiæ faciunt, ut pro iis pœnis quæ nobis per indulgentias condonantur, non teneamur præcepto illo, de faciendis dignis pœnitentiæ fructibus*: "[Indulgences effect] that, as to those penalties from which we are freed by indulgences, we are not bound to bring forth fruits worthy of repentance." Nay, he goes further: *Si papa erraret præcipiendo vitia vel prohibendo virtutes, teneretur ecclesia credere vitia esse bona et virtutes malas, nisi vellet contra conscientiam peccare: (De summo Pont.*, lib. iv. cap. 5:) "If the pope should err so as to command vices and forbid virtues, the church would be bound to believe vices to be good and virtues to be evil, unless she will sin against conscience."

Thus blasphemously do they speak of the supereminence of the pope above God himself. And as for all civil powers, he is absolutely free from them, and much above them all. *Vide Text. Decret.*, dist. xcvi. cap. 7: *Satis evidenter ostenditur a seculari potestate non solvi prorsùs nec ligari pontificem posse, quem constat a Constantino Deum appellatum, cùm nec Deum ab hominibus judicari manifestum sit*: "Since the pope is God, therefore he cannot either be bound or loosed by men." These words are in the body of the canon-law set forth by the command of Gregory XIII. A.D. 1591: "From this it appears that the pope is above scripture, councils, princes, and all powers upon earth, upon the account of his divinity." It is common amongst them at least to equalize the pope's decrees to the holy scripture; and that the pope's decretals are to be accounted canonical; and that the pope's determinations are to be preferred above the scripture; with many such-like blasphemies. (See *Decret. cum Glossâ*, dist. 19, *et* cap. vi. dist. 40, *ad edit. Tug. anno* 1510.) And, which is worst of all, they assert [that] the scriptures are inferior to the pope's decrees: *Ut fidem non facere neque necessitatem credendi inducere queant, nisi papa per canonizationem quam vocant, iis authoritatem priùs impertiat: (Decret.*, lib. ii. tit. 23, *De Præsumptionibus*, cap. 1:) "That the scriptures have no authority so as to procure belief of them, unless they can be first canonized by the pope." It is no wonder though the pope uttereth such blasphemies, since he is the head of that idolatrous beast full of blasphemies. (Rev. xiii. 5, 6.)

Since they will have the pope to be such a supreme head to the church militant: (as Christ *quoad influxum interiorem,* so he *quoad influxum exteriorem doctrinæ et fidei:* *—BELLARMINUS *De Concil. Authoritate,* lib. ii. cap. 15:) since they will have him not only to be equal with Christ, but above him; he being able to redeem souls out of purgatory, which Christ never did, and is affirmed by them:—Johannes de Turrecremata and others that licensed "the Revelations of Bridget,"—they let go that passage in that book: *Bonus Gregorius, oratione suâ, etiam infidelem Cæsarem elevavit ad altiorem gradum;* † by which it appears that the pope hath done that which Christ never did; and that the pope's charity is larger than Christ's, who "prayed not for the world," (John xvii. 9,) but the pope prays for the damned:—since, I say, they will have their pope with all these prodigious blasphemies; since they will have their Lord God the pope thus lifting up his head above Lucifer; let them have him, and believe his lies and impostures: since they reject the truth, whereby "they might be saved;" let them "believe his lies, that they may be damned:" (2 Thess. ii. 10—12:)

Qui Satanam non odit amet tua dogmata, papa ‡

THE FIFTH CHARACTER BY WHICH ANTICHRIST IS KNOWN IS THE TAKING OUT OF THE WAY THAT WHICH HINDERED.

5. Antichrist is set forth by the *removens prohibens,* by the "taking that which hindered out of the way;" the το κατεχον, (verse 6,) and ὁ κατεχων εκ μεσου γενηται. (Verse 7.)—There was something that hindered the revelation of the Man of Sin, which was to be removed. The Man of Sin could not be brought forth into the world, till the Roman empire was taken out of the way: then that Wicked one, the pope, did rise up to that height; then Antichrist did appear in his colours. There is a great consent among the ancients as to this thing; and Jerome was so clear and confident in this thing, that as soon as he heard of the taking of Rome by Alaric, he presently expected the coming of Antichrist. See TERTULLIAN, *De Resur.*, lib. iv. cap. 24; AMBROSE, *in Comment. in Ezek.;* CHRYSOSTOM, *Comment. in loc.;* AUGUSTINE, *De Civ. Dei,* lib. xx. cap. 19. Among the ancients they were so confident of this thing, that the church did pray in her Liturgy, that the Roman empire might stand long, that so Antichrist's coming might be long: (TERTULLIANI *Apolog.*, cap. 32, 39:) so that the Roman empire, or emperor who was then in possession of that power imperial, kept out that Papal power which grew out of its ruins. Κατεχειν is the same as *possidere* ["to possess"]: Οἱ αγοραζοντες, ὥς μη κατεχοντες· "They that buy, as though they possessed not." (1 Cor. vii. 30.) "The Roman empire, being broken into ten kingdoms, brought-in Antichrist:" so Tertullian. (*De Resurrec.*, lib. iv. cap. 24.) "Paul did not express the Roman empire by name, lest he should bring a persecution upon the church."

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* As Christ is head *in reference to the inward influx,* so the pope is head *with regard to doctrine and faith.*—EDIT.

† "Good Gregory, by his prayers, raised even the unbelieving Cæsar to a higher degree."—EDIT.

‡ "Let him who abhors not the devil, love thy dogmas, O pope."—EDIT.

(Hieronymus *ad Algasiam*, quæst. 11.) Peter Moulin *(in Vale.)* shows in several instances how the Roman emperors did keep the bishop of Rome from growing to that height as he did upon their being removed out of the way.

Others take it to be meant of the Roman emperor himself, and not of the Roman empire at all: for the Roman is not taken out of the way, but stands on two legs; namely, the empire of Turks, and the empire of Germany. It was the emperor himself, who was Constantine the Great, who removed to Constantinople; then the *το κατεχον* ["that which hindered"] was taken away. The grandeur of the emperor and of Antichrist could not stand together. As soon as the emperor departed from Rome, Antichrist began to be revealed. For when all the bishops in the Christian world did meet at the council of Nice, the bishop of Rome, though requested by a letter, came not: he pretended old age and the weakness of his body; but Bellarmine telleth us [that] the true reason was,—it was not meet the head should follow the members, but rather that the members should follow the head; and if the emperor were present, it is likely he would sit above the pope; which was not meet, he being the spiritual head; therefore he did absent himself. (Cotton on 1 John ii. 18.) Though they differ as to the emperor and empire, to be that which hindered; yet they agree as to the pope, that he rose to his height upon the removal of the one or the other out of the way.

THE SIXTH CHARACTER IS THE MYSTERY OF INIQUITY WHICH DOTH ATTEND HIS RISE AND REIGN.

6. By *the notion of a mystery*, (2 Thess. ii. 7,) as it stands in opposition to "the mystery of godliness."—The apostle following the Hebrew way of expression: *το μυστηριον της ανομιας, id est, doctrina improba vel mysterium improbum,* "a wicked doctrine or mystery." For the whole religion of Popery as to faith and worship is so contrived by them as may most conduce to the sustaining and advancement of the pope's power; and the gain and profit of the clergy. There we find that to be written in the forehead of the whore, (Rev. xvii. 5,) *Μυστηριον*, as a principal part of her name. Such is the hellish contrivance of the whole body of the religion of the Papacy, (in which Satan never showed himself so notorious an impostor and angel of darkness, though under the appearance of an angel of light,) that it gained upon the whole world exceedingly by the pope, Satan's vicar, set forth by the lamb with two horns; (Rev. xiii. 11;) who hath prevailed with all sorts of men to receive the mark of the beast, and bow to his image. (Verses 12—14.) The religion of Antichrist is carried on in a subtle, cunning way; else it could not be called a "mystery," and a "mystery of iniquity" under the pretence of godliness. The great factors in this mystery are said to be seducers, that "speak lies in hypocrisy;" (1 Tim. iv. 1, 2;) "who have" *μορφωσιν*, "a form of piety," which is the mantle to cover the blackest abominations. (2 Tim. iii. 1, 5.) And Peter, speaking of such mystical villanies, tells us how "privily they should bring in damnable heresies" under the colour of truth. (2 Peter ii. 1—3.) The religion of Popery, which is merely to advance the honour and grandeur, profit and interest, of the pope and his hierarchy, under a pretence of setting up

the name and honour of Christ, has, by their mystical art and cunning, fair, plausible deportment, undermined and overthrown the religion of Christ up and down the world. Chamier, (lib. xvi. cap. 8,) treating about Antichrist, and showing how, by their cunning, heresies are made subservient to him, saith thus: *Hæc verò si aliqua est Antichristi nota, dicam audacter, aut nullum esse Antichristum, aut episcopum Romanum eum esse:* "This is a special note of Antichrist: I will speak boldly, that either there is no Antichrist, or the bishop of Rome is he."

THE SEVENTH CHARACTER IS THE STUPENDOUS MANNER OF HIS COMING.

7. By *the manner of his coming.* (2 Thess. ii. 9, 10.)—His "coming;" that is, after he is revealed, and that which hindered is taken out of the way; his "coming," together with the influences that it had on the world and such as perish. He cometh,

(1.) Κατ᾽ ενεργειαν του Σατανα· that is, Satan will put forth his "utmost skill," in working miracles by Antichrist.

(2.) Εν ϖαση δυναμει, και σημειοις· that is, his "power" to work after a wonderful manner, which God is pleased sometimes to grant even to the worst of men. He shall work "signs" or "miracles;" for "signs" are taken so here.

(3.) *Omnis potentia* ["all power"]—it is to be taken for *varia potentia,* or "a power to work variously."

(4.) Και τερασι ψευδους· a Hebraism; according to the letter, *prodigiis mendacii,* "lying wonders," or "wonderful lies."

(5.) Και εν ϖαση απατη της αδικιας· (εν *pro* μετα *vel* δια·*) "with all deceivableness of unrighteousness." "There is a double Hebraism," saith Piscator: *unus in significatione synecdochicâ vocabuli injustitiæ pro falsitate seu mendacio; alter in usu nominis ejusdem, quod cùm substantivum sit, hic vim habet epitheti:* † "under the name of 'unrighteousness' is covered all manner of falsehood and lies;" by which they do deceive many, and would deceive the very elect, if they could. (Matt. xxiv. 24.) Then,

(6.) Ενεργειαν ϖλανης (2 Thess. ii. 11)—for ϖλανην ενεργειας, *id est,* ενεργουσαν, [by a] Hebraic hypallage—we render, "strong delusion;" or, "the delusion of Antichrist working strongly," specially coming under a judicial tradition from God. This advent or coming of Antichrist here mentioned is not to be referred to his first revelation only, but to his full revelation, when his kingdom and government shall be set up in its splendour and power.

He shall come "with all the power of Satan." Satan is most famous for two things; he is *mendax et homicida* ["a liar and a murderer"]; (John viii. 44;) for he is an adversary to divine authority and man's salvation. And both these are eminently seen in the pope: for he hath brought-in false doctrines, false worship, and a false religion, into the church: and by this means he is the great murderer of souls; for they are damned that follow his delusions, as appears in the text. (2 Thess.

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* "'In' for 'with' or 'by.'"—EDIT.

† "One, in the synecdochical signification of the word 'unrighteousness,' for falsehood and lying: the other, in the use of the same noun; which, though a substantive, has here the force of an epithet."—EDIT.

ii. 12.) Satan shows himself a liar when he puts men on a false, idolatrous worship, instead of a true. So all idolaters are liars: They "changed the truth of God into a lie," &c.: (Rom. i. 25:) and therefore idols are called "lies." (Amos ii. 4.) So idolaters are said to "make lies their refuge, and under falsehood to hide themselves." (Isai. xxviii. 15.). But Satan never did impose such a lie on the world as in the idolatrous worship of Rome. There "idolaters and liars" are put together,—Rev. xxi. 8; and, in verse 27, he that "worketh abomination, and a lie,"—they are put together; and, in Rev. xxii. 15; "idolaters and makers of lies" are put together again.

Cum omni potentiâ: some take it of the power of both swords,—ecclesiastical and secular,—which the pope claims; but it rather respecteth that faculty and power which the pope, the two-horned beast, doth pretend to, and whereby he doth work wonders. (Rev. xiii. 12—15.) The "signs and wonders" here spoken of, are the ways and means and weapons which Satan useth by Antichrist to deceive persons to their destruction. This was the way which Satan took by Jannes and Jambres, to deceive Pharaoh and the Egyptians: these were a kind of types of seducers which were to come in these last times. (2 Tim. iii. 8.)

That this may appear to be a character of Antichrist, the Papists themselves do grant that Antichrist is to be confirmed with signs and wonders. (SUAREZ, *Apol.* lib. i. cap. 17, num. 12; BELLARM. *De Pont. Rom.* lib. iii. cap. 15; SANDERS *De Antichristo,* dem. 19—22.) If, then, the pope's coming be by signs and lying wonders, then he will come under that mark of Antichrist by their own confessions.

That miracles have been at the first promulgation of the scripture, is most true, for the confirmation of the divine authority of it, and increasing a belief of the doctrine of Christ: but after that the gospel is promulgated, there is no further use of miracles: and therefore, when the scripture doth speak of miracles and miracle-mongers, (as here, and Mark xiii. 22; Rev. xiii. 13; Matt. vii. 22,) it is to be understood of false Christs and false prophets, who shall come in the name of Christ, and shall pretend to marvellous things in his name, and shall deceive many: and this is here brought in as a special mark of Antichrist.

That this mark is fulfilled in the Papacy, doth appear from themselves; who boast very much of their miracles, and the advancement of their religion and the confirmation of it by miracles. The legends of their saints are full of miracles of St. Dominic, St. Francis, St. Benedict, and the images of the Virgin Mary, and other saints in their calendar. Such miracles are called "lying miracles,"

(1.) Because they are for the confirmation of false doctrines,—of transubstantiation, purgatory, invocation of saints, adoration of images and relics, &c., prayers for the dead, and the pope's supremacy, &c.

(2.) Because many of them are things merely feigned to be done, which were never done: or if they were done, they have been brought about by the mere artifice of Satan; who is able to do things beyond the reach of men, by which he deceives such as will be deceived.

(3.) From the end of these miracles; which is, to deceive men. In Mark xiii. 22, and here in the text, they are framed by seducers for seduction, and such as will not receive the truth with that love of it:

they came "with all deceivableness of unrighteousness in them that perish." (2 Thess. ii. 10.)

Their own authors have set down multitudes of miracles :—Baronius in his "Annals;" "the Conformities of St. Francis;" "the Golden Legend" of Jacobus de Voragine ; "the Sermons of *Dormi securè ;*" "the History of Our Lady" by Lipsius ; and Bellarmine *De Officio Principis*, lib. iii. ; with several others. So that by all this you see, this note will agree to the Antichristian state of the Papacy.

THE EIGHTH CHARACTER IS HIS FATAL RUIN.

8. He is set out by *his fatal ruin and utter destruction.*—"And then shall that Wicked be revealed, whom the Lord shall consume with the spirit of his mouth, and destroy with the brightness of his coming." (Verse 8.) Here be two parts of this verse : (1.) The *first* looks back on the verse before ; which speaks of the time of Antichrist's coming, upon the removal of what hindered : this we have done with. But, (2.) This *latter* part points at the ruin of Antichrist, and how he shall be destroyed. The former part had respect to our instruction ; the latter is for our consolation, in the downfall of so great and public an enemy.

(1.) He sets down *the principal efficient cause* of his ruin.—And that is Christ at his coming. When Christ comes to set up his kingdom, and to take to him his great power, and reign, then he will destroy Antichrist ; (Dan. ii. 44 ; vii. 14—27 ;) specially under the fifth, sixth, and seventh vials. (Rev. xvi. 10—21.) You have the destruction of the whore, (Rev. xviii.,) the overthrow of the beast and false prophet ; (Rev. xix. 17—21 ;) then you have the binding of Satan, and the reign of the saints on the earth. (Rev. xx. 1—6.)

(2.) You have *the instrumental cause.*—"The spirit of his mouth." Here be two words to be considered :

(i.) *Αναλωσαι, consumere ;* which notes his gradual "consumption" by the preaching of the gospel. (Isai. xi. 4.) This is the sword out of his mouth : by this sword Christ doth "smite the nations." His [Antichrist's] consumption is gradual, as was his rising ; which was under the trumpets, and his fall is under the vials. The preachers of the gospel have been wasting, wounding, and consuming him ; specially since the angels with open mouth did declare against him. (Rev. xiv. 6—9.) The ministers of the gospel, since the Reformation began, have discovered the whoredoms, impostures, and false doctrines of Rome, and the danger of having communion with Rome, and the desperate condition of such as will not separate from her. (Verses 9—11.) Many a deadly wound have they given to Antichrist ; so that he hath been wasting like a snail, (as Psalm lviii. 8,) till he shall come to nothing. "Not by might, nor by power," (Zech. iv. 6, 7,) but by the word, which he hath pretended to rise by, he shall be destroyed.

(ii.) Here is *καταργησαι·* which notes his "utter destruction by the brightness of Christ's coming," when he shall come to take to him his great power at the sounding of the seventh trumpet. (Rev. xi. 15.) The text must be considered under a double capacity :—

First. *As to his ecclesiastical state, and in his spiritual capacity*, as he is set forth under the notion of a "whore" and "false prophet ;" and so

[he] shall be consumed by the preaching of the word, and the sword of the Spirit. And this hath been doing these many years, and the work is still carrying on, by the ministers of the word.

Secondly. He must be considered *in his politic, secular capacity ;* consisting of several kingdoms under one supreme head, which is the pope. So he is set out by the notion of "the beast :" (Rev. xi. 7 ; xiii. 1—3 :) which beast the whore, that is, the ecclesiastical hierarchy of Rome, rideth; (Rev. xvii. 3 ;) yet they both together make up but one Antichrist, as the horse and man both together make up but one horseman. Now Antichrist, as to his secular capacity,—he shall be destroyed with another sword : "He that killeth with the sword must be killed with the sword." (Rev. xiii. 10.) So that the utter consumption both of the beast and whore shall be upon the little stone's rising into a great mountain ; which shall smite the image on his feet, and shall break it to pieces. (Dan. ii. 34, 35.) This little stone is the kingdom of Christ, which hath been but *regnum lapidis* ["the kingdom of a stone"] hitherto, but then shall be *regnum montis* ["the kingdom of a mountain"].

Objection. Perhaps it will be said, that the destruction of Antichrist (as hath been showed) can be no mark of Antichrist, by which he may be known ; for all enemies shall be destroyed by Christ and by his word.

Answer. It is true that Christ will destroy all his enemies by his word which cometh out of his mouth ; (Rev. xix. 15 ;) sin and the devil are continually destroying by the word : but since Antichrist is set forth as the greatest enemy that ever was ; and since the Antichristian state of it, as it is in the ecclesiastical hierarchy of Rome, together with the beast, (Rev. xiii. 1—10,) is the last edition of the fourth monarchy, and it is on its last legs in this state, and it hath most opposed the kingdom of Christ beyond any other ; therefore the destruction of this state, as to the remarkableness of it, shall go beyond all other states and kingdoms in the world. And therefore it is that the vials are prepared for this enemy in a more special manner beyond all others : (Rev. xv. :) the seven angels with the seven vials pour them forth upon the beast, or something of the beast. (Rev. xvi.) Thus much hath been made good in the Papacy in a great measure already ; which may appear by the confession of Bellarmine, who telleth us, *(De Pont. Rom.*, lib. iii. cap. 21,) that the Lutheran heresy possessed almost all Germany, Denmark, Norway, Suevia, Gothia, Hungaria, Pannonia, France, England, Scotland, Polonia, Bohemia, and Helvetia, and is got over the Alps into Italy. From his confession you may perceive what a consumption there hath been made of Antichrist.

THE NINTH CHARACTER IS HIS FOLLOWERS AND RETINUE, AND THEIR LIVERY.

9. Antichrist may be known by *his followers, and the livery which they wear.*—The black marks and brands upon their backs : "With all deceivableness of unrighteousness in them that perish ; because they received not the love of the truth, that they might be saved. And for this cause God shall send them strong delusion, that they should believe a lie : that they all might be damned who believed not the truth, but had pleasure in unrighteousness." (2 Thess. ii. 10—12.) Here is a damned

crew, the retinue and followers of Antichrist; having this special mark on them,—that they be such as shall perish. Their properties are,

(1.) *Negative:* "They received not the love of the truth, that they might be saved."

(2.) *Affirmative:* they "have pleasure in unrighteousness."

(3.) They are set forth by some *passive* properties; which are penalties, (i.) *Internal:* "strong delusions, that they should believe a lie." (ii.) *Eternal:* damnation. Here be the black marks of reprobation, by which Antichrist's retinue and followers are set forth. We do not find that any party of men are under more dreadful marks of God's hatred than Antichrist's followers. See Rev. xiii. 8: there they be set out by the stigma of reprobation, as persons left out of the book of life. And Rev. xiv. 9—11: "If any man worship the beast and his image, and receive his mark in his forehead, or in his hand, the same shall drink of the wine of the wrath of God, which is poured out without mixture into the cup of his indignation; and he shall be tormented with fire and brimstone in the presence of the holy angels, and in the presence of the Lamb: and the smoke of their torment ascendeth up for ever and ever: and they have no rest day nor night, who worship the beast and his image, and whosoever receiveth the mark of his name." And in Rev. xvii. 8, there the admirers of the beast are such as are left out of the book of life. The same persons are described here by Paul.

(4.) They are set forth by a special act of God in a way of just judgment toward them; that is, his "sending strong delusion, that they should believe a lie," by a judicial tradition and giving of them up to a spirit of falsehood to their eternal perdition. All these who are followers of Antichrist; that wonder after the beast, and receive his mark, and bow to his image; who close with Popish false doctrines, instead of the true; the Holy Spirit expresseth them by Ουκ εδεξαντο, "They received not." (2 Thess. ii. 10.) *Id est, Pertinaciter oblatum repudiarunt: est μειωσις.** They are such as wilfully reject the true doctrine and worship of Christ, and pertinaciously adhere to the false doctrine and the idolatrous worship of the pope: and moreover they please themselves much in those false ways of unrighteousness, which are most destructive to souls and most displeasing to God.

From all this it appears that the pope is Antichrist. Indeed, if but some one or few particulars did meet on the pope or Papacy, we could not argue from them that he were the Antichrist; but when they all meet in the Papacy, and generally by common consent of orthodox writers they fasten these marks upon the pope, he will never be able, by all the skill he hath, to escape the vengeance of God which will follow him on that account. Dr. Whitaker, writing against Antichrist, and proving the pope to be the Antichrist,—he names many eminent and learned men that have understood this place, and those others in Daniel and the Revelation, of the pope. He tells us of Wickliffe,—who declared the pope to be Antichrist,—who was *suo seculo doctissimus* ["the most learned man of his age"]. And Luther affirms in his writings the pope to be Antichrist; he saith, he is *potissimus Antichristus,* ["the chief Antichrist,"] and that abomination of desolation that stands in the holy place: *Papa ille est Antichristus, cùm sit specialis procurator diaboli, &c. Non solùm simplex illa persona, sed multitudo paparum a tempore defectionis ecclesiæ, cardinalium, episcoporum, et suorum complurium aliorum, est Antichristi persona composita, monstrosa, &c.** *(Catalog. Testium Verit.)* He [Dr. Whitaker] adds, that he was a man *spiritu prophetico et dono interpretandi scripturas præditus admirabili.*† Then followed Peter Martyr, Bucer, Bullinger, Melanchthon, Brentius, Calvin, Œcolampadius, Musculus, Beza, Gualter, Illyricus, Danæus, Junius, Gabriel Powæol [Powell], Philip Mornay, George Pacardus, *(in Descriptione Antichristi,) Catalogus Testium Veritatis,* Rivet, Crakanthorpe, Tilenus, Chamier, Bishop Usher in a letter to Archbishop Laud, in 1635. All agree in this thesis,—*that the pope is Antichrist.* And Zanchy, though he differed somewhat from his brethren in this point, yet he saith in his "Miscellanies," *Regnum papæ non nego esse regnum Antichristi*:‡ and he thinks that the pope is pointed [at] in 2 Thess. ii.

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* BEZA. "That is, They obstinately refused that which was proffered. The figure *meiosis* is here made use of, by which the words import much more than is expressed."—EDIT.

As for our Englishmen, we have many that have publicly testified the pope to be Antichrist, as Mr. Fox in his "Martyrology" hath noted. The learned martyr, Walter Brute, maintained it in a large discourse; Richard Wimbleton, in a sermon preached at Paul's Cross, 1389; Sir Geoffrey Chaucer, in his "Plowman's Tale;" "Lucifer's Letters to the Prelates of England," supposed to be written by William Swinderly, martyr; William Tyndale, a godly martyr, in his "Obedience of a Christian Man;" the Author of "A very Christian Bishop and a counterfeit Bishop," 1538; John Bale, bishop of Osyris [Ossory], in his "Image of both Churches," *et Templorum illustrium Britanniæ;* Mr. Latimer, Mr. Bilney, Mr. Rogers, Sletterdon, and others, martyrs; William Abbey, bishop of Exeter, in his "Poor Man's Library;" Bishop Jewel, in his "Defence of the Apology of the Church of England;" Mr. Thomas Beacon, in his "Acts of Christ and Antichrist;" and Mr. Fox, in his "Meditations on the Apocalypsis;" Mr. Brightman, "On the Apocalypsis;" Bishop Bilson, in his book "Of Christian Subjection and Unchristian Rebellion;" Dr. Robert Abbot, bishop of Sarum; Dr. George Downham, bishop of Derry; Dr. Beard, Dr. Willet, Dr. Fulke, Dr. Sutcliffe, Dr. Sharp, Mr. Squire, in their several treatises concerning Antichrist. Archbishop Cranmer did avow publicly the pope to be Antichrist; archbishops Parker and Grindal avowed the same; archbishop Whitgift, when he commenced doctor at the Divinity-Act, 1569, publicly maintained in the Schools, that *papa est ille Antichristus* ["the pope is that Antichrist"]; and Archbishop Abbot asserted the same: with many others of our English divines, who have generally held and declared the pope to be Antichrist.§

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* "The pope is that Antichrist, since he is the special agent of the devil," &c. "The monstrous form of Antichrist does not consist merely of that one single person, but is composed of the whole multitude of popes, cardinals, bishops, and their many other orders, who have flourished since the apostasy of the church."—EDIT. † "Endued with a prophetical spirit and an admirable gift of interpreting the scriptures."—EDIT. ‡ "I deny not that the kingdom of the pope is the kingdom of Antichrist."—EDIT.

§ *Haud equidem credo quemquam justum esse bonumque*
Cui papa non sordet manifestus ut Antichristus.

"I do not, indeed, believe that any man is just or good to whom the pope is not an abhorrence, as being manifestly the Antichrist."—EDIT.

I might add the Convocation in Ireland, 1615; the Parliament of England, 3 *Jacobi;* the Synod of Gap in France; several statutes of 16 Ricard. II. cap. 5; 25 Hen. VIII. cap. 19, 20, 21; 28 Hen. VIII. cap. 10; 37 Hen. VIII. cap. 17: they tacitly define the pope to be the Antichrist. Then our "Book of Homilies, Second Part," in the Sermon for Whitsunday, and in the sixth Sermon against wilful Rebellion, determines the pope to be Antichrist. "The Book of Common-Prayer," for the Fifth of November, styleth the pope, Papists, and Jesuits, "a Babylonish, Antichristian sect." The author of the book called *Eusebius Captivus;* who declared against the pope as the Antichrist to his face, when he was brought before him to be arraigned; Archusius, *(De Ortu Antichristi,)* Philip Nicolai, Christopher., Peret., Peucer, &c., have fastened the title of "Antichrist" on the pope.

We find in story several times loud outcries of the birth of Antichrist; and still their eyes were upon the pope. In the year 1106 Frinsingensis tells us that Pope Paschalis was going a journey into France, there to hold a council; and he heard in his journey that it was the common report that Antichrist was born: whereupon he stops his journey, and stayed at Florence. But afterwards he went his journey, despising the report, as coming from contemptible fellows: though, Baronius tells us, they were persons of no ordinary note who did report it. (See Bernard, *Epist. lvi. ad Gaudfridum.)* Carnoteus *(Epist. Sabellic.,* ennead. ix. cap. 4) tells us of prodigies that appeared about that time in the heavens,—a camel of vast magnitude; and in the sea, which overflowed the shore a hundred paces: thereupon it was that the bishop of Florence said, that Antichrist was born then, in the year 1120. There was a treatise set forth in the name of some faithful servants of Christ concerning Antichrist, in which all persons are awakened to consider of Antichrist, who was manifest in their age in the pope and Papacy: thereupon many did separate from the church of Rome. (See Bernard, *Homil. lxv., lxvi., in Cant.)* Between the years 1160 and 1170, the world being awakened, as with a public herald sounding a trumpet, about Antichrist's then appearing, caused a very great separation of the Waldenses and Albigenses from the church of Rome. By all these testimonies it appears what a general agreement there is and hath been among all that have had a savour of the true religion upon their hearts: they have still agreed in this, though they have differed in other points,—*that the pope is Antichrist.*

From what hath been said, there be several things [which] may be drawn by way of inference for our practice and instruction.

INFERENCES.

INFERENCE I. *From what hath been said, we may see a reason of the mistakes of some in their proving the Man of Sin to be the Antichrist, and the pope to be the Man of Sin, from some places which do not so properly belong to it.*—They have thought the same Antichrist to be pointed at in John's Epistles, (1 John ii. 18, 22; iv. 3; 2 John 7,) as here in Paul's Epistle to the Thessalonians. Some think the same Antichrist to be set forth by John, as by Daniel and Paul, and by John in the Revelation, who deciphers Antichrist under the notion of a beast and a whore and a false prophet. The Antichrist pointed at by John in his Epistles hath relation rather to the prediction of Christ: "There shall arise false Christs," &c. (Matt. xxiv. 11, 23, 24; Mark xiii. 21, 22.) We have not the name "Antichrist" but only in John: indeed, we have ὁ αντικειμενος, ["the opposer,"] (2 Thess. ii. 4,) a word equivalent. John speaks of an Antichrist who was then in the world, and one prophesied of by Christ to come speedily into the world. But Paul writes of one who was wholly to come into the world, and for whose coming there were great obstacles to be removed first. The Antichrist's coming in John is immediately upon a time which is called εσχατη ὡρα· "And we know that," since he is come, "it is the last hour," or "last time." (1 John ii. 18.) This cannot refer to the last time, which respecteth the coming of Christ to judge the world: this "last hour" doth refer to the Jewish state, of which the last glass or hour was now running, and their final desolation was at hand. Then there were several who did pretend to be Christ, and to come in his name. There was Simon Magus and Carpocrates, and the Gnostics, of whom they were the heads, who did pretend to miracles and enthusiasms, and did seduce many. These, then, be the Antichrists [whom] John speaks of in his Epistles, who were to appear at the coming of the Lord to judgment: I do not mean, his last coming, to the judgment of the world; but at his coming to the final destruction of Jerusalem and the Jewish polity and nation by Vespasian: of which coming Paul speaks in Heb. x. 25; that was "the day approaching" in which Christ came to destroy that people. It is mentioned by James, (James v. 7, 8,) [as "the coming of the Lord"] which did "draw nigh;" for then the Lord Jesus was coming against Jerusalem. From the misunderstanding of these places, and misapplying them to wrong purposes, have arisen the misapprehensions of the pope's being Antichrist; for though several things in those places in John's Epistles do agree to the Papacy, yet the proper description of Antichrist is to be looked after in Paul's Epistle to the Thessalonians, &c., and in the Revelation, and in Daniel.

INFERENCE II. *If the pope be the Antichrist set forth by those bloody characters; (as hath been seen;) if this body politic, head and members, be the Antichristian state, and this state is the Papacy; then it cannot be the true church.*—It is true, [that] Antichrist, head and members, are the counterfeit of the true church, and of Christ, the Head; and therefore they cannot be the true church. The scripture still sets out the Antichristian state in a flat opposition to the true; yet still under a pretence and colour of faith in, and love to, Christ: for Antichristianism is *mystica impietas, pietatis nomine palliata;* "a mystical impiety, under the cloak of piety:" so the Gloss.

The false church, whereof the pope is the head, is set forth by *a double beast;* (Rev. xiii. 1, 2, 11, 12;) both which together make up one Catholic Roman Papal church; the number of whose name is six hundred and sixty-six. (Verse 18.) And the true church, whereof Christ is the Head, is set forth by one hundred and forty-four thousand; (Rev. xiv. 1;) the square-root being twelve, built on twelve apostles. But twenty-five is the square-root of six hundred and sixty-six; and there is a fraction in the root, and one more, too, there in the square-root: to let us know, that though the Antichristian church may seem as air to such as look on it with human eyes, and six hundred and sixty-six runs as handsomely as one hundred and forty-four; yet the former is "the number of a man," the whole church and her religion being made up of additions and inventions of men.* The number six hundred and sixty-six denotes the apostasy of the church from the standard of truth, the square-root of the apostolic church being twelve: and so the apostasy lies generally in additions to the root and foundation of the Christian religion; they do not rest satisfied in fundamentals of the Christian religion delivered by the twelve apostles.

The false church is set forth by *the whore;* who pretends to be the spouse of Christ, but is opposite to the virgin-company that follow the Lamb. (Rev. xiv. 4.)

The ecclesiastical state of Rome, or hierarchy, is set forth by *the false prophet,* (Rev. xvi. 13, &c.; xix. 20; xx. 10,) in a flat opposition to the "two prophets;" (Rev. xi. 10;) who are the same with "two witnesses," and "two olive-trees," and "two candlesticks." (Verses 3, 4.) These represent the true ministry of Christ; who did prophesy till they "finished their testimony." (Verses 6, 7.) Now whereas it is said that they are a true church *veritate entitatis,* but not *moris;* † they yield the cause: because the question is not whether they be true and real men and women who are members of the church of Rome; but whether they be members rightly qualified as to their moral and supernatural principles, which makes them a true church.

How can that be a true church whose head is the Man of Sin, who hath all those black and hellish characters belonging to him? Such a church cannot be founded on the twelve apostles. Therefore that cannot be a true church which hath the Abaddon and Apollyon for the heads. How can that be a true church which is so opposite to the true church, both head and members?

INFERENCE III. *If the Papal Antichristian state be such a body, head and members, as hath been showed; then we may hence learn,* 1. *Our danger,* 2. *Our duty.*

1. *Our danger, if we continue in that church.*—It must needs be a very dangerous thing for any to continue a member of that church, or to have communion with her. Such are under the energetical influence and seduction of Satan, and the judicial tradition of God; [in] that, since they reject the truth in the love of it, they are given up to believe a lie, that they may be damned. They are under the most dreadful commination: (Rev. xiv. 9—11:) they are a people marked out for utter destruction, as being rejected by him. (Rev. xiii. 8; xvii. 8.)

2. We may learn *our duty to make haste out of that church.*—All such as keep up communion with Rome, let them hearken to that call: "Come out of her, my people, that ye be not partakers of her sins, and that ye receive not of her plagues." (Rev. xviii. 4.) The argument is taken from the danger. This separation is no schism, it being a separation from that church which is apostatized from the faith and truth of Christ. As soon as ever the people of God came to be awakened, and that the light of the gospel began to spring forth, they presently saw

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* MR. POTTER in his "Interpretation of the Number 666."

† "By reality of existence, but not by rectitude of morals."—EDIT.

their danger if they continued in that church, and immediately performed their duty, and departed from her.

INFERENCE IV. *If the Papal Antichristian state be such a body as hath been showed, then it should be seriously considered how any, living and dying in the faith and religion of that church, can be saved.*—"Every living soul died in that sea" of ordinances (as some take it) of that church, which is "as the blood of a dead man:" (Rev. xvi. 3:) as it was when the rivers were turned into blood; all the fish died. (Exod. vii. 17, 18.) The whole religion of the Antichristian church is made up of false doctrines, idolatrous worship, superstitious ceremonies, traditions, and inventions of men; by which they make void the law of God, (Matt. xv. 6,) and subvert the truth of the gospel. How any, holding their religion as it is so formed by the Man of Sin, can be saved in it, I cannot see. In all the description of the Man of Sin, the Son of Perdition, there is nothing that hath any tendency to salvation. Look on the church of Rome and her hierarchy as she is set forth by the Spirit of God, and it is still set forth in the most black and odious colours of a beast with seven heads and ten horns; and by a beast with two horns like a lamb, but [that] speaks like a dragon; (Rev. xiii. 1, 2, 11, 12, &c.;) and by the great whore that rideth the beast. (Rev. xvii 1, 2, 5, 6.) Here is nothing but mischief and ruin to souls from this church, as set out by those types; as also under the notion of a false prophet, and seducer of the souls of people to their perdition. Some of the church of Rome have much doubted whether the pope and cardinals, who are the head and pillars of their church, shall any of them be saved. Boccatius brings-in a monk saying thus: *Papas et cardinales et episcopos non pervenire ad salutem per doctrinam istam, quam palàm videmus eos servare; sed aliam habere penès se, quam clanculùm observant, nec aliis facilè communicant: quid potuit veriùs dici, eos per istam, quæ illis est in usu, non posse servari.* Boccatius himself looks on the pope and cardinals and bishops, according to the doctrine [which] they held forth to the world, as persons who shall never be saved; unless, as the monk saith, "they have some other doctrine which they keep to themselves, in which they look for salvation." He looks on all their religion to be a mere show and pageantry and refined Paganism. I will propound but an argument or two, to confirm this inference.

1. They who lay the main stress of their religion on the rotten foundation of the universal headship of the pope, and do believe it as an article of their faith,—they cannot build their eternal salvation upon such a weak foundation; there being "no other foundation than that which is laid, Christ Jesus:" (1 Cor. iii. 11, 12:) But so do they of the church of Rome; they build their religion on this foundation of the headship of the pope, to whom they give what peculiarly belongs to Christ, with supremacy, sovereignty, universality, and infallibility. They who rob Christ of his crown and jewels, and put them on the pope's triple crown for him to wear, and lay the greatest weight on this business,—they cannot be saved while they rest there: But so do the Papists: Therefore, &c. The pope "sits in the temple of God, as God;" (2 Thess. ii. 4;) and he is believed to have those excellences

which belong to Christ. Bellarmine saith, "The pope is the universal spouse of the church." And Augustinus Berous saith, "He is the foundation of faith, the cause of causes, and lord of lords." And Baldus saith, "He is the living fountain of all righteousness," &c.

2. They who believe, as an article of their religion, that the church, or the head of it, is above the scripture, (as hath been shown before, and by my brethren in their discourses,)—they cannot be saved in that way: because no man can know certainly where his salvation is to be had; since it is, by their tenets, in the power of the pope to alter or add, as he shall think fit. The pope, set out by the two-horned beast that speaks like a dragon, (Rev. xiii. 11,) and [who] is the same with the false prophet,—he takes to him the authority of Christ, and more than Christ doth exercise; to make new articles of faith, to set up a new worship in the church, and to impose it upon all, upon pain of death, banishment, excommunication. (Rev. xiii. 11—17.) This beast, which represents the hierarchy of Rome, "exerciseth all the power of the first beast," (verse 12,) which was given him by the dragon: (verse 4:) so that he is Satan's lieutenant and vicar-general, especially in taking such a power and authority above the scripture; and this must be believed as an article of their faith. Let such consider how they can be saved in that religion.

3. That church which is cast off of God, and must not be measured, as refusing to come under the rule of the word, is such which none can be saved in: But such is the church of Rome. (Rev. xi. 2, 3.) There is that church—that is, head and members, and all the officers, and ordinances, institutions, doctrine, worship, and government, are all—cast out, as false, as having no authority or the stamp of Christ upon them. Though they will plead an interest in Christ, (as Matt. vii. 22,) yet Christ will utterly disown them: though they will cry, "The temple of the Lord, The temple of the Lord, The temple of the Lord, are these," (Jer. vii. 4,) yet they are cast out, and given to the Gentiles, to be trodden under foot by the Géntiles; in regard that Rome, having apostatized from the religion and pure worship of Christ, hath brought into the church and public worship thereof Pagan idolatry under new names, of worshipping of angels and saints, or demons. (1 Tim. iv. 1—3.) That church which is thus cast off of God, and his pure worship is cast off by them, as being like the Man of Sin, or being the Man of Sin, head and members; I do not see how salvation is to be had in that church as such, thus disallowed by God, as you have heard. Therefore it is that the churches of Christ have cast her off; and as bishop White, in his "Answer" to the Jesuit, saith, "We have cast off the pope and his teaching, for no other cause but that we are assured he is Antichrist, and his faith is heresy." If their whole church and worship be cast out by God, as being under no scripture-rule; then the true religion, true faith, true worship, are not to be looked for in them, and, by consequence, the salvation of souls is not to be expected from them.

INFERENCE V. *If the pope or the ecclesiastical hierarchy of Rome be that Antichristian state which you have heard set forth, and there is a mystery of iniquity in their religion and worship, and they are under such black marks of reprobation that do join with them in communion;*

then it is fit that all Christians should be acquainted with the mystery of iniquity in some measure, and should study, as the grounds of the true Christian religion, so the seeming pretences and false principles and abominable practices of the Antichristian religion.

1. We should be acquainted with them, *lest we be deceived through ignorance, and overtaken with the devices of Satan, which Paul mentioneth in 2 Cor. ii.* 11; *and that we may be delivered from being plunged in the deeps of Satan, spoken of in Rev. ii.* 24.—Are not the nations deceived by them? (Rev. xx. 3.) Doth not the world worship the dragon, and bow to the image of the beast, or receive his mark, or have the name of the beast or the number of his name? (Rev. xiii. 3, 4, 15—17.) Do not the kings of the earth commit fornication with the whore? and are not the inhabiters of the earth drunk with the wine of her fornication? (Rev. xvii. 2.) And all this, because they do not know the impostures of that church in their religion. Surely the Spirit of God would not have set out this church under the notion of the Man of Sin, and those several beasts in the Revelation and elsewhere, but that it was intended we should know them to avoid them. How express and punctual is Paul, in setting forth the apostasy of the latter times! (1 Tim. iv. 1—3.) He sets out both the way of their deceits, and the instruments. (1.) He tells us of "seducing spirits;" (2.) The "doctrines of devils." (3.) They "speak lies in hypocrisy." (4.) They are under a "seared conscience;" and care not what they say or do, to promote the holy Catholic church of Rome, as they call her.

2. We should study their mysteries; *else if we should be called to suffer, we shall not be able to suffer on a clear and comfortable account, as they in Rev. x. 7; xiii. 7.*—They suffered because they would not comply with the Man of Sin in his religion and worship, nor conform to them, nor have communion with them; as they did [who are mentioned in] Rev. xiii. 3, 4, 14, 15. Those in verse 7 suffered on that account.

3. We must know those things; *else we shall not be able to join in the triumphant song of Moses and the Lamb upon the pouring forth* [*of*] *the vials on this Antichristian state.—They* only "stand on the sea of glass, having the harps of God, and sing the song of Moses," *who* have "gotten the victory over the beast, and over his image, and over his mark, and over the number of his name." (Rev. xv. 2, 3.) They are persons well seen in the deceits and impostures of that church.

4. *The saints and martyrs could not have borne so noble a testimony against the Man of Sin,* in following the Lamb wherever he went; (Rev. xiv. 3, 4;) and were and are at open defiance against them, declaring their detestation of their religion and worship; (verses 8—10;) unless they did well know what they did.—Indeed the Papists tell us, we need not search into those things. The Rhemists in their "Annotations" on Acts i. 7 say, "It is not needful to search into the times of Antichrist," &c. But Dr. Fulke answereth them, that it is necessary for us to know the coming of Antichrist, as God hath revealed him. But the ministers of Antichrist would have no inquiry made of him, lest there should be found in the see of Rome the western Babylon: they would have us be ignorant of this point, and keep us in the dark, lest we should see their frauds. Bellarmine *(De Pontif. Rom., in præfat.)* calls that point of the

pope *summam rei Christianæ*, "the very sum of the whole business of a Christian:" and Malvenda *(De Antichristo)* saith, he studied that one point twelve years. They count it a point most worthy to be studied; but they would keep the world in darkness and ignorance; lest, if their impostures should be detected, they would be abhorred; and their whole religion being found to be a mere delusion, it would be an execration. And that will come to pass by the discovery of further light of the gospel,—by which the prodigious enormities of that church, and the *pudenda* of the whore, will be made manifest to all the world,—that, I say, will come to pass which is prophesied of in Rev. xvii. 16: "The ten horns shall hate the whore, and shall make her desolate and naked, and shall eat her flesh, and burn her with fire." They shall cart her, as the mother of abominations, as a common strumpet, throughout Christendom.

INFERENCE VI. *If the Papacy, the hierarchy of Rome, of which the pope is the head, be such as hath been described by Paul; then there can be no peace with Rome, no communion with Rome.*—"How can there be peace," said Jehu to Joram, "so long as the whoredoms of thy mother Jezebel and her witchcrafts are so many?" (2 Kings ix. 22.) What peace can there be with that church which is "the mother of harlots and abominations of the earth?" (Rev. xvii. 5.) What peace can there be with that body politic which is the greatest enemy of Jesus Christ upon earth? What peace can there be between the followers of the beast, (Rev. xiii. 3, 4, 15—17,) and us, adorers and admirers and the followers of the Lamb? (Rev. xiv. 1—4.) They are flatly opposite the one to the other: the one having the mark of *the beast* in their right hand and foreheads; the other, the name of *the Father* and of *the Lamb* (so some copies have it) written in their foreheads; who bid public and open defiance to each other: so that we may say, (as it is, 2 Cor. vi. 16,) "What agreement hath the temple of God with idols?" And, "What communion hath light with darkness, Christ with Belial," (verses 14, 15,) Christians with Antichristians, truth with falsehood, the church of Rome with the Protestant churches together? Bishop Hall, in his book, "No Peace with Rome," saith, "Sooner may God create a new Rome, than reform the old." There was a reconciliation attempted by the emperors Ferdinand and Maximilian; and Cassander, by their appointment, drew a project, in which he showed his judgment; but without success. *(Consultatio* CASSANDRI.) It is said that, at a meeting at Ragenspurgh, there was an agreement made touching free-will, original sin, justification, faith, merits, dispensations, the Mass, &c.; but this held not.*

INFERENCE VII. *If these things be so, concerning the Papacy, as hath been said; then there is matter of admiration and gratitude to all such whom God hath delivered from compliance with, or conformity to, or communion with, that church of which the pope, who is the Man of*

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* *Acta Colloq. Ratisbon. Anno* 1541; LINDANUS *De Querelâ Pacis, in præfat.* The chief factors of the church of Rome are bitterly set against all reconciliation. See BELLARMINE, *De Gratiâ et libero Arbitrio.* He saith, that *we* embrace this opinion so much the more willingly by how much it displeaseth our adversaries, and especially Calvin. And MALDONATUS *(in Johan. vi.)* was so much abhorring from the religion of the Protestants maintained by Calvin, that he saith that, though what he held was the same opinion with Austin and others of the fathers, yet he rejected it because it was held by Calvin.

Sin, the Son of Perdition, is the head.—"Whose coming is after the working of Satan with all power and signs and lying wonders;" (verse 9;) whose members are under his powerful seduction, and the judicial tradition of God to believe a lie to their own eternal damnation. (Verses 10—12.) Their condition must needs be most dangerous, who are members of that church: and therefore it is the greater mercy to be saved from that seduction which thousands are under, "whose names are not written in the Lamb's book of life;" (Rev. xiii. 8; xvii. 8;) they are under the black notes of reprobation. To be saved from being of their communion who worship the beast or his image, and to be of that company of the hundred and forty-four thousand who are virgins, and follow the Lamb wherever he goes, is worthy of eternal praises. When we find such as are under the seduction of the Man of Sin, the false prophet, and the whore, to be under the most fearful comminations from God; how that they drink of the wrath of God, and [are tormented] in the presence of the Lord and his holy angels, for ever and ever; (Rev. xiv. 9—11;) is it not matter of very great admiration and praises, that we should be saved from their sin, and so delivered from their plagues?

INFERENCE VIII. *If the church of Rome, of which the pope is the head, be such a body, so corrupt and abominable, as hath been showed; then it is dangerous and pernicious to retain any relic of the Man of Sin, that false, erroneous, idolatrous church, in doctrine, worship, or government.*—Which they have pretended to be according to the word of God; but have "wrested the scriptures unto their own destruction," as 2 Peter iii. 16. It is dangerous to retain such customs and usages in the church whereby we may symbolize with Rome. How fatal several things have been to the public peace of the church which have been derived from Antichrist, is too well known, from the divisions, contentions, and persecutions which have continued to this day. By these very means the Papacy, together with their religion, have had a party, and kept up an interest, among the Protestant churches, and also a favourable respect among many, who have had a secret affection for the pope and his religion. Such will not have it that the pope is Antichrist; and they will needs have it that the church of Rome is a true church, and that she is the mother-church, and that we ought to return to our mother, with such-like. What was the cause that "the Book of Articles" of the church of Ireland was called-in, but because they declare the pope to be Antichrist, and the church of Rome to be no true church, and that the Lord's day was wholly to be sanctified? So Montague, in his *Appello ad Cæsarem,* said, "The pope, or bishop of Rome, personally is not the Antichrist; nor yet the bishops of Rome successively." Dr. Heylin, in his "Answer to Burton," maintaineth that the pope is not Antichrist. Christopher Dove and Robert Shelford were of the same mind.

INFERENCE IX. *Hence it follows that the Protestant churches are unjustly charged with schism in departing from Rome.*—The Papists charge us with schism, because we depart from them, and will not hold communion with them; though there was the most just cause of this departure from them,

1. *In regard [that] they are heretical in their doctrine, and obstinately persist in it, against all convictions to the contrary.*—For there have been attempts made to have healed Babylon, but she would not be healed; therefore "forsake her." (Jer. li. 8, 9.) "A man that is a heretic after the first and second admonition reject." (Titus iii. 10.)

2. *When a church becomes idolatrous in her worship, (as 2 Cor. vi. 16,) then it is a duty to depart from them that depart from the truth.* (Verse 17.)—Upon Jeroboam's defection, and the people's with him, from the true worship of God, there was a departure from them by such as "set their hearts to seek the Lord God of Israel." (2 Chron. xi. 16.) The church of Rome became most corrupt and abominable in her worship; else she had not been set out by the whore riding the beast. (Rev. xvii. 3.)

3. *When a church becomes bloody and tyrannical and persecuting her members to the death, then there is just cause of departing from them.*—Look on the church of Rome, set forth by the first and second beast, (Rev. xiii. 1, 2, 11, &c.,) both which make up one Antichrist; see how cruel and bloody that church is. So, where it is set out by the whore, "drunken with the blood of saints," (Rev. xvii. 5, 6,) there is signified a just cause of departure from her.

4. *When a church groweth wholly corrupt and debauched in her morals, very vicious and scandalous in the lives of governors and members; then depart.*—In 2 Tim. iii. 1—5, there nineteen abominations (or thereabout) [are] spoken of, of which many should be guilty: "From such turn away," though they "had a form of godliness," since they did "deny the power of it." I will make no apology that I have put your patience so much to it, but this,—that the Man of Sin, with whom I have had to do, is the most unruly beast that ever was, and hath put the whole world into a disorder and confusion. And though I have exercised your patience while I have been preaching on this beast, yet I wish and pray that your patience may not be put to it by this beast: (as Rev. xiii. 7:) but if it should please God to let loose this beast upon you, my prayer is, that it may be said of you, as it was of them, "Behold the faith and patience of the saints." (Verse 10.)

SERMON VIII. (XIV.)

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THE PROTESTANTS DID UPON JUST GROUNDS SEPARATE FROM THE CHURCH OF ROME.

PROTESTANTS SEPARATED FOR CHRIST'S NAME'S SAKE.

Blessed are ye, when men shall hate you, and when they shall separate you, and shall reproach you, and cast out your name as evil, for the Son of man's sake.—Luke vi. 22.

One of the main designs of the doctrine of the gospel is to unite men one to another, and to tie them together with the strongest bonds and ligaments imaginable. To this purpose it does not only forbid the doing of any wrong unto others, but it prescribes rules for the curbing of our passions when provoked by them. Nay, it peremptorily enjoins, under the severest penalties, that we should forgive the offences done against us, and love the persons of them that do them. (Matt. vi. 15; xviii. 35; James ii. 13.) And, that we might think it our greatest concern thus to do, it combines and gathers all who have any hope toward God into "one body," which is called "the church," who are jointly to profess "one faith," and to perform one worship, and to serve "one Lord;" (Eph. iv. 4, 5;) the ligaments whereby this body is united and tied together being the sacraments; for this end also appointed by Christ; who, being the "Lord of all," (Acts x. 36,) is yet pleased more especially to relate to this body, as its Head, for direction and government, and to influence it by his Spirit for life and motion. Now it being full as monstrous for one head to have two bodies, as for one body to have two heads, so far forth as any have hoped for salvation by Christ, they have also pretended to belong to that "one body," of which he is the Head and Saviour.

In these pretensions the church of Rome comes not behind any; but, with as much passion, and as little reason, as they of old, whom the prophet speaks of, they cry out too, "The temple of the Lord, The temple of the Lord, The temple of the Lord, are these!" (Jer. vii. 4.) Nay, so unreasonable are they in arrogating to themselves the privilege of this body, that they challenge (as the Donatists before them) to be the whole, and not a part of it; confounding, for to serve this their purpose, things so discrepant as the Catholic and Romish church, that is, the universal and a particular church: and at last the church and the pope too are, with them, but one and the same, all others being but ciphers and mere insignificants to him.

And this I account none of the least reasons to suspect that they have no part nor share in what they so much pretend unto; for it is too, too apparent that they have not that mind and spirit that was in Christ. Now it is not continuity, but animation, that makes the several parts to become one body; and as the same soul that acts in the head acts in every individual member belonging to it, so the same Spirit which was in Christ is also in all that, as living members, belong unto him. But, alas! where is that meekness and gentleness, that love and charity, which our blessed Saviour so much expressed himself, so earnestly recommended unto his disciples, nay, which he made the test of their really being his? (John xiii. 35.) Though the church of Rome yet retains the calling of Christ, "Lord, Lord," it is evident [that] in this they do not his will. (Luke vi. 46.) They still cry "Hosanna" to him, and yet really crucify him, at least in his members. They are not the followers of the humble Jesus, but of the proud Pharisees, from whom our Saviour foretells that his disciples should suffer; but such sufferings as were as little to be declined, as they were hardly to be avoided, being the high-way, though a rough one, to bliss and happiness: "Blessed are ye, when men shall hate you."

In which words are remarkable,

1. *Suffering foretold;* in which the sufferers also are described, which is the subject in the verse; namely, such as men shall "hate," and "separate," and "reproach," &c.

2. *Their state or condition declared,* or encouragement proposed unto such (which makes the predicate): "Blessed are ye," &c.

In the former there are three things considerable:—

(1.) *What it is that Christ's disciples and followers shall suffer:* they shall be hated, separated, reproached, and have their names cast out.

(2.) *For what cause they shall suffer thus:* "For the Son of man's sake."

(3.) *From whom it is that they suffer:* from men: "When men shall hate you," &c.

(I.) FROM WHOM CHRIST'S DISCIPLES SUFFER.

I shall begin with the latter, as being first in the words of the text, and intend to pass it over with some little reflection at present upon it. "Men" here are not considered as in honour, by reason of the image of God, and their conformity unto God; for so they continued not: but "men" is *terminus diminuens,* [" a term of diminution,"] a term synonymous with "world," which our Saviour speaks of elsewhere; denoting such as are put in contradistinction unto them that are chosen out of the world.* It reflects their fall and degeneracy upon them. Nay, they whom Christ's disciples suffer most by, are commonly such as make profession of fearing and serving God too; unto whom light indeed is come, but they love darkness, (John iii. 19,) and so they become bruised with a double fall: this, by their choice and practice, being superadded to that of their nature; and, whatsoever they pretend to the contrary, as St. Jude speaks of them, they are "twice dead." (Jude 12.) There is no enmity like that of brothers; our Saviour himself suffered from none so much as from his friend and disciple Judas; and his followers since have endured most in all ages from such as profess (as well as they do) to be retainers unto Him.

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* *Homines, id est, impii inimici doctrinæ meæ.*—LUCAS BRUGENSIS. "'Men,' that is, 'the impious enemies of my doctrine.'"—EDIT.

But I shall pass this at present without any other observation; as also the second part, or *the state and condition of the sufferers* spoken of in my text; only you may hear of them, though briefly, in the *application.*

(II.) WHAT IT IS WHICH THE DISCIPLES OF CHRIST SUFFER.

The two former branches (in my propounded method) of this first part being such as I intend to graft my ensuing discourse upon, give me leave, though *e postliminio* [" by a retrograde movement "], to come to a nearer search into them; and, at the first view, in the former of them, four remarkable particulars [are] foretold, which the disciples of Christ were to suffer; namely,

1. *Hatred.*
2. *Separation* of them, as not worthy of human society, but most unworthy to partake of church-communion.
3. *Reproach,* upon whom they might vomit up all their gall without the charge and sin of bitterness.*
4. *The casting out of their names,* as such [as] they would scorn to be reckoned amongst in their service of God.

1. HATRED.

Hatred.—This is the root, the bitter root, of the following bitter fruits: there would be no separating, no reproaching them, no casting out of their names, were it not for the hatred [which] they bear unto them. Now hatred is a displicency at, and aversion from, things or persons as evil; and nothing doth make men seem more hating and hateful to one another, as when they act by a contrary principle: for, so far at least as they have such a principle in them, they judge not, they affect not, any thing alike; but what one calls "good," the other calls "evil;" and what this counts evil, the former esteems as good.

And this must needs be acknowledged to be true in the case of the text. Christ's disciples and the Pharisees, his church and their persecutors, are acted by a contrary principle: in the one is the seed of the woman, in the other the seed of the serpent; (Gen. iii. 15;) and where these meet, though in the same (Rebekah's) womb, they will strive and struggle against one another.

Our Saviour assigns this as the true reason why the world hated him, and should hate his disciples after him,—because neither he nor they were of the world. (John xvii. 14.)

Now this hatred, though its seat be inward, and it be many times hidden, yet its effects are outward and obvious, none of all the passions being more active than love and hatred are; and therefore our Saviour no sooner had spoken of the Pharisees' hating of his disciples, but he presently adds, "They will separate you, and reproach you."

2. REPROACHES.

Because I intend not so much to insist upon them, I shall speak but a word of the reproaches which Christ's followers must bear from the

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* The author subsequently transposes this order, placing *reproach* before *separation.*—EDIT.

"men" in my text. Hatred being in their heart, it is no wonder that reviling is in their lips; for "out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh;" (Matt. xii. 34;) and something they must say to justify the persecutions and mischiefs [which] they heap upon others; for there are none (who have not put off all humanity) but would willingly have reason and equity on their side.

Thus they taxed our Saviour himself that he was a "wine-bibber, a friend of publicans and sinners;" (Luke vii. 34;) nay, they would not crucify him till they had charged him with blasphemy. (Mark xiv. 64.) Thus they calumniated the apostles for being "filled with new wine," for "turning the world upside down," and for destroying the law, &c. (Acts ii. 13; xvii. 6, 7.)

Neither was it better in the immediately succeeding ages. What did not the pagan world reproach and upbraid the primitive Christians with? What secret and abominable wickedness did they not charge upon their private meeting together to serve God? No epidemical disease or public calamity befell the empire, or any nation in it, but it was attributed presently to some (forged) wickedness of the Christians. And it had been well if they had suffered from Pagans only: but, alas! they suffered no less from brethren, if I may call them brethren; so that a Heathen could observe, that "no beasts were so cruel one to another as Christians were." *

But in this last age of the world we have the dregs of all; and the Papists act over again upon the Protestants all the outrages which were ever heaped upon any in the fore-mentioned instances. Their calumnies against their doctrine, their revilings of their worship, their reproaches of their persons, not only living, but even dead too, I could fill volumes withal: "What shall be given unto thee? or what shall be done unto thee, O thou false tongue?" (Psalm cxx. 3.)

But because they proceed further, so must I. They do not only shoot out their sharp arrows, but discharge their murdering-pieces at us. Nay, their malice is not confined to, or satisfied with, the ruin of the body; but, as if it were too mean a sacrifice to their fury, they do what in them lies, (and according to their own principle they effect it,) to destroy the soul too; for "they shall separate you, and cast out your names."

3. SEPARATION.

Which brings me to speak to the other fruits [which] the text mentions of the hatred borne to Christ's disciples and followers, and which this discourse mainly intends: "They shall separate you *from their company*." These latter words are added by the translators to complete, as they thought, the sense; but it being as clear without them, I shall no farther take notice of them.

Some make the separation here spoken of to be meant only of a political or civil separation; and their gloss is, *In carcerem aut exilium truserint*,† "They shall banish you, or cast you into prison;" as if the imprisoning or banishing of them, or at least declining to trade or converse with them, were all that was intended here. This must be acknowledged an evil and a mischief, which they that obey the commandments of God, and hold the faith of Jesus, have met with, and which was foreseen by St. John, that they who would not receive the mark or name of the beast, should not buy nor sell. (Rev. xiii. 16, 17.)

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* AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS.

† LUCAS BRUGENSIS *in locum*.

But the word here used, Αφορισωσιν, "They shall separate," hath a further import,* and implies a separation from their synagogues and public worship; and is the same with, Αποσυναγωγους ϖοιησωσιν, "They shall cast you out of their synagogues," mentioned by St. John; (John xvi. 2;) which I the rather incline to think to be the meaning of this place, because also in the ancient canons the same word, Αφοριζεσθω, ["Let him be separated,"] is so often repeated to this purpose; that is, when they would by their censure suspend any from church-communion; and then they who were thus censured, were afterwards called *abstenti*, denoting their being "held off from" church-fellowship; and the censure itself came at length to be called, "the lesser excommunication."

4. CASTING OUT OF THEIR NAMES.

But our evangelist seems to explain this best by what he adds, "They shall cast out your names;" as it is said of the blind man, who so constantly professed Christ, that "they cast him out." (John ix. 34.) And it is to be observed that Εϰϐαλωσι, or "They shall cast out," here in the prediction, is Εξεϐαλον there, or "They did cast him out," in the fulfilling of it, the same word being made use of by either evangelist.

As for "casting out their names," it refers to a known custom amongst the Jews, of keeping an exact account of all the names of those who descended from them. Not only their tribes and families, but every individual person was enrolled, as by evident places in scripture could be readily made to appear. Now to have their names cast out, or cut off from this catalogue, was to be accounted no longer for Jews, or amongst the then people or church of God; but to be reputed thenceforth as uncircumcised, or as one of the Gentiles; that is, out of the pale of the church, and out of the bond of the covenant with God. We might illustrate this from a custom which they had amongst the Romans too: when any were, for their misdemeanours, to be disfranchised, the censor expunged, blotted out, or cut off their names out of the city-rolls; and they might not after that enjoy their city-privileges, neither were they thenceforth to be accounted as citizens.

The sum that this amounts unto is, that they who would embrace and hold fast the faith delivered by our Saviour, should be so far from meeting with that love and respect which they ought to be entertained withal, that they should, on the contrary, be separated and excommunicated, put out and accursed; and that by them who shall take upon them to be the governors of the church.

That this was fulfilled in the first breaking forth of the gospel, and in the very dawning of that day, we have evident testimony in scripture to prove it by; but having in part formerly mentioned it, I shall now only refer you to it.

This was certainly a very great engine, by which men were not only kept off from attending unto the means of their conversion, and caused to shut their eyes against the light that did shine so powerfully round about them; but in case it had broken in at any time unawares upon them, it was a more cogent argument to keep them from owning and cherishing of it: for, as St. John observes, though "many believed on him," yet "because of the Pharisees," who swayed most in their sanhedrim, "they did not confess him, lest they should be put out" of their church: (John xii. 42:) and for this very reason, if Nicodemus will come to Jesus, it shall be only "by night." (John iii. 2.)

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* BEZA *in locum.*

Now it is a known rule, that *scriptura prophetica sæpius impletur*, "one and the same prophecy may respect divers ages, and be fulfilled in divers times;" the same prediction being frequently mentioned in scripture with an, Ἱνα ϖληρωθῃ, "That it might be fulfilled," upon divers occasions. But I must not now divert to instances.

It is evident that this prediction intimated here in my text is no more to be restrained to the apostles themselves, or the church at that time, or immediately after, than any other foretelling of suffering persecution in this world is to be, or than any promise of assistance and deliverance whatsoever.

It hath been realized indeed with a witness in our and in our forefathers' days. The church of Rome, who pretend to be the only church of God, and spouse of Christ, hath separated us from them, and hath cast out our names; so that this day these words are fulfilled, "They shall separate you, they shall cast out your names."

(III.) THE CAUSE OF THE SUFFERING OF CHRIST'S DISCIPLES.

But by reason that as it is not the punishment, but the cause, which makes a martyr; so it is not the suffering barely of these things which speaks any to be the true disciples of Christ. Let us therefore inquire into the causes assigned by our Saviour in my text for which his disciples shall be thus dealt with. And here we meet,

1. THE PRETENDED CAUSE.

First. *With a pretended cause.*—"'They shall cast out your name *as evil:*' they shall fasten, as much as in them lies, all manner of calumnies upon you; and report of you, not as indeed you are, but as they who hate you would have you thought to be. They will pretend that their separating of you, and not conversing, especially in the worship of God, with you, is not what they would willingly have done, but what they were necessitated unto by you, who, as they allege, have broached new doctrines, and withal receded from ancient customs," &c.

That this is true in either instance is too apparent: the Pharisees charged the apostles, and the church of Rome do charge the Protestants, with whatsoever they think likely to make them odious.

Some of them doubtless do this out of a kind of integrity of their hearts, separating, excommunicating, nay, killing of them, as a deserved punishment for the evil they conceive in them, or to have been committed by them. This proceeds out of that blindness and ignorance which is so common unto all in the things of God; but especially as it is further contracted or increased by them, or inflicted by God upon them, for their not embracing truth in the love of it, or "holding it in unrighteousness." (Rom. i. 18, 24.) These may be thought indeed to have believed lies, and that they were persuaded that "they did God good service" in thus despitefully using those that did "worship him in spirit and in truth," as is intimated in a parallel place. (John xvi. 2; iv. 24.)

But as to others, the supposed evil in the matter that Christ's followers are charged with, is but a pretended cause of their being so evilly dealt withal; not only, as we shall see hereafter, in that they did not deserve it, but because also that they who so severely inflict these censures are, at least many of them, not so zealous against any opinion or practice whatsoever as it is evil, that is, as it is against the manifest truth or revealed will of God, or as it is dishonourable to God or destructive to the souls of men; for if they did set themselves against any thing as evil indeed, they would set themselves to oppose all evil; and in that proportion too in which it is evil; *a quatenus ad omne, &c.* He does not truly hate one sin, who does not hate all sins; as he hath no aversion from one toad or viper, as a toad or viper, who can take another up into his hands or bosom. Hatred is, as the philosopher says, *προς το γενος*, "against all of a kind," or against none of that kind. So that I cannot think that the Pharisees who were so notoriously guilty of rapine and extortion, and could swallow widows' houses, should strain at the imagined falsity of the apostles' doctrine, or the surmised corruption in the gospel-worship; (Matt. xxiii. 14;) there being especially such fair footsteps for either in those very writings which they acknowledged the rule of both. Neither can I believe that the church of Rome, who can license, without any regret or scruple, stews and whore-houses, and can dispense with rebellion and incest, and what not?—that these should be the men who are truly zealous for the truths and worship of God, as such; or that they should set themselves so much against the doctrine which the Protestants profess, or against the way of worshipping of God which they use, because they are false or impious; for then they would be against all impiety, especially amongst themselves. But the true cause of the aversion of the generality of them from our opinions and practices is, because they agree not with their interests and lusts, and are not consistent with their profit and grandeur. Or, if you will, our Saviour here assigns the real cause; namely, it is "for the Son of man's sake."

2. THE REAL CAUSE FOR WHICH THEY SUFFER.

This is that which is at the bottom of all,—*it is for Christ's sake, for their respect unto him and his institutions, his truths and ordinances,* that his disciples suffer. Would they not so much consider what he hath enjoined and commanded, but follow their pretended guides with blind obedience, they should be, as when the "strong man armed kept the house," all "in peace." (Luke xi. 21.)

In a matter so obvious, I will not enlarge to discourse concerning this description of our blessed Saviour here used, "Son of man." It is known to be one of the names or titles which he was pleased to denote or describe himself by; who, though he was "God blessed for ever," (Rom. ix. 5,) vouchsafed to take upon him our nature, and to become man for us; thus condescending to us both in the name and thing, that we might know that it was he in whom that prophecy was fulfilled, "Unto us a child is born, unto us a Son is given," &c. (Isai. ix. 6.) And by this means he did in the highest manner recommend himself and truths, his will and worship, unto us. It is for his sake, that is, for their love and faithfulness, their respect and obedience, unto him, that they who believe truly in him in all ages do suffer. Would but the apostles have forborne to preach in his name; would they have observed the ancient but antiquated rites of the Jewish church, they might long enough have kept in amongst them, and should not have been persecuted by them. So, would the Protestants not regard the mind and will of God, nor the doctrine and institutions of Christ, but let the church of Rome add or take away at its pleasure, they should not have been, nor now need they be, "cast out" by them.

This is that which I shall more strictly confine myself unto, though all along I have intended to lay a foundation with such materials as might suit the intended structure.

The church of Rome charge the Protestants with schism, as rending and dividing themselves from the true church, which, as they tell us, they themselves only are.

I shall pass by all the other reproaches they lade us with, though very heinous and innumerable; it being a common matter with them, as with the Pagan persecutors of old, to put the sincere professors of the truths of God into beasts' skins, (Heb. xi. 37,) allowing them to have scarcely a human shape, that any who would, might the more eagerly bait and worry them to death.

But as for their imputation of schism unto us, we may well aver, that of all men they have least reason to charge us with it, upon divers accounts, but especially because they themselves have put us from them: they have separated us, and cast out our names; and to this day these words in my text are verified concerning us. And is it not hard to be accused for going from *them, who* put us away, and cast us from them by force? But they serve us as they did the Waldenses, whom they plundered, robbed, and stripped of all they had, and then, by way of derision and contempt, called them *pauperes Lugdunenses*, "the poor men of Lyons," about which city those famous professors of the truth were formerly most numerous.

I suppose that the matter of fact cannot be doubted of; and that none will question whether the Protestants have been or are thus dealt withal by the church of Rome; for I might bring a whole cloud of witnesses to prove it. All the martyrs who have suffered any ways under them are, in their ordinary course of proceedings, "cast out" and excommunicated by that church, before they are delivered over to the civil magistrate to be condemned and executed; and such as they cannot get into their hands, or where, by the favour of laws, or tenderness of princes, the Inquisition cannot obtain, the council of Trent anathematizes and curses howsoever. And the bull *De Cœnâ Domini* goes farther; for in that the pope not only excommunicates all who, in the way which they call heresy, worship the God of their fathers; (Acts xxiv. 14;) but he accurses all them too who do any ways favour them, though it be but by giving civil respect or a necessary alms unto them:

so extensive is their charity. Little reason have we then to expect that which they so much boast of—good works—from them.

To pass by their exquisite torments, and more than barbarous cruelties, exercised upon the bodies of Christians, (whilst they willingly suffer Jews in many places to dwell quietly amongst them,) so directly contrary to the so-much-gloried-in primitive church, who could not endure those bishops who persuaded the emperor to put heretics to death ; and, to be sure, vastly differing from the mind and spirit of the meek Jesus, who would not at the instance of his disciples destroy the truly both heretical and schismatical Samaritans by fire, though otherwise too he was inhumanly treated by them. (Luke ix. 54.)

There may seem something to be pleaded for their church-censures, as if they were but the cutting off gangrenated and dead members, for the better preserving of the rest of the body ; and as if they did this, too, in obedience to that apostolical precept of "delivering such unto Satan," and so putting away evil from amongst them. (1 Cor. v. 5, 13.) But what is this to their interdicting of whole kingdoms, in which there cannot be supposed fewer thousands (and they full out as innocent as any in Nineveh) not knowing their right hand from their left? (Jonah iv. 11.) By which interdicts, according to their own authors,* all divine offices and service of what kind soever were forbidden throughout the whole interdicted territory. None might preach, or pray, or administer the sacraments amongst them whilst the interdict lasted ; the whole region being by it "put out," as they termed it, "of the communion of the church ;" and all that died therein during that space, how long soever, believed by them damned for ever. This, not to mention its effects in other places, lasted in England, as Matthew Paris records, in king John's time, six years and a half ; in which space it is thought there died in this land above six hundred thousand men, women, and children. And must all these necessarily eternally perish, because that the king and pope were at variance with one another? with which matter the poor commons had little to do, neither could they intermeddle without rebelling against their sovereign.

And what does the casting out of the incestuous person, or the holding of an obstinate sinner as a heathen or publican, make for the secluding [of] so many millions of Protestants from their church, and [the] putting of them by that means (at least, as they surmise) into a state of inevitable perdition? especially whenas the Protestants with one consent do "believe all things which are written in the law and in the prophets ;" which St. Paul thought a sufficient apology for himself, when he could not receive the traditions of the elders. (Acts xxiv. 14.) They believe no less all that the apostles and evangelists have declared ; they willingly embrace the three ancient creeds, accounted by the primitive church sufficient tests of approved Christianity ; they desire to live in all good conscience toward God and men, and to give to every one their due in the place into which God hath put them.

Neither can we reasonably be charged with obstinacy, being very desirous to be informed better in any thing in which, through mistake, as men, we might have erred. We pray to God daily that he would

* EMANUEL SA, *Aphorismi, in verbo* Interdictum.

enlighten us, and give us to see the marvellous things in his word. We desire to be thankful unto men, whom God is pleased at any time to make instrumental for our further information in any of his truths, or our duties. Now it is obstinacy only which is the dead-flesh of heresy or schism, and makes that gangrene incurable, and the part affected with it to be sawn off, and contentedly parted withal.

But yet for all this we are not sceptics, neither. We know whom and what we believe; (2 Tim. i. 12;) and we resolve, by the grace of God, to continue in it. And if they call our constancy "obstinacy," may they call it so still, rather than that we should depart from it. We should be loath to pin our faith upon any man's sleeve, be he pope, or who he will. If St. Paul himself, "or an angel from heaven, preach any other gospel unto us than that which we have received," he is and must be "accursed;" (Gal. i. 8;) a sufficient caveat, one would think, against swallowing at all adventures whatsoever may be recommended to us upon the bare topic of authority, and not inquiring into the merit of the cause, the nature of the thing propounded, whether right or wrong, true or false. Henceforth an *Ipse dixit,* "Such an one said so," or, "Such a pope defined it thus," will be but a pitiful excuse at the day of judgment for any false way. I must forbear touching more upon this string at present, being willing to join issue about our being parted from the church of Rome, from the cause assigned in my text, namely, "the Son of man's sake."

Which words I shall consider with a more particular relation to the several matters in controversy betwixt us and them; and it may be reasonably hoped, that if we have Christ's cause and honour on our side in those very things for which they separate us, and cast out our names, we may be reckoned still amongst his disciples; and the church of Rome, as well as the Jewish church, may justly be reputed amongst the persecutors here foretold of.

And this we may deduce from the following scheme.

I. *It is for the truths of Christ,* the doctrine owned, preached, and recommended by him, *that they thus deal with us.*

II. *It is for the purity of his worship,* because we would serve God according to his own will, and not according to their will-worship, *that they thus abhor us.*

III. *It is for his authority's sake,* because we dare not take the government from off his shoulders, (Isai. ix. 6,) nor pay that respect to any frail man which is only due unto him who is "God blessed for evermore," (Rom. ix. 5,)—or, if you will, it is because we dare not worship the beast,—*that they serve us thus.*

To sum up all in one: *it is for the vindication of Christ in all his offices that we endure these indignities at their hands.*

I. THE PROTESTANTS ARE SEPARATED FOR CHRIST'S TRUTHS' SAKE.

I. *The difference between us and the church of Rome is most important in matters of faith.*—It is indeed such, and so great, that we willingly acknowledge, as they separate us for not being of their mind, so we are most willing not only to be parted, but to part, from them, for their not being of God's mind; for "what fellowship hath righteousness with unrighteousness? and what communion hath light with darkness? and what concord hath Christ with Belial?" (2 Cor. vi. 14, 15.)

It is true, on our part, that we would not for every mis-persuasion in the things of religion part with any one's communion. As every man hath a soul of his own, so he cannot but, through common frailty, different measures and means of knowledge, have conceits and opinions different from others about almost any subject. And though every truth is worth the embracing, yet betwixt truths themselves there is as great a difference as there is between farthings and guineas; which, though they be both coins, yet are of a very disproportioned value.

There are, by the confession of all, some *fundamental* truths; and by consequence there must be some *fundamental* errors. It is a metaphorical epithet, taken from buildings: for as buildings cannot stand if the foundation be removed or taken away, so the church, which is called "the house of God," cannot stand, neither, if it be removed from those saving truths upon which, as upon a rock, Christ hath founded it. (1 Tim. iii. 15.) And therefore the apostle, who so earnestly blames the judging and condemning [of] one another in lesser matters, yet would have us to "reject" such a heretic, "after the first and second admonition," who holds any thing contrary unto these. (Titus iii. 10.)

Now we cannot be justly charged by the church of Rome with any positive error that can so much as strike at the foundation: nay, she believes what we believe concerning God,—one in essence, three in persons; she acknowledges with us the person, natures, suffering, resurrection, and ascension of Christ, and all the other articles of the Creed. She charges us only with negatives, because we cannot admit all such doctrines as she injuriously obtrudes upon us as matter of faith. This is indeed the apple of contention betwixt us; and because we dare not allow and approve of every dictate of the pope, or definition of the now Roman church, as an oracle of God, we stand accursed by them.*

To point at some few instances instead of many.

1. CONCERNING THE SCRIPTURE.

Do we believe that the scriptures are a rule for life and manners? So do they. But what they give with the one hand, they take away with the other, in that they make traditions, and the determinations of their church, necessary to be received with the same reverence that scripture is to be received withal. So that scripture, which in word they dare not deny to be the rule, in deed they make it nothing less; defaming it what they can, as short, imperfect, and obscure; nay, forbidding the reading or having of it in a vulgar tongue, where they may. Whereas we may well aver, that no art or science whatsoever was so fully and plainly taught by any book in the whole world, as our Christian-calling, and the true art of living and dying in the faith of Christ and in the favour of God, are taught us in his word; the δυσνοητα, or things in it that are "hard to be understood," (2 Peter iii. 16,) being matters of less import to the welfare of our souls. As for those truths whereby life and immortality is brought to light, there need not so much glosses and commentaries to understand them by, as to bring a humble and teachable mind unto them.

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* BISHOP HALL'S "Peace-maker."

2. CONCERNING THE MEDIATORSHIP OF CHRIST.

We believe that our Saviour Christ is the Mediator betwixt God and man; they say that they believe the same too. And because scripture is so express concerning it, they dare not deny but that he is the only Mediator: for the apostle says as well that there is but "one Mediator," as he says that there is but "one God" and Jesus, these two indissolvably together. (1 Tim. ii. 5.) And yet for all this, the church of Rome can give away Christ's Mediator's place with a nice distinction at one blow, assigning new advocates unto us as often as they please to canonize any. And lest it should be too much for our blessed Saviour to be our Mediator by his redemption, (which for good manners in the known distinction they leave unto him,) they have set up another propitiatory sacrifice beside that at his passion, which their priests do offer every day for the living and for the dead. Nay, they will not let his blood purify us from our sins; (Rev. i. 5;) but have found out a purgatory, in which our souls must be purged by their own sufferings after death.

3. CONCERNING GRACE.

We say, with the apostle, that we "are saved by grace;" (Eph. ii. 8;) which the Papists will not deny in downright terms; but they will add something to it, which shall make this grace to be no grace before that they have done; either interposing the prevision of our good works without grace in the purpose of God before the world began, or some good disposition in us, exciting God to bestow his grace upon us; which grace being well improved by us, meriteth no less than glory at his hands for us. Whosoever lists to search this to the quick, will find, that there was never a prouder opinion held by any of the children of men than this is. Hence flow not their satisfactory works only, by which they pay sufficiently unto God whatsoever is owing unto his justice by them; but they hold also works of super-erogation, whereby they deserve more than they need for themselves, or know well what to do with; and therefore they put it into the treasury of the church, for the avail of those who by money and Masses can take it out. The Pharisee was modest who said, in the height of his boasting, "Lord, I thank thee:" (Luke xviii. 11:) if any of them would speak this opinion out, he would say, "Lord, thou mayest thank me."

THESE TRUTHS ARE FUNDAMENTAL.

I will pass by multitudes of instances of the like nature, and will content myself only with these, as being such as I judged most material, and such as respect the very foundation; and therefore their errors concerning them must of necessity be of very bad consequence. For,

1. *Scripture is the foundation of the doctrine of salvation.*—And the church is said in this respect to be "built upon the foundation of the prophets and apostles;" (Eph. ii. 20;) that is, the church is built upon the doctrine which was delivered by the apostles and prophets; a good parallel to understand that so-much-controverted saying of our Saviour by, "Upon this rock I will build my church," to be meant of Christ's building his church upon the doctrine, and not upon the person or successors, of St. Peter. (Matt. xvi. 18.)

2. *Our Saviour Christ is the foundation of our salvation itself.*—In that he purchased it by his death, and prepares and preserves it by his life; in which respect the apostle tells us, that none "can lay any other foundation than that which is laid, which is Jesus Christ." (1 Cor. iii. 11.)

3. *Grace is the foundation of the application of this salvation.*—In that all the benefits which Christ hath purchased for us, and all the works which answerably thereunto he works by his Spirit within us, are all founded upon grace, upon which only they depend, the hearts of believers being hence said to be "established by grace." (Heb. xiii. 9.)

Now if they undermine or take away these foundation-truths from us, let them take all. It is howsoever observable, that the Protestants' opinions in these cases must needs be safe; for surely neither the word of God, nor the Son of God, nor the grace of God, can be reasonably challenged with any insufficiency, that they should need the additions and inventions of men to make them successful, in that especially which they are chosen and appointed unto by God. If God thought his word to be sufficient to enlighten us, his Son to redeem and intercede for us, his grace sufficient to sanctify and keep us unto salvation, we are content with his choice and allotment, and do not envy others who pretend to have more: but it is to be feared that they who grasp at more, do lose all. And we would rather have our names cast out by them for not adding to the word of God, than that for our additions unto it God should "add unto us the plagues that are written in it." (Rev. xxii. 18.)

Neither may we be so much taken with the truths which in these and other particulars the church of Rome do retain, as that for their sake we should swallow the errors which they mix with those verities; and that, rather than to be separated from their communion, we might subscribe or assent to all the other articles that are proposed by them. That were to "do evil that good might come" of it. (Rom. iii. 8.) Besides, this retaining of some truths does stand them in good stead to put off many errors the better by. Few could vend defective wares, if they did not show some that were true-made together with them. We know that false or counterfeit money will hardly go off alone; neither is poison ordinarily taken singly, or by itself, but mixed with wholesome food; and by that means it deceives the sooner, and spreads the farther.

Were there then nothing but this,—that we must believe all that is determined, or that shall be determined, by the church of Rome, (for they have lately made, and may still make, new articles of faith,) or else we must be accursed by them,—we are rather to undergo all their separations and excommunications, than to assent to untruths, or seem to believe lies. Whosoever they be that propose anything to be believed by us, we may justly expect that they should prove one of these two things unto us; either,

TWO THINGS NECESSARY TO BE PROVED BEFORE WE CAN BELIEVE AUGHT THAT IS PROPOSED.

1. *That the article proposed by them to be believed is part of "the faith once delivered unto the saints;"* (Jude 3;) or,

2. *That there may be now a new faith.*

1. THAT IT WAS ONCE DELIVERED TO THE SAINTS.

The former of these, as to the points in controversy, they will never be able to prove; and that makes them speak so slightly of scripture, because they know it is not for their turn. Besides, if that we must contend for the faith that was then delivered, we must contend against the traditions, and all the superadded definitions, of their church, so far at least as they are contrary unto it, and reduce all again to the old test of "the law and the testimony;" (Isai. viii. 20;) which we would gladly do, but that they dare not abide by, but call out to the fathers and councils, though in vain, for help.

2. OR THAT WE MAY HAVE A NEW FAITH.

As for the latter, namely, *the making of a new faith.*—Whosoever makes a new faith, must make a new hope for us too; and from them that propound another way unto us, we may expect another heaven for us; for God's heaven must be attained in God's way. Yet this new faith was attempted to be made and propounded by some of them; witness the *evangelium æternum* ["eternal gospel"] which the friars made and the pope favoured. In which new gospel they affirmed that the gospel of Christ was not the gospel of the kingdom, and that the Old and New Testament had lost their force, or should soon lose it: the time they set is now expired above four hundred years since.

But this device not succeeding, they have since been more reserved and cunning: not downright and all at once, but indirectly and by degrees, endeavouring to bring us to this their purpose; on the one hand decrying scripture and revealed truths as much as they can, and on the other hand magnifying as much those things whose truth and goodness (if they have any) are only derived from their church's recommendation. One passage of Cardinal Hosius must not be forgotten, who affirmed, that were it not for the church's authority interposed in the case, scripture were no better than Æsop's Fables. "O my soul, come not thou into their secret; and unto their assembly, mine honour, be not thou united." (Gen. xlix. 6.)

II. WE ARE SEPARATED FOR CHRIST'S INSTITUTED WORSHIP'S SAKE.

II. The difference between the Protestant and now Roman church is as considerable about religious worship. *They separate us, and cast out our names, because we desire to keep to the purity and simplicity of worship, so often commanded by God, and so highly recommended by Christ;* (John iv. 24;) *and they on the other side do add in matters of divine worship according to the inventions of their own hearts, and the humours of every fanciful pope.*

Now this we are the more careful about, because that they who worship any thing beside the true God, or who worship him any other way than according to his own appointment, are, in the second commandment, declared by God to be haters of him; that is, in a more eminent manner than any other sinners whosoever. We find also will-worship to be such a leaven, as that (where it is joined with otherwise right and well-directed devotion) it leavens the whole lump, and makes the whole but one continued provocation, in God's account. Those that swear by the Lord and by Malcham, are esteemed as if they had not sworn by God at all, but by Malcham only. (Zeph. i. 5.) As wicked as Ahaz is recorded to be, he is not charged for not retaining the altar of the Lord; but for bringing another altar from Damascus, and placing of it by God's altar at the temple of Jerusalem. (2 Kings xvi. 10—16.)

One would think that washing of hands, and the wearing of broad phylacteries, were matters so indifferent, as that they could not be displeasing unto God, especially when commanded by the church, and recommended too by tradition; yet our Saviour assures us, (though they thought to please God the better by them,) [that] it made all the rest of the Pharisees' worship but vain and unacceptable. (Matt. xv. 9.)

Worship is indeed the marriage-duty which the church of God is to pay unto none but unto Him who is married unto her; (Jer. iii. 14;) and God hath declared himself to be "a jealous God," and that he will not permit any creature to partake that marriage-rite together with him. (Exod. xx. 5.) Hence it is that idolatry is so often called "adultery," and a "going a-whoring from God." (Ezek. xxiii. 30.) And in this, amongst other things, to be sure they agree,—that as amongst men for every fault, though heinous ones too, there cannot be a separation between man and wife, but for adultery there may; so God is pleased not to give a bill of divorce to any church or people for any sin so much as for idolatry. When once they become overspread with that sin, then it is that God says unto them, "Lo-ammi, Ye are not my people." (Hosea i. 9.)

If we must then either be bidden by the church of Rome to depart from her for not worshipping what she pleases, and as she lists, or that God should depart from us, by the withdrawing of his word and Spirit from us, and bid us to depart from him, because we did not worship him according to his prescribed will, but preferred man's will before his will, it is easy to determine which we should most dread, and labour to avoid. Nay, let them again and again bid us to depart from them here, that God may not bid us to depart from him hereafter. Their censure of excommunication is lighter than the small dust in the balance, if compared with his sentence of condemnation.

I know that this harlot, with the adulterous woman in the Proverbs, (xxx. 20,) "wipeth her mouth, and saith, I have done no wickedness." Yet I shall take it for granted, that if she gives and requires religious or Divine worship to be given to any creature, she is guilty of idolatry, or else there is no such thing as idolatry in the world: this being confessedly the worst kind of false worship,* and that for which God gave the Heathens over unto such "strong delusions" and "vile affections." (Rom. i. 25, 26; 2 Thess. ii. 11.)

I shall not insist upon the particulars of Divine worship; which is either internal, the worship of the heart; or external, the worship of the body. Faith and hope are the homage which the heart pays unto God: it believes in him, as true and faithful, and ho pesin him, as good and gracious, in the highest degree. Adoration and service are the tribute which the body owes unto God. Now I could easily evince, that the church of Rome gives any or all of these to creatures; for whilst they pray to saints, whether real or imaginary ones, they must hope and believe in them; for "how can they call upon them in whom they have not believed?" (Rom. x. 14.) And whilst they prostrate themselves before their very images, whilst they build altars and churches and keep festivals or observe days unto them, they give them whatsoever the outward man is able to perform to God himself. Yet all this worship they think that, calling of it by another name, (δουλεια,) they can justify.

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* AQUINAS, *Secunda Secundæ*, quæst. xciv. art. 3.

Not to insist upon that which hath been so often proved by others, that the words δουλεια and λατρεια are promiscuously used; and that if there be any difference, δουλεια imports the more servile offices of the two. Alas! the common people break the cobweb-thread of such nice distinctions, which they are not able to skill of, and, as some amongst themselves have feared, fall into downright idolatry.

NOT DARING TO GIVE DIVINE WORSHIP.

But λατρεια itself, or that worship which they acknowledge to be divine, and of the highest kind which can be given to God himself, yet,

I. TO THE CROSS.

1. *They give it to the cross,* as Aquinas and Bonaventure, who are sainted amongst them, and a many others, do affirm.*—And Aquinas proves that the cross may be adored with divine adoration, because they put the hope of their salvation in it; and to that purpose he cites a hymn of that church, wherein it calls the cross its only hope. Not to speak of crosses as they are painted or carved, unto which also they give the same honour; though it is more than probable that, as they are usually made, they do not so much as resemble the cross upon which Christ suffered. But granting that the true cross upon which Christ suffered may be worshipped, (which yet we abhor to grant,) may they not be mistaken in the wood of that cross? It is certain [that] there is more wood worshipped for the wood of the cross than Simon of Cyrene (or their giant-like saint, Christopher) could ever bear. And in such a case, when they worship a piece of ordinary wood, and perhaps without its due figure to enhance it, themselves must grant that they are idolaters. But supposing that they be not mistaken, it is a wonder that they should have such a veneration for the cross, and spears, and nails by which Christ suffered, whilst that all Christians have the other instruments of his suffering (as Judas and Pilate are) deservedly in so great an execration.

2. TO THE HOST.

2. *They adore the host,* that is, the consecrated bread in the sacrament of the Lord's supper; and that with a divine worship, the very same which they would give to God or Christ himself.—And the council of Trent do accurse all that think this ought not to be done, and that the sacrament ought not thus to be worshipped.† It is strange, what they say, that a priest should make his Maker; but it is stranger yet, that as soon as he is made by him, he should fall down immediately and

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* AQUINAS, *Pars Tertia,* quæst. xxv. art. 4; BONAVENTURA *in Tertiam Sentent.* dist. ix. quæst. iv.

† *Concil. Trident.* sess. xiii. cap. 5.

worship the workmanship of his own hands: which made Averroes say, that he never saw so foolish a sect of religion as the Christians were, who with their teeth devoured the God [which] they had adored. So that, to excuse themselves from being idolaters, the best plea [which] they do use proves them worse than cannibals: for these devour but men like themselves; but Papists, if we believe this their excuse, do devour the flesh of the Son of God.

It is not my intention to speak unto that monstrous and truly senseless opinion of transubstantiation; but supposing of it to be true, yet, the church of Rome holding the intention of the minister to be necessary toward the efficacy of every sacrament,* (and by consequence that unless the priest, whilst he speaks those five transubstantiating words, *Hoc enim est corpus meum,* ["For this is my body,"] do intend by them to change the bread into the body of Christ, &c., that then there is no change wrought by them,) what a miserable danger of idolatry must all the people be in, in the mean while! They certainly cannot tell the mind of the priest; and if he be not intent, as too often they are not, upon that business, all that worship that host must be most gross idolaters, were all the opinions of their leaders granted them to be true.

3. TO THE VIRGIN MARY.

3. The last instance that I will give of their idolatry shall be *in their worshipping of the Virgin Mary.*—They call this worship which they give unto her ὑπερδουλεια· and they make it a middle sort betwixt the other two formerly mentioned. But they might call it, if that they pleased, ὑπερλατρεια· for they say unto her and attribute unto her more than unto Christ himself. Nay, they petition her to command her Son by her motherly authority; little considering that she herself called him "God her Saviour," though according to the flesh he was her Son. (Luke i. 47.)

Now though this, and much more which might be said, do very plainly prove that their worship hath got the plague-spot of idolatry upon it, and therefore that it is by no means to be meddled withal: yet they are so devoted unto it, as that they have commanded all such passages to be left out in the editions of the fathers which speak for adoration as due or to be given only unto God.† Nay, the very second commandment hath not escaped them; but they have put it out of the number of the commandments, that they of their communion might not be self-condemned when they reflect upon it.

I know that some amongst them do sew other fig-leaves together to hide this their nakedness, but in vain; for how can there be a subaltern or subordinate religious worship, unless there be a subordinate deity too? There are, and ought to be, degrees of civil respects, which are given diversely unto men, according to the various degrees of worth or authority in the objects unto whom they are paid; but the honour or worship of God, and whatsoever is due unto him as God, can no more be shared by the creature, than his infinite essence and majesty from which it flows. Neither will it serve their turn, that they say they do not worship his image with the same mind and affection wherewith they worship himself; no more than if an adulteress should plead, that though she prostitutes her body unto others, yet she does it not with the same degree of affection wherewith she embraces her husband only. Gregory de Valentia makes the hardest shift of them all to excuse this sin, by saying, that there is a lawful as well as an unlawful idolatry.* And acknowledging that they do use the former, we shall take his confession that they are idolaters; but neither he nor any other can ever prove such a contradiction *in adjecto* ["in the adjunct"] as a lawful idolatry. Well may *they* hold concupiscence to be no sin, *who* hold any idolatry to be lawful.

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* *Concil. Trident.* sess. vii.

† *Index Expurgatorius,* Madriti, anno 1612.

We can meet with no such distinctions, nor ground for them, neither, in all the word of God; but this we find there, that there is no "agreement betwixt the temple of God and idols;" (2 Cor. vi. 16, 17;) and that where idolatry is, we are bidden to depart, and to be separate, whether we might be retained or no. Whatsoever then we do or suffer in this cause, it is "for the Son of man's sake;" who himself taught us to answer all objections, and to repel all temptations unto this sin, by alleging, "Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve;" (Matt. iv. 10;) and by his beloved disciple hath bidden us to "keep ourselves from idols." (1 John v. 21.)

III. IT IS FOR CHRIST'S SOVEREIGNTY'S SAKE THAT WE ARE SEPARATED.

III. *It is for Christ's authority and sovereignty's sake that we are separated, and have our names cast out, by the church of Rome.*—Would we but magnify their usurped power, we might swear, curse, and blaspheme, commit whoredom and incest, and what not? and yet be accounted true sons of their church. Had St. Paul but cried up their great Diana, the Ephesians had not been offended with him, had he been otherwise as vicious as he was virtuous, or as profane as he was holy.

We are willing for to "obey them that have the rule over us in the Lord;" (Heb. xiii. 7, 17;) but still so as that we may keep and maintain our fealty entire unto him who is over all. We are ready to submit to governors under him in church and state; but we must remember that we and they too are under him. The legislative and sovereign power is incommunicably in Christ, and cannot be parted withal by him. Who should give laws to bind our inward man, but he that can search and try it, (Rev. ii. 23,) and can take cognizance of the performance or breach of his law by it, and can punish or reward as he finds cause?

Neither does the infallibility which the church of Rome assumes less derogate from the honour which is due unto Christ, it being a jewel of his crown. I shall not inquire where the now Roman church do make the subject of this infallibility; (for they are not agreed upon it amongst themselves;) whether it resides in the pope, or in a general council; or, if the pope be infallible, whether he be so in matters of faith, or in matters of right only. We deny either to one or to all of them.

Fallibility cannot be removed out of the mind, no more than mortality from the body, of any. They go *æquis passibus* ["with equal steps"], and are both fixed to that state which all men are born in; and they cannot put either of them off, no more than humanity itself. Nay, could there be an universal, or truly œcumenical, council, (which there never was since the apostles' times,) yet every member of that council being but fallible, the council itself could not be infallible. Not to mention any particulars which might be instanced in, which, though determined by councils and popes, yet are antiquated, and rejected by the Papists themselves.

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* Libro ii. *De Idololatriâ*, cap. 7.

It is obvious that one pope hath frequently contradicted another, and one council hath thwarted the other; and surely they were not on both sides in the right. How much safer is it to obey God's beloved Son, who "being the express image" of the Father, (Heb. i. 3,) is truth itself, and whom we are bidden for to hear! it being the character of a true sheep of Christ's fold, that he will "hear his voice," and not "the voice of strangers." (John x. 3, 5.)

In obedience then unto Christ it is that we dare not thus become servants unto men. Though we may go and come, we may not believe and disbelieve, as they please. Nay, we cannot do it if that we would; for the will hath no such power over the understanding, as to make it think or believe what it lists to be true or false. The will can set the understanding upon acting on what object it pleases; but it cannot make the understanding concerning any object think what it pleaseth; its power over it being only *quoad exercitium* ["as to its exercise"], and not *quoad specificationem* ["as to the specification of the result"].

Now this makes the government of the Romish church to be the most insupportable tyranny that the world hath ever known. Other tyrants have been content with their domination over their vassals' bodies and estates; nothing will satisfy these but to domineer over the souls of men too; and we meet with the souls of men reckoned amongst their merchandise. (Rev. xviii. 13.) And well may they so be; for the greatest traffic amongst them is for men's souls.

And whereas God declares that he gives us his commandments "for our good always," (Deut. vi. 24,) though he hath an indisputable and uncontrollable right over us, yet he commands us nothing barely that he might exercise his domination and absolute power that belongs unto him; but all his institutions and appointments are such as in their own nature would be advantageous to us, were they not enjoined by him; there being nothing that accomplishes and perfects man more than holiness and the image of God, which his injunctions, in every instance, do tend only to promote.

But, alas! what are men the better for multitudes of observations enjoined amongst the Romanists? They themselves cannot say that there is any goodness in them, but only what they derive from the authority that enjoins them. And if that authority should forbid them, or command other things contrary unto, or at least diverse from them, they would then be reputed of another nature by such who contend so eagerly for them. Though we have reason to believe that they "*call* good evil, and evil good;" (Isai. v. 20;) yet that they can *make* evil to be good, or good to be evil, is incredible unto us.

Yet these pitiful little things, which they can make for good or bad at their pleasure, they are more earnest in, than for all the great things in the law. Transgressions against the law of God written in our very hearts and natures, and transcribed thence into our Bibles, meet with little or no censure amongst them; but to doubt of any of their church's definitions, or to disobey any of her commands, in those things which never came into God's heart to enjoin, is, amongst them, a most unpardonable sin. So that, as men have been observed to love their books, being the issue of their brain and studies, more than their children, the fruit of their bodies, these men dote upon their own inventions and imaginations more than upon any thing, though by God himself recommended unto them.

And, as it ordinarily happens, the misery of the people is attended by the iniquity of their leaders: for is this to become "all things unto all men," to make their flock become whatsoever they please unto them? (1 Cor. ix. 22.) Is this to exercise their power, according to their commission, "for edification?" (2 Cor. x. 8.) Does it not impeach the wisdom of God, and the faithfulness of Christ, to make more things necessary to be believed and practised than were commanded us in the word, or told unto us by the Son of God? Is it not against the rule of charity, that bond of perfection, to lay such heavy yokes upon others, as they would not have, were they dissenters, imposed upon themselves? Does it not occasion dissimulation and hypocrisy in men, (and there is sin enough every where,) to require of those in communion with them to affirm or deny, to practise or forbear, in the things of God, every thing according to the humour of their present rulers, and especially upon such severe penalties? Formerly whosoever "confessed with their mouth the Lord Jesus, and believed in their hearts that God had raised him from the dead, might be saved." (Rom. x. 9.) And though this was somewhat enlarged in the Creed, commonly called "the Apostles' Creed," what is that to so many volumes of decrees and councils, the late ones especially of their own contriving, which the church of Rome enforces a submission unto?

St. Paul, who had "the care of all the churches" upon him, (2 Cor. xi. 28,) (especially he had "the gospel of the uncircumcision committed unto him," so that it is a wonder the popes have not claimed to be his successors; it is more for their purpose than to be St. Peter's, whose line was amongst them of "the circumcision," Gal. ii. 7, 8)—this blessed Paul, having undoubted apostolic authority, would not prescribe to the church of Rome whether all should observe a day or no, or whether they should all eat flesh or no, though no pretensions of uniformity would be wanting on the one side or on the other. (Rom. xiv. 3—6.) Nay, he was so far from imposing any unnecessary burden, that he commands his Galatians to "stand fast in their liberty." (Gal. v. 1.) Were there more of his spirit in the world, we might have less show but more substance in religion.

It is a sorry comfort that is left us, that, notwithstanding the church's commands, we may think the things commanded us as indifferent in themselves as we will, provided we do but observe them on the account of their church's injunction. For whilst we are pinched and perplexed with fears of the unlawfulness of their additions, we are apt the more to suspect that church to be but a step-mother unto us, who will cast us out of her care and family for such things which she, thinking to be indifferent, might without prejudice relax her commands concerning them; but we, thinking that our Father hath determined or commanded otherwise, cannot yield her our obedience in them. Is not this (as much as lies in that church) to "destroy them for whom Christ died?" (Rom. xiv. 15.) And to be sure it is far from endeavouring (which yet is her duty) "by all means to save some." (1 Cor. ix. 22.)

It is our unspeakable comfort in the mean while, that he whom we serve, and who is our Prince and Saviour, hath a goodness toward us answerable to his power over us: the one without the other would but speak us as miserable as now we may be happy. Christ in all his commands did not consider only the *το Θεοπρεπες*, but the *το ανθρωπινον·* he did not enjoin us all which, "as God," he might have done; but he commanded us such things only which we, "as men," could bear, and might be benefited by.

As for the power which the pope assumes unto himself, to dispense with the laws of God, it is far above whatsoever our blessed Redeemer assumed, who professed that he came not "to destroy the law, but to fulfil it." (Matt. v. 17.) But thus the pope fulfils what was prophesied concerning him, that he should "oppose and exalt himself above all that is called God." (2 Thess. ii. 4.)

Yet this opinion of the pope's or church's authority, though somewhat diversified, is such a darling opinion amongst them, that could we believe and practise all that their church propounds or commands at present, unless we will become *αυθαιρετοι δουλοι*, such "voluntary slaves" as to let our ears be bored, and henceforth never to question their dictates, nor disobey their future commands, it would not avail us toward any communion with them: for, saith Bellarmine,* "whosoever will not be fed by Peter, that is, learn of him and his successors, the popes, as judges and determiners, what he is to take for matter of faith, and what is the sense of the scripture, is none of Christ's sheep." And the very form of their church (which makes it Antichristian as much as any thing) consists in this manner of government. This is the centre of unity; from the pope, as ordinary pastor of the universal church, as from the head, all life and motion is conveyed unto every individual member.

But suppose this authority or power to be more diffused, and to be subjected not in the pope alone, but with his consistory or council; yet we cannot think that they will ever yield aught unto us, had we truth or right never so much on our side: for whilst they hold their church to be infallible, and that she cannot decree amiss in any matters of faith or practice, we can never rationally hope for any redress. For so long as they maintain their church's infallibility, they will not alter nor rescind any one thing, were it to save the whole world; for if they do, their church's infallibility is gone for ever; and it is by that craft that they have their wealth.

This, then, being the case between us and the church of Rome, that she hath separated us, and cast out our names, not for any opinion or practice that she can charge us with contrary to the word of God, or the duty of Christians, but rather for keeping the commandments of God, and the faith of Jesus, we may "rejoice and be exceeding glad," as we are bidden, that we are thus reviled and persecuted for the Son of man's sake; for not only our "reward shall be great in heaven," but here on earth too. (Matt. v. 11, 12.) For, as our Saviour found the blind man after he had been cast out for confessing of him, and imparted unto him a more full knowledge concerning himself; (John ix. 35;) so Christ hath found the Protestant churches, and afforded them his presence and care, communicating his light and love unto them. And nothing is more to be bewailed than that they have not been answerable unto such mercy toward them. We may truly say, that God hath turned their curse into a blessing unto us: that *brutum fulmen*, their "thunderbolt" of excommunication, hath not hurt one hair of our heads, much less hath it entered into our souls. For, as Thomas de Curselis in the Council of Basil did well observe, "though Christ says, 'Whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven;' he doth not say, 'Whatsoever thou shalt affirm to be bound shall be so.'" * And as the excommunication of the Jewish sanhedrim, denounced against Christ's disciples, brought them so much nearer unto their Lord and Master, and aliened the Jews themselves, removing them so much farther from the kingdom of heaven; so do all unjust censures unite us to the apostles, &c., by this conformity with and participation of their sufferings.

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* *De Verbo Dei*, lib. iii. cap. v. sect. 4.

HOW OUT OF THE CHURCH THERE IS NO SALVATION.

As for what the church of Rome doth so frequently triumph in, and thinks to scare us with, namely, that "out of the church there is no salvation," it is to be considered,

1. *This to be true indeed of the catholic church.*—Taking it not as they do, for all them, and only them, that are under the pastorship of the pope, but for all the real and living members of Christ; for *they* only are truly his body, *that* are enlivened by his Spirit. Thus the apostle joins them together: "There is one body and one Spirit;" (Eph. iv. 4;) and elsewhere he says, that unless the Spirit of Christ be in you, you are none of his. (Rom. viii. 9.) As every member of the body [is], and only the members of that body are, acted by the same soul; so is it in the mystical body of Christ too. And it is the concern of all to obtain the Spirit of Christ, and to live the life of Christ, without which they cannot obtain salvation by Christ, who is "the Saviour only of his body."

2. *We acknowledge that it is every one's duty to join himself unto, and not causelessly to depart from, a visible church that professeth the faith and keepeth the institutions of Christ.*—Every one ought to inquire where it is that this great Shepherd "feedeth, and maketh his flock to rest;" (Canticles i. 7;) and every needless departing from such a church does endanger salvation, in that it makes a man truly guilty of schism, which is a great sin against charity, so highly recommended unto us; as also in that such an one withdraws himself from those societies and meetings unto which Christ hath promised his presence, and God bestows his blessing. (Matt. xviii. 20.)

3. *But where this cannot be obtained, or is not sinfully neglected or refused, one may be saved without being joined to any visible church*

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* DR. HAMMOND, "Of Schism."

whatsoever.—If a Pagan, or a Jew, that is imprisoned in a country where the Christian religion is not professed, (being, by reading or conference, through the goodness of God, brought to the knowledge of the truth, and to profess it, living answerably unto it,) though he should die before that he could come to enjoy church-communion, we have no reason to doubt of his salvation; our Saviour having told us, that whosoever believeth in him hath eternal life. (John vi. 40.)

WHAT WE THINK CONCERNING THE CHURCH OF ROME.

But more particularly as to "the church of Rome:" (for so we call them that, professing to hold the Christian faith, are united in subjection and obedience unto that see, and do acknowledge the pope their universal pastor:) when we call them "a church," we mean no more than that they are a society or company of men who make profession that they are Christians. Thus the Laodiceans are called "a church," (Rev. iii. 14,) though they were "wretched, and miserable, and poor, and blind, and naked," and we do not read of a sound part amongst them. (Verse 17.) Thus God himself calls the ten tribes his people, after their defection, by reason of circumcision, which they yet retained, and their being the offspring of Jacob. (Hosea iv. 6.) In this sense, soundness of faith is no more essential to a church, than health is to a man. And as a man that hath the plague or leprosy is still a man, though to be shunned; so they may be thus a church, though by all means to be forsaken. But as they themselves take a church for "a company of true believers joined together in communion," so they are no church, their faith being far from the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ.

THEIR SUCCESSION BROKEN.

As for the succession [which] they so much stand upon, and a lawful ministry, only to be found amongst them: no church in the Christian world hath ever had so many interruptions, sufficient to destroy, according to their own principles, the lawfulness of their ministry. How many schisms have there been in that church! one of which alone lasted about fifty years; in which space there was not one person in all their communion but was excommunicated by one pope or other, the right pope being ever he that had most force or fraud; not to mention the simony and heresy which some of them were so notoriously guilty of. And any of these are sufficient to break the chain of succession amongst them: for I hope that they will not allow an excommunicated person to have a power of ordination.

But beside this, they who are ordained by any amongst them, not being ordained to the work of a minister, to preach, or feed the flock of Christ, or to serve him in the holy things of his own institution, but to "sacrifice the body of Christ for the living and for the dead,"—how can they be gospel-ministers? This certainly is not a gospel-ministration, nor hath so much as a show of it; but it is a repetition rather of the Jews' cruelty.

But, to prevent further objections and mistakes, we grant,

TWO THINGS GRANTED TO THEM.

1. *That the church of Rome was a very famous church, whose "faith was spoken of throughout the whole world."* (Rom. i. 8.)—(Thus the seven churches of Asia, at least some of them, were eminent and praiseworthy.) But they can challenge no privilege from what they have been; lest the Jews themselves come in with their pretensions too, who were once the only church and people of God. There is no greater stench than that which comes from a human body when the soul is once withdrawn; nor is there any thing more abominable, in God's account, than that church or society (call it what you will) from whom the Spirit of truth, who formerly did inform and enliven it, is departed.

2. *We grant that the church of Rome had precedence before all other churches.*—But I would not be mistaken; it hath had precedence before them, but for very many centuries no superiority over them; and this precedence which they had, was only because Rome was the imperial city, and seat of the empire. And it is most likely that for this cause the epistle to the Romans was put before all the other epistles; the place in which that church was gathered, and the persons probably of which it did consist, being more eminent and conspicuous than others. But when Constantinople came to be the seat of the emperor, and made and called New Rome, it contested for that very precedency. And to this purpose it is remarkable that the patriarchates and dioceses into which the church-government was then divided did answer to the partitions and divisions under the civil governors in that empire: which did make indeed the ladder for the bishop of Rome to climb unto this height by.

WHAT THEY FARTHER PRETEND UNTO.

As for their pretensions to the pope's universal pastorship, and superiority over all churches: they had need to produce an authentic patent for it, what they have already shown making nothing for their purpose. But I shall wave any farther discourse upon that subject, because it is out of my sphere at present; as also although we should grant the church of Rome all her pretensions, &c., yet upon supposition,

WHICH HOWSOEVER WILL NOT SERVE HER TURN.

First. *That she is corrupted in her doctrine and worship;* and,

Secondly. *That she excludes and anathematizes all that do not join in those corruptions with her;* (both which particulars have been proved;) we may satisfy ourselves in being parted from them, and answer all that they can say, with these two conclusions:—

FOR TWO REASONS.

CONCLUSION I. *God never did require of us to join with any person or church in their sins; much less that we should sin in order to the obtaining of salvation at his hands.*—God's rule is, that we should not "do evil that good may come of it." (Rom. iii. 8.) And were the communion with their church never so useful, yet if it cannot be had without sinning, it must not be had at all. If the terms or conditions of communion with them have any thing of sin in them, they had as good tell us that we should fly in the air, or count the sands on the sea-shore; and in case we did not, that then they would not receive us into their communion, or that, being in, they would cast us out. For such things as are *morally* impossible, (as an assent to any error, or a consent to any false worship, must needs be,) are as unreasonably required of us, as any thing that is *naturally* impossible could ever be. And if on this account there be a rent from them, the fault is in them that require such things at our hands; as, being contrary to the mind and will of God, cannot be done by us. We, being innocent, nay, commendable in the forbearing of them, (as the innocent person is in the case of a divorce,) must needs be free.

Conclus. ii. *It is sometimes necessary to forsake a visible church. Nay, more: it may be necessary to believe and act directly contrary to the authority of the present church.*—Thus the Jews were bound to believe our Saviour for to be the Messias, and to hear and obey him in all things; though they were forbidden so to do by the high priests and rulers, who, we know, determined concerning Christ that he was a seducer and a blasphemer. Yet what would not the church of Rome give to have so clear and full a testimony for her definitive power in all controversies, as that Jewish church had derived unto it from God himself? (Deut. xvii. 8, 9.)

But God never parted with his sovereignty which he hath over all men; and where his mind and will is evident, that must be a law paramount unto us, though it should be never so much gainsayed by any other. All other superiors are subordinate unto him, who is the only Lord in chief; nay, "King of kings, and Lord of lords." (Rev. xix. 16.) And as those soldiers do but their duty, who, out of a sense of their sworn allegiance to their prince, will not join with their commander in the betraying of a fort or town; so if we dare not betray the truths of God nor the souls of men unto the will of any whomsoever, we doubt not but that God does approve of our fidelity unto him, and will say unto us at the last, "Well done, good and faithful servants." (Matt. xxv. 21.)

And thus I have gone through some of those many things which we have to plead for our separated condition from the church of Rome, whom we have so long, so undeservedly, suffered under. But though they have nothing for us but execrations and curses, fire and faggot, yet let us return our bitterest lamentations over them, and heartiest prayers for them. It is a lamentation, and shall be for a lamentation, that so many millions of precious souls are walking in paths which lead to "the chambers of death." (Prov. vii. 27.) O that we could pluck them as "brands" out of "everlasting burnings!" (Zech. iii. 2; Isai. xxxiii. 14.) One means only I would caution against; namely, our becoming theirs in hope to make them ours. I might observe how God hath blasted all such endeavours; and that they have more strengthened their hands and weakened ours, than all the weapons or arguments that ever were used by them: and, above all, God hath expressly commanded us to "come out of her," and not to "partake of her sins." (Rev. xviii. 4.) But if, by our careful and faithful instructing, our meek, charitable, and holy living, we can gain any of them, we "shall hide a multitude of sins," and our "labour shall not be in vain in the Lord." (James v. 20; 1 Cor. xv. 58.)

APPLICATION.

In the mean time, if we should suffer still by them for well-doing, the text affords us considerations enough to sweeten such a suffering condition unto us.

THREE CONSOLATORY INFERENCES.

1. In that *it is but from men.*—"When men shall hate you." Now we know [that] there is a *nil ultra*, an "utmost" that men can do: it is but to the body, and it is but in this world. (Matt. x. 28.)

2. *It is "for the Son of man's sake" that we thus suffer.*—And if he had required greater matters of us, would we not have done them? I am sure that he hath deserved them at our hands. Besides, these do turn for a testimony unto us of the truth of his doctrine, whose words we find so exactly fulfilled amongst us unto this day; not to speak of the consolation which shall abound "by Christ" in all them in whom "the sufferings of Christ do abound." (2 Cor. i. 5.)

3. *Christ hath pronounced such sufferers blessed.*—"Blessed are ye."

(1.) *It is Christ's judgment on our case and condition.*—And he, we may truly say then, sees not as man sees. What blessedness in the opinion of men can there be to be hated, separated, reproached? &c. But,

(2.) *It is not a bare opinion* (though his could not be erroneous) *that we are blessed, but it is Christ's effective sentence.*—His *dicere* is *facere:* Christ doth "make" them blessed whom he "pronounces" to be so; and he can make a blessed persecution. If he bless, who can curse? (Num. xxiii. 8.) Or if they do, he can turn their cursings into blessings. Well may we then conclude with the prayer of the Psalmist: "Lord, let them curse, but bless thou." (Psalm cix. 28.)

SERMON IX. (XXV.)

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THE LORD JESUS, WHO IS THE ONLY FOUNDATION OF HIS CHURCH, IS THE PRESERVER OF ITS DURATION, IN SOME MEASURE, VISIBLY THROUGHOUT ALL AGES.

THE VISIBILITY OF THE TRUE CHURCH.

And I say also unto thee, That thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church; and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. —Matthew xvi. 18.

Our blessed Lord, being within the territories of Cæsarea Philippi, (near Lebanon and the fountains of Jordan, where Philip, the tetrarch of Ituræa and Trachonitis, had his royal seat or throne,) was pleased to put two questions to his disciples:

1. Whom did men commonly suppose him to be?
2. Whom more especially did *they* judge and acknowledge him?

To this demand Peter, "in the name of the rest," [*] (for our Lord propounded the question to them all,) replies, and confesses him to be the true Messiah, the Son of the living God.

Upon this glorious confession, our Lord and Saviour,

1. Pronounces a heavenly blessing to Peter; (verse 17;)
2. Acquaints him and the rest present, that upon Himself, whom he had confessed to be the Son of the living God, not only Peter, but his whole church, should be firmly built. (Verse 18.)
3. He makes a promise, to him and the rest, of ministerial power; (verse 19;) which he performed unto all, when he breathed on them the Holy Ghost. (John xx. 22, 23.)

In the eighteenth verse, beside the preface, "And I say also unto thee," we have three principal parts:—

1. *Encomium Petri*, or "a laudatory testimony, bestowed upon Peter," and, in him, upon all of whom he had demanded answer: "Thou art Peter," &c. In which our Lord does not now first give him that name: for that was done before, in John i. 42; where our Lord told him, that thenceforth he should "be called Cephas or Peter, which is by interpretation, A stone;" as God of old had declared concerning the name of Abraham and Israel; (Gen. xvii. 5: xxxii. 28;) and as Elizabeth, about the name of her son John. (Luke i. 60.) In this denomination of *Peter*, there is a manifest allusion to the following words, by an elegant *paronomasia* or ϖαρασημειωσις· [†] "Thou art *Peter;* whom I have formerly

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[*] *Petrus ex personâ omnium apostolorum, &c.*—HIERONYMUS *in loc.* tom. ix. p. 30.

[†] GLASSII *Rhet.* tract. ii. cap. 2. "An elegant play upon words, or significant allusion." —EDIT.

called by the name of *a stone*, to note thy being built upon that Foundation-stone, that Rock of ages, whom the Father hath laid in Zion."

2. *A declaration of our Lord concerning his church:* which he compares to a house, palace, or city. Wherein observe,

(1.) *The foundation of this building:* "'On this rock,' representing Him whom thou hast confessed."

(2.) *The architect:* "I will build."

(3.) *The edifice:* "My church." Not any particular church, exclusive to others; but the whole church catholic. This text assigns no diploma or privilege to the church of Jerusalem, Antioch, Constantinople, Carthage, or ancient Rome, or any other particular church, otherwise than as parts and parcels of the whole church; or as there may have been found in them such as by lively faith and sound doctrine were built upon Christ, the only true and living Rock, the sure and precious Foundation of his church. As to the timing of the verb, "I *will* build;" that no way excludes the ancient fathers before our Lord's incarnation, who "all died in faith," and without whom we are not made perfect; (Heb. xi. 13, 40;) but notes the continuation of this divine work in building up the church, till the top-stone be laid, in the end of the world, with acclamations of grace. It presignifies the enlargement of the church among the Gentiles by the ministerial edification of the apostles; according to that famous prophecy in Zachary of the latter times, when "they that are far off shall come and build in the temple of the Lord;" (Zech. vi. 12, 15;) consonant to the tenor of the whole New Testament.

3. *The perennity or perpetuity of the church:* our Lord adds a promise as strong as the foundation itself; for "the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it;"—that his church shall be *monumentum ære perennius*, more durable than heaven and earth; for they "shall pass away with a great noise, and the elements shall melt with fervent heat, the earth also and the works that are therein shall be burned up." (2 Peter iii. 10.) The foundations of the earthly mountains may be set on fire: (Deut. xxxii. 22;) Ætna, Vesuvius, and Hecla may vomit out their burning bowels; the channels of the sea may appear, and the inmost caverns of the world be discovered; (2 Sam. xxii. 16;) nay, "the foundations of heaven may be moved and shake," and its pillars tremble, when God is wroth: (verse 8:) but the church of God shall persist and endure against all assaults, against all oppositions imaginable. For it is *His* church, against *whom* all created power is but weakness, their machinations and contrivements a thousand times more frail than the most delicate and tender web of a spider. (Isai. lix. 5.) The waves that foam against this rock, dash themselves in pieces; and (as the prophet elegantly) they are "cut off as the foam upon the water;" (Hosea x. 7;) as bubbles (puffed up with swelling pride and animosity against the church) suddenly subside, and shrink into the bosom of their primitive water. "The gates of hell shall never prevail against it." The glorious building of the church,—assaulted it may be and shall be; but prevailed upon, or demolished, never. Like Mount Zion, she shall never be moved: nay, she "cannot" be moved; (Psalm cxxv. 1;) for "the Highest himself hath established her:" (Psalm lxxxvii. 5:) there is her *inward* stability:

and as to the repelling of all *external* force and fury, "as the mountains are round about Jerusalem, so the Lord is round about his people from henceforth even for ever." (Psalm cxxv. 2.) The church shall never be extirpated out of the world. The rain may descend, the floods rush, and the winds roar, and beat upon this house; but it stands inviolable against all weathers and storms: for it is founded upon the Rock. (Matt. vii. 25.) Enemies may fret awhile, fume and boil in the brine of their own anger, and, like bodies molested with sharp and corrosive humours, become self-tormenters; at last are emacerated, wasted, and dissolved. It is wisdom itself [that], having "hewn out her seven pillars, hath built this house," (Prov. ix. 1,) truly deserving the honourable name of St. Sophia, (more than that magnificent structure at Constantinople,) the temple of "sacred wisdom."

The farther explication of the words may be referred to the handling of this position, or main point, deducible out of the bowels of this text:—

OBSERVATION.

That the Lord Jesus Christ, the eternal Son of the living God, is the only Foundation of his church, and the Preserver of its duration in some measure visibly throughout all ages.

Wherein three things are to be discussed, in such a method as a textual sermon may admit:—

I. We are to treat *of the church of Christ; what it is, and whereof it consists.*

II. *Of the foundation of the church; that it is Christ, and Christ only.*

III. *Of the duration and continuance of the church upon this glorious and strong foundation, in some state of visibility through all ages;* though sometimes it may appear more conspicuous, and sometimes less. As the sun may be sometimes eclipsed, and that totally, to some places in the terrestrial globe; though in itself never extinguished, nor its radiant beams wholly withdrawn from all parts of the hemisphere at the precise time of the complete interposure of the moon's body: sometimes he may be mantled in a sable cloud, and that for many days together: sometimes he may have driven his chariot to visit our antipodes: sometimes his visible diameter is larger, and sometimes lesser: sometimes he warms our zenith, and sometimes comforts the antarctic pole. Neither is the queen of the night a less fit resemblance, being much more variable in her phases and appearances. Such hath been the fate of the church of God: now direfully eclipsed by bloody persecutions, then shining out the more illustriously; now clouded with thick veils of error and heresy, then vigorously conquering by the bright rays of truth; now dim and dusky by the thick fogs and mists of superstitious ceremonies, then more beautiful and orient in her naked simplicity and apostolical lustre, being "clothed with the sun and a crown of twelve stars upon her head." (Rev. xii. 1.)

I. As to the first: *What the church of Christ is.*—We find it here compared to a house, to a stately palace or prince's mansion, or castle of defence, built upon an impregnable rock. Nay, it is "the house of the living God," (1 Tim. iii. 15,) typed by that ancient sumptuous temple of Solomon. (1 Kings vi. 1; Isai. ii. 2; Micah iv. 1.) Sometimes it is resembled to a city, to the city of David, founded and built upon the renowned mountain of Zion; (Psalm xlvi. 4; xlviii. 1; lxxxvii. 3; Rev. xxi. 2;) which shadows forth both its duration and visibility. But the metaphor, as a veil or a glass, being laid aside; as, under the notion of a quick rock, we contemplate the only-begotten Son of the living God; so, by the regular and well-polished materials of the super-imposed building, we are to understand the "lively stones" mentioned in Peter, which, coming to him by faith, are "built up into a spiritual house." (1 Peter ii. 5.) Such as compose the structure of the church, are the adopted children of God: the learned of the Reformed churches have a little varied in expressions, but agree in the substance:—that the church of God is a company of holy persons, chosen of God from eternity in Christ unto eternal life. The church consists of men, not of angels; and therefore must be visible. They are holy ones, not hypocrites or profane persons, who may sometimes thrust into the communion of the external visible church. They are such who in God's due time are called out of the world, by the ministry of the word, and the inward efficacious grace of his Spirit. Let us sum up these particulars in that declaration which the church of England hath exhibited to us:—

"The true church is an universal congregation or fellowship of God's faithful and elect people, built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the head corner-stone. And it hath always three notes or marks, whereby it is known: *pure and sound doctrine; the sacraments ministered according to Christ's holy institution;* and *the right use of ecclesiastical discipline.*" *

Upon the particular branches of this description I must not enlarge; only acquaint you at present, that I shall here treat of some peculiar points referring to that true real church of Christ whereof our Lord speaks in this text: such as, being founded upon him by faith, cemented to him by love, "worships him in spirit and in truth:" (2 Thess. ii. 13; Acts xxvi. 18; John iv. 24:) against which all the powers of darkness shall never prevail; but [which] shall continue successively throughout all ages here upon earth; sometimes shining more clearly, otherwhiles more obscurely; yet always in some measure visible and discernible by the marks of true doctrine, worship, and discipline: and at length shall be wholly translated to eternal communion with Christ their most glorious Head in the highest heavens.

II. As to *the foundation of this church.*—We assert that Jesus Christ is the Rock, the solid and only foundation, whereupon it is built: which may be demonstrated, (I.) NEGATIVELY, or EXCLUSIVELY, *as to all others.* (II.) POSITIVELY, *as to Christ himself.*

(I.) EXCLUSIVELY: *No other is or can be admitted for the rock or foundation of the church.*—Επι ταυτῃ τῃ ϖετρᾳ, "On this single individual rock will I build my church." No other can communicate in this high and supereminent honour.

OBJECTION. But some may say, "Does not the pronoun in the text relate most properly to the next antecedent, Peter; and not to Christ? Is it not more genuine?"

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* "Homilies of the Church of England," in the second part of the Sermon for Whit-Sunday.

ANSWER I. This grammaticism will not conclude. For,

1. It is commonly otherwise in many other places of scripture; as Gen. x. 12; John viii. 44; Heb. xii. 17; Acts xix. 5; (?) and particularly, Matt. xxvi. 26. If, in that enunciation, "This is my body," "this" should be referred to "bread," the immediate antecedent; then (as the learned observe)* there is an end of their doctrine of transubstantiation,—if they will press such a grammatical nicety upon that, as upon this, text. But,

2. Though the name of Peter be found nearest in words, yet it is also observed that the person of Christ in most proper sense and relation stands nighest to the rock upon whom Peter was built; and who had received that denomination from his confession of the true and living Rock, the Son of God, "the Christ." (Matt. xvi. 20.)

ANSWER II. But, laying aside that grammatical contest, let us show that Peter was not, could not be, the rock whereon the church is built.

For, 1. *Peter was but a man.*—Now no mere man can sustain the wrath of an infinite God, or redeem the church by his blood. The apostle determines *Him* to be God, *who* "hath purchased the church by his own blood:" (Acts xx. 28:) and the author [of the epistle] to the Hebrews declares, that the same person who "had by himself purged our sins, is set down on the right hand of the Majesty on high;" (Heb. i. 3;) the same to whom the Father speaks, "Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever;" (verse 8;) that High Priest who is "entered within the veil;" (Heb. vi. 19;) that "Son of God who is passed into the heavens:" (Heb. iv. 14:) "Such an" one "became us, who is made higher than the heavens;" (Heb. vii. 26;) "Christ, the Head of the church, who is also the Saviour of his body, and gave himself for it;" (Eph. v. 23, 25;) "who loved us, and washed us from our sins in his own blood." (Rev. i. 5.)

2. *Peter was a frail mortal man.*—But God had his church, and that built upon this Rock, before ever Peter was born, and continued [it] after his death and funeral. God the Father had "laid this foundation," מוּסָד מוּסָּד *fundamentum fundatum*, "this strong foundation," long before Isaiah's time; (Isai. xxviii. 16;) which the Chaldee paraphrase glosses thus: מֶלֶךְ מֶלֶךְ חַקִּיף גִּבָּר רְאֵמְתָן "The King, the powerful King, the strong and terrible." And Rabbi Solomon expressly: "The King Messiah; that he may be in Zion a stone of munition and strength;" as Petrus Galatinus † recites out of him and others of the rabbins. The prophets of old, as well as the apostles, built upon this foundation. (Eph. ii. 20.) Besides, when Peter came upon the stage, he goes off again: and when Peter dies, must the church perish? The foundation being gone, the building must needs tumble. Neither does our Lord any where speak of or promise to any successors so great a privilege,—to step into his room, to lie in the foundation, and to be the supposed Atlas of his church: and were it so, then Peter personal must be dismissed.

3. *Peter was a sinful man.*—And that by his own confession: "Depart from me; for I am a sinful man, O Lord:" (Luke v. 8:) and this was acknowledged after that our Lord had called him by the name of

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* GLASSII *Gram. Sacr.* lib. iii. tract. ii. can. 10.

† GALATINUS, lib. iii. cap. 21.

Peter. Nay, more than so: Peter erred in faith about the death and resurrection of Christ; and our Lord rebuked him sharply, as being under a temptation of Satan. (Matt. xvi. 22, 23.) Nay, he thrice denied our Lord. (Matt. xxvi. 75.) But because some would apply the promise in the text to a performance after the resurrection, the holy scripture (as if on purpose to obviate these futilous objections) sets it down, that even *then* he did not ορθοποδειν, not "walk uprightly" in the gospel; (Gal. ii. 14;) and Paul "withstood him to the face, because he was to be blamed." (Verse 11.) Shall we then think that the church was founded upon a sinful man? since "such a high priest becomes" the church, "who is holy, harmless, undefiled, and separate from sinners;" (Heb. vii. 26;) "a Lamb without blemish and without spot." (1 Peter i. 19.)

4. *Peter determines the point himself, and expounds the prophecy in Isaiah of Christ.*—And he himself doctrinally lays down Christ for the true and only Foundation in the Zion of the church; disallowed indeed by Pharisees and the proud builders of Babel, but approved of God, (1 Peter ii. 4—7,) and solemnly preached by Peter at Jerusalem, (Acts ii. 22, 14,) and unanimously attested by all the apostles, and recognised for the only true Foundation of the church. (Acts iv. 11, 12.) Will any, then, that so admire and adore Peter for their own ends, yet dare to gainsay him to the face, and force him into the foundation so flatly against himself?

5. *Peter, as mere Peter, could never victoriously grapple with the assaults of Satan.*—He had been finally and fatally foiled, had not Christ prayed, had not this Rock sustained him. The church must have a foundation against which all the gates of hell can never prevail, and which infuses virtue and invincible consistency into the building itself; as if a quick and living rock should inspire and breathe, into the stones of a palace fixed upon it, some of those mineral eradiations wherewith itself is endued, to preserve it from mouldering and turning into dust. The church must have a vital and quickening foundation; that it may not only stand against impetuous winds, but be a growing temple, (Eph. ii. 21,) and "increase with the increase of God." (Col. ii. 19.) The church hath such potent, subtle, and furious enemies, that she needs strength from the "mighty God of Jacob, the Shepherd, *the Stone of Israel;*" (Gen. xlix. 24;) one that is stronger than that infernal strong man armed; (Luke xi. 21, 22;) a "Lion of the tribe of Judah," (Rev. v. 5,) that can tear that lion of hell in pieces.

Since, then, Peter was but a mere man, a frail mortal man, a sinful man, weak and impotent to resist the powers of darkness, and one that absolutely rejects any such honour from himself or any other, as abhorring such derogation from the glory of his and our most blessed Saviour; let us infer that "this rock" in the text can in no wise be meant of Peter, or any other of the apostles. And that this was the sense of the ancient church, I might abundantly prove: let it suffice to recite but two or three testimonies.

Chrysostom, on this text, "Upon this rock," expounds it, Τουτεστι, Τῃ ϖιστει της ὁμολογιας·[*] "On the faith of confession;" that is,

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[*] Chrysostomus, tom. iv. p. 344. edit. Eton.

"Upon Christ, in whom thou believest, and whom thou hast confessed." And let Chrysostom explain himself: Ουκ ειπεν, Επι τῳ Πετρῳ· ουτε γαρ επι τῳ ανθρωπῳ, αλλ᾽ επι την ϖιστιν την ἑαυτου, εκκλησιαν ῳκοδομησε·[*] "He said not, Upon Peter; for he did not build his church upon a man, but upon the faith of himself."

In like manner AMBROSE, or his contemporary, upon the second of the Ephesians, citing this text: *Super istam petram; hoc est, in hac catholicæ fidei confessione statuo fideles ad vitam:*[†] "Upon this rock," that is, "Upon this confession of the catholic faith, do I fix, settle, or build, believers unto salvation."

But, of all, none more clear than AUSTIN, in his sermons upon Matthew: *Super hanc petram quam confessus es, id est, Super meipsum, Filium Dei vivi, &c. Super me ædificabo te, non me super te, &c.*[‡] "Upon this rock whom thou hast confessed; that is, Upon myself, the Son of the living God, &c. I will build thee upon me, not me upon thee." Again, in his one hundred and twenty-fourth treatise on John: *Super hanc petram quam confessus es, &c.: petra erat Christus, super quod fundamentum etiam ipse ædificatus est Petrus:*[§] "Upon this rock which thou hast confessed, &c: the rock was Christ, upon which foundation even Peter himself was built." Again, in his tenth treatise upon the Epistle of John: *Super hanc petram, &c.: super hanc fidem; super id quod dictum est, Tu es Christus, Filius Dei vivi, &c.:*[||] "'Upon this rock,' &c.: upon this faith: upon that which had been spoken of:" (that is, by Peter:) "Thou art Christ, the Son of the living God." So that when Austin or other of the fathers explain "this rock" by "this faith" or "this confession," we see, they understood it objectively of our blessed Lord, the Son of God.[¶] Many more might be cited, but I hasten.

OBJECTION. Some have replied that "though Peter be not the main, principal, and essential foundation of the church, yet he may be admitted as a secondary, a vicarian, a ministerial foundation, without detriment to the honour of Christ."

ANSWER 1. I answer, This secondary foundation is an absurd distinction, and contrary to the very nature of a foundation. Whatever is laid upon the foundation is a superstructure or part of the building. Vitruvius, the grand master of Roman architecture, taught his Romanists no such fond language, when he mentions foundations in three several places;[**] nor Barbarus upon him, nor Palladius. Let us pass, then, from artificial, to the metaphorical or spiritual, buildings, for whose support scripture supplies us with no such additions or coagmentations with the main foundation. If any urge out of St. Paul, that the Ephesians were "built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets;" (Eph. ii. 20;) it must be understood of a doctrinal foundation, not an essential: for Christ himself is expressly there termed "the corner-stone," the λιθος ακρογωνιαιος, "the grand, massy stone, that fills up the whole area, and reaches to all four corners;" "on whom" solely "all the building," ϖασα, "the whole building," "is fitly framed together." (Verse 21.) The apostles, indeed, did lay this foundation, and no other; (1 Cor. iii. 11;) and the Ephesian saints were "built upon this foundation of the apostles," that is, which the apostles did lay; and so it is called *their* foundation *architectonicè* ["architecturally"], or by a metonymy. They, preaching the doctrine of faith in Christ, did lay down for the sole rock this great and fundamental point, (though rejected of the Jewish builders,)—that "there is none other name given under heaven among men, whereby we must be saved." (Acts iv. 11, 12.)

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[*] CHRYSOSTOMUS *in Homil. i. in Pentecost.* tom. viii. p. 979.

[†] AMBROSIUS *in Ephes. ii.* p. 1998. edit. Paris. 569.

[‡] AUGUSTINUS *in Matth.* serm. xiii. tom. x. p. 58, edit. Bas. 1569.

[§] Idem *in Joh. Evang.* tract. cxxiv. tom. ix. p. 572.

[||] Idem *in Epist. Johan.* tract. x. tom. x. p. 649.

[¶] So Sixtus II. *in Decret.* GRATIANI, caus. xxiv. quæst. i. cap. x. col. 1835.

[**] VITRUVIUS, lib. i. cap. 3, 5; *et* lib. iii. cap. 3.

2. Again: this their secondary foundation (which, we say, is doctrinal only) must be co-extended to all the apostles and prophets, by the plumb-line of the same text: and therefore their laying of Peter for the only foundation, though but secondary, will sink as in the moorish ground by Tiber, and will prove no single foundation at all; for all the other apostles are joint-heirs of the same pre-eminence. Holy Paul, speaking of such a doctrinal foundation, says, that he preached the gospel where Christ was not named, "lest he should build upon another man's foundation." (Rom. xv. 20.)

3. Hence it appears, that the preaching of the gospel of Christ is all the foundation that the apostle pretends to; namely, to a doctrinal laying of Christ, as the true foundation of His church. Paul was but a workman, a labourer, dexterously handling his evangelical instruments; and Peter was no other. Nay, Paul testifies, that "he laboured abundantly, more than they all," in laying this foundation, and building upon it; (1 Cor. xv. 10;) for, "So," says he, "we preached, and so ye believed." (Verses 11, 12.) "No other foundation can any man lay"—he speaks it ῥητως και αντιῤῥητως, "both expressly and exclusively," —ϖαρα το κειμενον, *præter quod jactum vel positum est*, "No other beside it." Μηδεν εστω μεσον ἡμων και Χριστου, "None between us and Christ," as Chrysostom glosses it; and proceeds: Αν γαρ γινεται τι μεσον, ευθεως απολλυμεθα· ουδε το μικροτατον·* "If any thing interpose between us and Christ, though in the least, we perish presently."

4. Again: if Peter had been any such secondary foundation, surely Paul, who "received the gospel by the revelation of Jesus Christ," (Gal. i. 12,) would, nay, must, have excepted him from the rest of the apostles, or at least have conjoined him with Christ, and have laid single Peter next and immediately upon him. But this is Vatican doctrine, and to be found nowhere but in the feigned Acts or Revelation of Paul, which Gelasius condemned for apocryphal.

To conclude, then: since our blessed Lord and Head of the church hath declared no vicegerent; being a spiritual King, "the Son of the living God," who "searches the reins and hearts," (Rev. ii. 23,) and is omnipresent by his Divinity, and promised to be with his church in all ages by virtue of his Spirit, (Matt. xxviii. 20,) he needs no viceroy, has instituted or appointed none: and [since] Peter exercised and performed no such office; but calls himself συμπρεσβυτερος, (as it is in the Greek,) "a fellow-presbyter" with "such as feed the flock of Christ:" (1 Peter v. 1, 2:) since Paul and John make all the apostles equal in preaching and laying down this foundation,—the doctrine of faith in Christ, the Son of the living God: (Rev. xxi. 14:) let us, then, fairly lay Peter aside, without any diminution to his apostolical honour, which we greatly reverence, and look upon him as "perfectly equal" *(pari consortio,* as Cyprian speaks *) with the rest of the holy apostles; and let us with all adoration and joy behold Him, whose shoe-latchet Peter was not worthy to loose, as laid by the Father in Zion; and firmly believe in him as the Son of the living God, whom Peter confessed to be the rock, and preached him up in the face of the elders of Israel for the only Foundation of the church. (Acts iv. 10, 11.)

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* CHRYSOSTOMUS *in* 1 *Cor. iii.* tom. iii. p. 297.

If Peter, then, be not the essential and personal foundation of the church; (which were blasphemy to assert;) if the secondary foundation be a nullity; then down fall all the pretended successors of Peter, whether at Cæsarea in Palestine, or Antioch in Syria, or any of the cities of Pontus and Lesser Asia: much more, their wooden seat at Rome; (as Baronius shapes it, *ad ann.* 45. n. 11;) as the furthest, so the weakest, pretenders to succeed "the apostle of the circumcision." (Gal. ii. 7, 8.) Nay, although it were granted that he were at Rome, which some learned men stiffly deny; though he might suffer at Rome, which others out of Jerome and Lyra insinuate to be a misinformation, and that he was crucified by the Jews: these things impair not our cause; since Peter had no more power than any other of the apostles, and therefore could transmit no more to his supposed successors. For it is a stated rule in their own canon-law: *Nemo plus juris in alium transfert, quàm sibi competit:* † "None can transfer that to another, which he hath not himself." And that other for a successor: *Is qui in jus succedit alterius, eo jure quo ille uti debebit:* ‡ "He that succeeds in another's right, must content himself with the right of his predecessor."

(II.) POSITIVELY: *that Christ, our holy and blessed Redeemer, is the only true and real foundation and rock of the church.*—"Other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ." (1 Cor. iii. 11.) He is that "elect and precious corner-stone," on which all true builders do edify the church of God: (Eph. ii. 20:) "Being rooted and built up in Him, and stablished in the faith." (Col. ii. 7.) To this the apostle Peter brings-in his clear evidence: "To whom," as the foundation laid of God, (Isai. xxviii. 16,) "ye coming, as living stones, are built up a spiritual house." (1 Peter ii. 4, 5.) Parallel to this of a foundation, is that other metaphor of a head, taken from the natural body; in which respect Christ is every where declared to be this glorious Head of the church: He "is the Head of the church, and the Saviour of the body." (Eph. v. 23.) As the head is strictly conjoined to the living body, so between Christ and the church there is a sacred and intimate union. (Rom. xii. 5; 1 Cor. xii. 27; Eph. i. 23; iv. 15; Col. i. 18, 24.) As the head, by the several conjugations of the nerves, propagated from the brain and spinal marrow, derives those curious volatile and vital influences, for the actuating of the several senses and for the rule and government of the whole body in all its motions; so doth Christ vivify and quicken the spiritual senses, instruct, guide, and govern every member of his spiritual body the church. (Col. ii. 19; Heb. v. 14.) To confirm this a little, and pass to the third branch of the text:—

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* CYPRIANUS *De Simp. Prælat.* p. 163, edit. Bas. 1520; MARSILII PATAVINI *Defensor Pacis,* pars ii. cap. 16, p. 198. † Regula Juris 79, in vi. *Decretal.* lib. v. ‡ Regula 46.

1. *God the Father "gave Christ to be Head over all to the church," and exalted him "far above all principalities, and hath put all things under his feet."* (Eph. i. 21, 22.)—God laid him in Zion for a foundation, and no other. (Isai. xxviii. 16.) The church is the "city of God, and he hath established it for ever." (Psalm xlviii. 8.) It is built upon "his foundation in the holy mountains, and the Highest himself will establish her." (Psalm lxxxvii. 1, 5.) The head-stone of the corner fixed in Zion is of the Lord's doing. (Psalm cxviii. 22, 23.) And as the foundation, so the whole edifice of the church is οικοδομη Θεου, "the building of God." (1 Cor. iii. 9.)

2. *Christ in the text builds his church upon no other than himself.*—Επι ταυτῃ, "On this rock will I build my church." And Christ, being the Son of God, is more honourable than Moses, because He builds this house of the church. (Heb. iii. 3.)

3. *The Spirit of God fits no other "for a habitation of God" but this church, built upon this foundation;* (Eph. ii. 22;) *he increases no other with divine and heavenly growth but this.* (Col. ii. 19.)

4. *Such a foundation must be laid, against which the gates of hell shall never prevail: but Christ only is such a foundation.*—Because he lives, the church lives also. (John xiv. 19.) No mere man can perform this function. Peter falls not finally, because Christ prays prevalently. Paul stands stoutly against the buffets of Satan in the sufficiency of Christ's grace and power. (2 Cor. xii. 9.) And all the saints are victorious and triumphant and "more than conquerors through Him who loveth them;" (Rom. viii. 37;) and sing that επινικιον ["song of victory"] in his name,—and wave the imperial standard, the flag of triumph, like that of Constantine, *Sub hoc vinces,**—in the sacred words of Paul: "Thanks be to God, who giveth us the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ." (1 Cor. xv. 57.) Since, then, God the Father hath laid no other foundation, and Christ builds upon no other, and the Spirit influences and quickens no other; since no other can support and defend the church; let us pronounce them blessed whom God hath joined, and let none dare to impose or conjoin another at their eternal peril. It is an idol-foundation of their foolish brains: our glorious Lord will not give his honour to another.

III. We are now in view of the third and last branch of the text: *the duration of the church of Christ, in some state of visibility, throughout all ages;* fortified by the promise of Christ, that the gates of hell shall be successless in their attempts against it.

The church, as it is built on Christ, as far as it coheres and sticks close to this Foundation, by that virtue communicated to it from the intimate connexion with and union to Christ, can never be dissolved and perish; neither can external adverse power demolish it, or secret subtlety undermine it, so as to render it altogether invisible: and therefore it must and shall so persist throughout all ages.

We have here three parts considerable:—

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* "Under this cross shalt thou conquer."—EDIT.

1. *The church's opposites.*—Πυλαι ᾁδου, "the gates of hell," or "of death and hell." I shall not dwell upon the niceties of these terms. Let it suffice that they signify the infernal powers of darkness, and all that are animated or inspired by them with subtle counsels, and irritated into cruel machinations and warlike agitations, against the church. Not only open persecutors, but cunning heretics, do build the gates of hell, and discharge their artillery against the city of God. As Origen spake of Marcion, Basilides, and Valentinus, those ancient heretics, Ἁιδου ϖυλην ῳκοδομησαν,* that "they built several gates [of hell]" in the city of Babylon; so may we say of Nero, Trajan, and Diocletian, the ancient persecutors, They mounted their battering-rams, and managed the *ballistæ fulminales;* † they shot their enraged arrows against the church of God: and their followers have been no less sedulous, though as unsuccessful, to this very day.

2. The *grandia molimina,* "their great undertakings."—They shall put forth all their strength and policy; whatever the lion and serpent can entwine together. What a cunning Julian could contrive, or a fierce Maximinus execute, against the church; whatever the wit, malice, and power of earth and hell could with most inflamed rage either enterprise or achieve; hath been carried on to the utmost: but all in vain. They "imagine a vain thing against the Lord and his anointed." (Psalm ii. 1, 2.) The church, like her glorious Head, shall never see corruption, though all the puissance of the adverse city march into the field against her. The Egyptian "city of destruction" (to allude to that in Isai. xix. 18) shall attempt; but all shall prove ineffectual: for the name of this city is *Jehovah-shammah,* "The Lord is there." (Ezek. xlviii. 35.) The church hath been assaulted *vi et arte,* "by open force and secret fraud;" but "no weapon formed against Zion shall" finally "prosper." (Isai. liv. 17.)

3. *The church's duration.*—She must and shall continue till all the enemies' arrows are spent, their courage daunted, and their city ruined and laid in ashes: for the Lord "will miserably destroy those wicked men." (Matt. xxi. 41, 42.) And our blessed Saviour proves it out of Psalm cxviii. 22: For "the stone which the builders refused is become the head of the corner." "Whosoever shall fall on this stone shall be broken: but on whomsoever it shall fall, it will grind him to powder." (Matt. xxi. 44.) This is that "burdensome stone" in Zachary: (Zech. xii. 3:) this is the stone with seven eyes engraven upon it; (Zech. iii. 9;) the stone cut out of the mountain, that shall "fill the whole earth." (Dan. ii. 34, 35.)

For the handling [of] this third part of the position,—the church's duration in all ages,—it is necessary to know this church by those notes and τεκμηρια that have appeared as "notable characters" of the true church in all ages, against which the gates of hell have set their principal batteries; and thereby to evidence and prove its continual duration and visibility.

NOTES.

Since, then, the church is built upon Christ, the Rock of ages; since Christ is the only Head and Bridegroom of the church, he the only chief

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* ORIGENES *in Matth.* Græc. et Lat. edit. 1668, p. 277.

† "Engines for hurling hurtful projectiles."—EDIT.

Shepherd; and since that which makes the intimate union between Christ and the church is, faith wrought in the hearts of all the true members by the Spirit of Christ; this may be one note:—

NOTE I. *That wherever this doctrine of justification by faith in Christ has been maintained and sincerely defended,* THERE *hath been visibly the true church of Christ.*—And it might be amply evinced, that this heavenly doctrine hath been conserved in all ages against all the furious assaults of its enemies.

NOTE II. *Since Jesus Christ, the only Head of the church, is her glorious Lord, the Son of the living God; he ought to be worshipped by her.*—"He is thy Lord; and worship thou him." (Psalm xlv. 11.) And this worship must be performed "in spirit and in truth." (John iv. 23.) But here, because all the three persons in the Divine Essence are one God, I shall consider this worship as terminated objectively in God essential. (John v. 23; xii. 26.) And since that this most holy and glorious God abhors idolatry, and worshipping of him by idols, images, pictures, or any other symbol, to represent him, or by which (as helps to devotion) to ascend and inflame the heart in worship; this may be set down as another note of the true church, which keeps the commandments of God in point of worship. (Rev. xiv. 12; mentioned before, verse 9.) And, indeed, in respect to worshipping of God by images consists the very essence and formality of the second commandment. The first being *de objecto cultûs,* that God is the true and only "object of religious worship;" the second is *de modo et mediis cultûs* ["concerning the mode and means of worship"]; that God, who is exceeding jealous of his own glory, detests and abhors to be worshipped by the intervention of idols, and to present any adoration before them; though men may excuse it, and profess that God is the ultimate term of their worship.

But these things I must leave to be more amply insisted upon by such whose peculiar province it is to handle them more distinctly. But so far it is necessary here to use and improve them as critical marks and notes of the true church; the one in point of doctrine, the other in point of worship. The true church of Christ hath in all times, according to the holy scriptures, borne a testimony to these two grand points: and I shall endeavour to prove it as to both. There be other points, I confess, and very material, whereby this truth might be exemplified; but I chose these as cardinal.

(1.) For the point of *justification by faith.*

This particular is best worded in scripture-language, to which all must adhere. Though men's sentiments may vary in the explication, yet I think it most fit to lay it down in the words of holy Paul, indited by the Spirit of God:—

"That a man is justified by faith without the works of the law:" (Rom. iii. 28:) they have no ingrediency into our justification before God. If they had, it were not by grace: "And if by grace, then it is no more of works." (Rom. xi. 6.) And this work of free grace proceeds on to salvation itself: "For by grace are ye saved through faith; and that not of yourselves: it is the gift of God: not of works, lest any man should boast." (Eph. ii. 8, 9.) "Not by works of righteousness which we have done, but according to his mercy he saved us: being justified by his grace." (Titus iii. 5, 7.) That which the apostle had set down privatively before, here he sets it down negatively; as in that to the Galatians: "A man is not justified by the works of the law, but by the faith of Jesus Christ," &c. (Gal. ii. 16.) Now, whereas their cardinal * and others would have Paul to exclude the works of the ceremonial law, not the works of the moral law or the gospel; that cannot stand: for then we should still be justified by works. But the apostle puts works and faith in a diametrical opposition; and, after that he himself was in a regenerate estate, desired to "be found in Christ, not having his own righteousness, which is of the law, but that which is through the faith of Christ, the righteousness which is of God by faith;" (Phil. iii. 9;) and [declares] that though he were "conscious of nothing by himself, yet herein he was not justified;" (1 Cor. iv. 4;) yea, that works done with faith, *ex ratione operum*,† "upon the account of works," do not justify, as the apostle amplifies it in the case of Abraham; (Rom. iv.;) no, nor faith itself, as a work, but as it apprehends the Lord Jesus Christ. (Rom. iii. 22.) And yet the apostle charges Titus to "affirm constantly, that they which believe in God must be careful to maintain good works; for these things are good and profitable to men." (Titus iii. 8.) They are necessary to salvation, though they have not a formal ingrediency into our justification. The holy apostle professes, that by this faith in the Son of God he did live, (Gal. ii. 20,) and in this faith he would die; desiring to be found in no other at the appearing of Christ. (Phil. iii. 9, &c.) This was the ancient faith of the primitive apostolical church of Christ, and "the good old way" of the ancient Roman. On this rock Christ hath built his church; namely, on himself by faith. This is *articulus stantis atque cadentis ecclesiæ:* ‡ "the grand article, which being maintained, the church flourishes; being rejected, she perishes."

I might here, out of every age of the church since our Lord, produce clear evidences for this doctrine of Paul, dictated by the Spirit of God. I might show its preservation by the ancient fathers, and how attested by some of the councils; by whom it may appear in what countries this apostolical doctrine was taught and embraced:—by Hilary in France, Ambrose in Lombardy, Chrysostom in Syria and Thrace, Jerome in Palestine, Austin in Africa, Basil in Lesser Asia, and many more. But, not to swell the discourse too largely, I shall only exhibit two or three testimonies in distant ages,—of Clement, Ambrose or his contemporary, and Bernard; after whom this truth glittered forth in the confessions of the Waldenses, in the doctrine of Wickliffe, and shined forth most gloriously more and more till the great Reformation appeared.§

Let us begin with CLEMENT; who was *συγχρονος*, &c., "contemporary" with Peter and Paul, as Epiphanius accounts in his discourse of the heresy of the Carpocratians.‖ He, in his first Epistle to the Corinthians, speaks disertly to this point: *Ου δι' ἑαυτων δικαιουμεθα, ουδε δια της ἡμετερας σοφιας, η συνεσεως, η ευσεβειας, η εργων ὧν κατειργα-*

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* BELLARMINUS *De Justif.* lib. i. cap. 25. † RIVETI *Controv.* tract. iv. quæst. 10, p. 265. ‡ LUTHER. § SCULTETI *Annales*, p. 11. ‖ EPIPHANII *Panarium*, lib. i. tom. ii. p. 107, vol. i. edit. Petav. 1622.

σαμεθα εν ὁσιοτητι καρδιας· αλλα δια της ϖιστεως δι' ἡς ϖαντας τους απ' αιωνος ὁ Παντοκρατωρ Θεος εδικαιωσεν· ᾧ εστω δοξα εις τους αιωνας των αιωνων. Αμην.[*] "We are not justified by ourselves, nor by our wisdom, understanding, piety, or works which we have wrought in holiness of heart; but *by faith*, by which God Omnipotent hath justified all from the beginning (of the world): unto whom be glory for ever and ever. Amen."

Let Ambrose succeed, who flourished at Millane [Milan]: or whoever was author of those Commentaries, he was co-eval to Damasus, and was much of the same age with Ambrose; Bellarmine judges him to be Hilarius Diaconus. *(De Script. Eccl.* p. 98.) And he declares this expressly on that text: "Being justified freely by his grace:" (Rom. iii. 24:) *Quia, nihil operantes, nec vicem reddentes,* SOLA FIDE *justificati sunt, dono Dei:*[†] "They are said to be 'freely' justified, because, working nothing, nor rendering any duty or service, [they] are justified *by faith alone:* it is the gift of God." And this, "by faith alone," he four times repeats in his exposition upon the fourth chapter. Nay, Gratian in the third part of the *Decretum* cites him thus: *Gratia Dei in baptismate non requirit gemitum, non planctum, vel opus aliquod, sed* SOLAM FIDEM; *et omnia gratis condonat:*[‡] "The grace of God in baptism requires not mourning, or lamentation, or any work, but *faith alone;* and He freely forgives all." Where the new Gloss, indeed, set forth by Gregory XIII., says, that Gratian took this citation out of the ordinary Gloss, not out of Ambrose himself; whose words on the eleventh to the Romans are, *Nisi solam ex corde professionem,*[§] "Except a profession only from the heart." Which is true; but it seems hereby, that both Strabus, the author of the Gloss,[||] and Gratian took the mind of Ambrose more clearly than these new Glossators. For, before, Ambrose speaks of the Jews, their returning to faith; and after uses these words: *Hoc decrevit, ut* SOLAM FIDEM *poneret per quam omnia peccata abolerentur:* "God decreed this, that he might appoint *faith alone* through which all sins might be abolished." So that now we have Ambrose and Strabus and their own Gratian, all agreeing in this doctrine of faith alone. Here, though these Commentaries by some are not judged to be genuine to Ambrose, yet, since they are cited by Strabus, and the synod of Paris, A.D. 825, (p. 655,) and Gratian, and urged by Romanists in their own cause, they ought not to reject them. For it is a rule in the canon-law, *Quod pro se quis inducit, &c.:* "What testimony any bring for themselves, they ought not to reject when brought against them." *(Dist.* 19, cap. *Si Romanorum.)* However, we may put Hilary in his room; *in Can. viii. in Matth.* expressly: Fides sola *justificat,* that "*faith alone* justifies." *(Edit. Basil.* 1523, p. 355.)

The next shall be the testimony of Bernard of France, who died in the year 1153; who expresses himself thus: *Tam validus ad justificandum, quàm multus ad ignoscendum. Quamobrem quisquis pro peccatis compunctus esurit et sitit justitiam, credat in te qui justificas impium; et*

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[*] Clementis *Prima ad Corinth.* edit. Jun. p. 41, Oxon. 1633.

[†] Ambrosius, edit. Paris, 1569, col. 1819.

[‡] Gratiani *Decret.* pars iii. dist. iv. *de Consecr.* cap. 99, edit. Romæ, col. 2635; whereby we see, Ambrose was anciently taken to be the author of the Commentary.

[§] Ambrosius *in Rom. xi.* col. 1862.

[||] Trithemius *De Script. Eccles.* fol. 56, B.

SOLAM *justificatus per* FIDEM, *pacem habebit ad Deum.*[*] "He is as powerful to justify, as to 'multiply pardon.' (Isai. lv. 7.) Wherefore whoever, being under compunction for his sins, hungers and thirsts after righteousness, let him believe in thee who justifiest the ungodly; and being justified *by faith alone,* he shall have peace with God." And then he proceeds to exhort to holiness by eyeing and following of Christ. And otherwhere: *Credens* SOLA FIDE *hominem posse salvari, cum desiderio percipiendi sacramentum, &c. Si mors anticipet, &c.*[†] "Believing that a man can be saved *by faith alone,* with a desire of receiving the sacrament," &c. "If death should prevent," &c.

I shall not expend more time with further allegations of the ancients, or any particular discussion of these, or of that famous canon of the council of Carthage,[‡] or that other of Orange, (cap. 5 et 6,) under Leo I.: neither shall I recite the testimony of learned Bradwardine,[§] or the ancient Confessions of faith set forth by the Waldenses. I might show that this doctrine hath been held, by the faithful in all ages, consonant to the holy scriptures: unto which the church of England hath given a full and ample attestation, both in her Articles and Homilies:[||] "Whoever preaches contrary to these Articles is to be excommunicated;" *(Canones,* 1571, tit. *Concionatores,* p. 20;) which are the test and touchstone of the soundness of the members of this church. "Of the Justification of Man," the eleventh Article: "We are accompted [accounted] righteous before God only for the merit of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, by faith, and not for our own works or deservings. Wherefore, that we are justified *by faith only,* is a most wholesome doctrine, and very full of comfort; as more largely is expressed in the Homily of Justification."[¶] If we look then into the Homilies, we find, that, after this doctrine is asserted, and proved by scriptures and several of the fathers, it is added, "This saying,—that we be justified *by faith only,* freely and without works, as being unable to deserve our justification at God's hands, &c.; and therefore wholly to ascribe the merit and deserving of our justification unto Christ only, and his most precious blood-shedding,—this faith the holy scripture teacheth. This is the strong rock and foundation of Christian religion. This doctrine all old and ancient auctors [authors] of Christ's church do approve. This doctrine advanceth and setteth forth the true glory of Christ, and beateth down the vain-glory of man. This whosoever denieth, is not to be compted [counted] for a Christian man, not for a setter-forth of Christ's glory; but for an adversary to Christ and his gospel, and for a setter-forth of man's vain-glory."[**] Blessed be God for this excellent sermon of the church of England, which all good Christians do *ex animo* ["heartily"] reverence and embrace! To which a person of great note[††] may well be admitted to bring-in a gloss or comment: "As for such as hold, with the church of Rome, that we cannot be saved by Christ alone, without works; they do, not only by a circle of consequence, but directly, deny the foundation of faith; they hold it not, no, not so much as by a thread." And again: * "That *faith alone* justifieth,—by this speech we never meant to exclude either hope or charity from being always joined as inseparable mates with faith in the man that is justified; or works from being added as necessary duties required at the hands of every justified man: but to show that faith is the only hand which putteth on Christ to justification." Which agrees with that known saying: *Fides sola justificat, sed non solitaria:* "Faith stands alone in the work of justification, but is always attended with the sanctifying fruits and effects of the Spirit of God." And thus Austin reconciles Paul and James. (AUGUST. *Lib. de Diversis Quæstionibus,* col. 599, tom. iv. Basil. 1569.)

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[*] BERNARDUS *in Cantic.* sect. xxii. fol. 130, B.

[†] *Epist. lxxvii.* fol. 194, A.

[‡] Anno 418. JUSTELLI *Cod. Can. Eccl. Afric.* p. 293.

[§] *De Causâ Dei,* lib. i. cap. 43, p. 392.

[||] *Canones* 36, 46, 51, anno 1604.

[¶] Article xi., composed 1562, and printed 1571, p. 8.

[**] "Book of Homilies," in the second part of the sermon "Of Salvation," second edit. p. 854. 4to, 1563; and in fol. 1655, p. 16.

[††] HOOKER in [his] "Discourse of Justification," p. 500, at the end of his "Polity," 1622.

Now, to conclude: What says "the convention at Trent" (as Henry II. of France termed it) † to this scriptural and apostolical doctrine of the Reformed churches? Truly they proceed no higher than to curse such as say [that] men are formally justified by the righteousness of Christ; that is, essentially, purely, and exclusively: which they explain in the very next canon, and curse them again who shall say that men are justified by the sole imputation of Christ's righteousness, &c.‡ And they curse them again that shall say, that justifying faith is nothing else than a trusting of the divine mercy, forgiving sins for Christ's sake, &c.§ Nay, they tell us, "It becomes the divine clemency not to forgive us our sins without any satisfaction;" ‖ that is, of ours. To which they annex a cursing canon against such as affirm "that the whole penalty is always remitted of God together with the sin, and that there is no other satisfaction of penitents (required) than faith, by which they apprehend Christ to have satisfied for them." ¶ By these and the foresaid testimonies, all may see what is the doctrine of holy scripture, of the primitive times and the succeeding ages of the church; (which might be abundantly amplified in testimonies;) and what is the doctrine of the Reformed churches, and of ours in particular; and what is the doctrine of the Romanists, how opposite, how contradictory. But let us descend to a second inquiry; and that is about a great point of worship.

(2.) Concerning *the worship of God by images.*

Let us now show that the church of God, consonant to the holy scriptures, hath in all ages given notable testimonies against idolatry, and the worship of images, or of God by images, as being flatly against the second commandment. As faith is that bond and ligament which unites the true church and every living member thereof to Christ their Head, so pure worship is the honour and reverence and obedience which the spouse of Christ renders to her Lord and Husband, who will not communicate his glory to graven images. (Isai. xlii. 8.) Idolatry is compared to whoredom in scripture, that dissolves the knot of marriage. God sent a bill of divorce for this cause to the ancient external church of the Jews, (Isai. l. 1; Jer. iii. 8,) and expressly upon this account denounces against her that she was not his wife: (Hosea ii. 2:) and will God, think you, spare any particular Gentile church, guilty of so fearful a crime; having annexed that high argument of his jealousy against such as violate the second commandment, and reputing them as haters of him, and whom he will judicially visit with great detestation?

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* "Polity," p. 513.

† *Hist. Conc. Trid.* lib. iv. p. 369.

‡ Sess. vi. can. 10, 11.

§ *Ibid.* can. 12.

‖ Sess. xiv. can. 8.

¶ *Ibid.* can. 12.

For the exhibition of this point,—how the true church of God hath in all ages held close to the institutions of chaste and holy worship in spirit and truth,—I might transcribe testimonies out of all the ancients, that were the luminaries and columns of the primitive church, down along till Gregory the Great; and after his time, also, many notable and pregnant instances, through the very depth of Popery, both of emperors and churchmen, that did stoutly resist that growing abomination in the world. I shall, to avoid prolixity, mention some of the councils that have determined against this point, and draw to an issue.

That of Elvira near Granada in Spain, celebrated A. D. 305, (as Baronius thinks,) is peremptory in the case;[*] and I shall desire to cite it out of Agobardus, because of that his ancient testimony, about the year 830, to the truth of this canon, which runs thus: *Ab orthodoxis patribus definitum est picturas in ecclesiâ fieri non debere: Nec quod colitur et adoratur in parietibus depingatur:*[†] "It is enjoined by the orthodox fathers, that pictures ought not to be in a church: 'Nor let that be painted on the walls which is to be worshipped and adored.'" It were vain to spend time to show how Albaspinæus and others shift and shuffle about this canon. Let that good old bishop of Lyons, Agobardus, living so many hundred years nearer the time, give his sense upon it: "Let us keep the King's highway; the apostles, the masters (or teachers) of the church,—they have taught it," &c. "Let God be adored, worshipped, reverenced: let us sacrifice to him alone, either in the sacrament of the body and blood, or of a contrite heart," &c.[‡] "Let us look upon a picture as a picture, without life, sense, and reason. So, likewise, if we see winged angels painted, or the apostles preaching, or the martyrs suffering torments, we can hope for no help," &c. "Wherefore, to avoid this superstition, the orthodox fathers did rightly determine," &c., in the canon aforesaid.[§] The very same is extant in Ivo, only *ne* put for *nec*;[||] and so it is read in Sixtus Senensis and Burchardus.[¶] And [to show] that Agobardus understood this canon aright, against any religious worship to be given to pictures and images, he further adds, "Neither let their deceitful craftiness run to their old starting-holes, to say that they do not worship the images of the saints, but the saints themselves;" (that is, by the images;) "for God cries out, 'I will not give my glory to another, nor my praise to graven images,'" &c.[**] Nay, further; so strict were the good fathers of that synod aforesaid, that they would not suffer any idols in their houses. To conclude: the authenticalness of this synod must not be questioned, since several of its decrees are recited by Gratian, whose whole work is confirmed by Eugenius III., and, by others succeeding, canonized for church-law and the government of ecclesiastical courts.[††]

But let their confirmation be how it will, it is a notable testimony against them, even in that age: and however Sixtus Senensis and Albaspinæus would evade, as if it were decreed against the Heathens' images and pictures, as in the eleventh canon of the twelfth council of Toledo, that is but a weak shift; for, was it ever known that the Christians brought the pictures or statues of the heathen gods into their churches? No, no; the fear was of a new kind of imagery, and of worshipping of God and our Lord and saints and angels by representations and pictures; which at length obtained dreadfully, to the high dishonour of God, contempt of his commandments, the ruin of the eastern empire, and fearful judgments on the western.

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[*] *Concil. Elibertinum*, can. 36 et 41; Baronius, ad annum 305, n. 39, &c.

[†] Agobardi *Opera*, Paris. 1605, p. 254.

[‡] Pp. 251, 252.

[§] Page 253.

[||] Ivonis Carnotensis *Decret.* lib. iii. cap. 40, Lovan. 1561.

[¶] Sixti Senensis *Biblioth.* lib. v. annot. 247; Burchardus, lib. iii. cap. 35, p. 85, B.

[**] Agobardus, p. 254.

[††] As Trithemius affirms *De Script. Eccles.* p. 73, A.; and finally by Gregory XIII. in his Roman edition.

It were too long to trace what direful stirs and commotions were in the east about the time of the second council of Nice; and what excellent testimony was given against it by the council of Frankfort, and the four books of the emperor Charles the Great, the synod *Gentil. ac Parisiens.*, &c., and by the church of England, in an epistle written to Charles by Alcuinus in the name of the princes and bishops of our land, execrating that idolatry, as Hoveden and Simeon of Durham testify;* but, notwithstanding all opposition, how it prevailed in every age, till at last it was finally ratified at Trent; and what eminent witness hath been all along raised up by God against it. These things, being matter of fact and story, would rise to a just treatise: and many things relating to it being amply handled by Rainolds, Usher, Mede, and Daillé,† &c., famous in their generations, who have skilfully handled the sword taken from behind the ephod; I shall come to a close of this paragraph; only recommend to your diligent reading those excellent Homilies of the church of England "against the Peril of Idolatry;" which, if well read and digested, I hope, by divine blessing, may prove a sovereign antidote against the creeping cancer of Romish idolatry. But, I suppose, this will be the subject of a complete position among these Exercises, and therefore at present shall enlarge no further.

COROLLARIES.

And now let us hasten to some inferences or conclusions flowing from this text and point,—of Christ being the only Foundation of his church, enduring throughout all ages, united to him by their most holy faith, and adhering to him by holy and pure worship.

COROLLARY I.

From what has been hitherto treated of, we may learn which is the true church of Christ; and where it hath subsisted and been preserved in all ages; and how to discern and know it, and the true members thereto belonging; namely, by its being built upon Christ alone, the firm rock and basis of its constitution.

Such are to be owned for living members, who acknowledge Christ, the Son of the living God, to be the true and only Head of the church: such as are built upon Christ, and the doctrine of the holy apostles and prophets: (Eph. ii. 20:) such as adhere to the scriptures, and receive and refuse things as they are proved or rejected by scripture:

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* HOVEDENII *Annales*, p. 232, B., edit. Lond. 1596; and SIMEON DUNELMENSIS, col. 111. Lond. 1652 † RAINOLDUS *De Idol. Eccles. Rom.*; USHER'S "Answer to the Challenge in Ireland;" MEDE'S "Apostasy of the latter Times;" DALLÆUS *De Imaginibus*.

to whom both Peter and Paul and James and all the apostles' writings are equally precious: that dare not advance human traditions into a parity of honour with the divine writings of scripture, dictated by the Spirit of God; which teaches by what notes and characters to discern the true church of God: (not like those abominable wretches who, finding Paul so directly levelled against them, thought of censuring his epistle as savouring of heresy, and the author for a hot-headed person:)* that tremble at such devices, and dare not try the church by glorious and pompous visibility, universality, and continual succession of bishops in one place, looking upon them as false and counterfeit notes; but by pure scripture-doctrine, by sacraments rightly administered, by adherence to Christ alone for righteousness and justification in the sight of God, by spiritual and scriptural worship, and such-like. We deny not, but firmly hold, that the true church of Christ hath been always in some measure visible; *visibilis, licet non omnibus visa;*† capable of being seen and known by such whose eyes are anointed by scripture eye-salve. Indeed, if that were true which we find in the Roman Catechism, set forth by the authority of Trent, concerning that article in the Creed about the church: *Præcipuè in hoc articulo ecclesia bonorum simul et malorum multitudinem, &c., significat;* ‡ that "'the church' in this article doth principally signify the multitude both of good and evil:" then, indeed, there might be some tolerable plea for the splendour and perspicuity of the church in most ages. But when we consider the sharp persecutions raised against the apostles and the primitive church by the Jews, and against their successors by the Gentile, Pagan empire;—so fierce and terrible that Diocletian doubted not to erect columns of triumph over Christianity among the *Arevacæ* in Spain, (which some take to be remembered in Arevacco near Madrid,) with these inscriptions: *Nomine Christianorum deleto;* and, in another, *Superstitione Christi ubique deletâ:* § namely, "The name of Christ being extinct;" and, "The superstition of Christ being every where abolished;" or when we reflect upon the Αριομανια, "the violence of the Arians" against the sincere embracers of the holy doctrine of Peter,—that Christ was the eternal Son of the living God, and so notably determined by the first council of Nice; or when we call to mind the astonishing tragedies acted by the Papal power for about twelve hundred years against such as have kept close to the same apostolical faith and purity of worship; we may well take up the *threnodia* or "lamentations" of the apostle concerning the church under the Syrian princes: "They wandered about in sheep-skins and goat-skins," &c. "(of whom the world was not worthy:) they wandered in deserts, and in mountains, and in dens and caves of the earth." (Heb. xi. 37, 38.) True is that of Hilary,—that the church did meet with the apostles *intra cœnacula et secreta,* ‖ "in chambers and secret places;" who afterwards, sighing out his complaints against the Arians, [exclaims,] *Malè ecclesiam Dei in tectis ædificiisque reveramini:* "You do ill to reverence the church of God in stately buildings," &c.

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* Sir Edwin Sandys's "Survey of Religion in the West," p. 116, edit. Lond. 1637.

† "Visible, though not seen by all."—Edit.

‡ *Catechism. Rom.* p. 79, Antverp. 1591.

§ Occonis *Numism. ad Heracl.* 4to. Antverp. 1579.

‖ Hilarius *Contra Auxentium*, p. 282.

Montes mihi et sylvæ et lacus sunt tutiores : * "I count the mountains, woods, and marshes to be more safe." And as the Gloss cites him: *Potiùs in cavernis ecclesiam delitescere, quàm in primariis sedibus eminere :* "That the church is rather to be found lying hid in secret caverns, than to be eminently conspicuous in principal sees."

But, not to heap up witnesses, the testimony of the church of England, in that notable Homily "against the Peril of Idolatry," may suffice once for all, out of Eusebius and Austin: "That when Christian religion was most pure and indeed golden, Christians had but low and poor conventicles, and simple oratories, and caves under ground, called *cryptæ;* where they (for fear of persecution) assembled secretly together." † And so it hath continued more or less during the Papal dominion; according to the prophecy, that the woman, that is, the church, should recede into a wilderness-state for twelve hundred and sixty years from the taking up of Constantine into heaven. (Rev. xii. 6, 14.)

The true church of Christ, consisting of all its members, (the greater part whereof is triumphant in heaven, and the rest militant upon earth; on which account only is it to be genuinely called "catholic,") ‡ cannot properly be styled "visible to the eye of sense," but, according to our ancient Creed, "to the eye of faith." We believe there is such a church, all whose true members are certainly and only known to God. (2 Tim. ii. 19.) For, what eagle-sighted angel can search the heart, and positively determine the truth of faith in that sealed fountain, whereby the heart flows out in streams of love unto Christ? Against such a soul, against a society composed of such heavenly members, against such a church, the gates of hell shall never prevail. But against a Catholic, external, visibly glorious church, the gates of hell have so far prevailed in many ages, that she hath been reduced into a very low and gloomy estate; as she was in the vision of Zechary, when the "man riding upon a red horse stood still among the myrtle-trees that were in the bottom by night." (Zech. i. 8.) Our Lord promises the church's existency and its perennial duration throughout all ages, and his own presence among his myrtle-trees in a dark bottom, and his walking among his golden candlesticks in the deep night of adversity; but not its glory and perspicuity, not triple crowns and eminencies. Peter never came forth shining with precious stones, and glistering in silks, and overlaid with gold, and prancing on a white palfrey, guarded with Switzers, and hemmed in with a crowd and noise of servants; as Bernard accosts Eugenius IV., telling him [that] in these he succeeded the imperial Constantine, and not Peter.§ Our Lord never promised such glory and splendour; those fine things become another kind of creature in the Revelation. (Rev. xviii. 16.)

The true church hath usually been as indigent of silver and gold as the true Peter; (Acts iii. 6;) yet hath been preserved in all ages from extremity and ruin. Some particular churches, some members of the true and invisible catholic church, whereof Christ is the Head, have been always marching along the howling wilderness of this world toward

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* HILARIUS *Contra Auxentium,* p. 286.

† "Homily," part iii. p. 72, B. 4to.

‡ Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield's [MORTON] "Grand Imposture," p. 9.

§ BERNARDUS *De Cons. ad Eugen.* lib. iv. fol. 142, B.

Canaan. The church hath been mostwhile in a troublous and desert estate; few Elims of palm-trees to sit under, or fountains in which to wash her sacred eyes: yet, as to purity of worship and the food of heavenly manna, she hath always enjoyed some Moseses, some pastors to feed her in the wilderness, such as have prophesied to her all along. (Rev. xii. 6; xi. 3.) Her faith in Christ, and chaste love to him, have been clearly discerned by none but his holy eye; especially in times of general defection from the truths of God, when, as to her secret communion in ordinances, none but such whose eyes are clarified in the crystal streams of holy scripture, have been able to discern her. But there have been some few times, when very Balaams, having climbed up into the mountain of contemplation and stood upon a prophetical rock, and looking toward this wilderness, have cried out in an ecstasy, upon a sight of the glorious beauty of the church, "How goodly are thy tents, O Jacob, and thy tabernacles, O Israel! As the valleys are they spread forth, as gardens by the river's side, as the trees of lign-aloes which the Lord hath planted, as cedar-trees beside the waters." (Num. xxiv. 1, 5, 6.) The church hath been always visible *in se* ["in itself"]: God hath left no age without a witness of the pure word dispensed, of the two sacraments duly administered, and of spiritual worship and order managed in a comely, apostolical manner, without the garish dresses of human fancies and institutions; which are the only proper notes, marks, and characters, where the true church hath been and is, and where the faithful pastors are to be found, who "stand in the counsel of God." (Jer. xxiii. 22.) But who can help, if blind men cry out [that] they see her not? or [if] such as want the optic-glass of scriptures, and call for a gay, splendid, sensual appearance of glittering and costly ceremonies,—whose ears [are] filled with temple-music, their eyes ravished with stately pictures and Babylonian images portrayed with vermilion, (Ezek. xxiii. 14,) and their nostrils perfumed with the rich odours of Arabia,—cry out, *Templum Domini*, "The temple of the Lord is here?"

Was not Nebuchadnezzar's image dedicated with great glory, set off with concerts of music, and attended with numerous worshippers? Alas! this universal consent, grand acclamations, copious assemblies, uninterrupted successions in mitred habits, splendour and pomp and grandeur, are not the tokens of His kingdom; which "cometh not with observation," (Luke xvii. 20,) or, as Agrippa and Bernice, μετα ϖολλης φαντασιας, "with stately and splendid presence." (Acts xxv. 23.) Heathenism and Turcism may plead for a suffrage in such cases. Christ's flock is a "little flock." (Luke xii. 32.) "In this world ye shall have tribulation," says our Lord; (John xvi. 33;) and "in many tribulations we must enter into the kingdom of God." (Acts xiv. 22.)

Now here I might, out of several ancient records and monuments, show the succession of some parts of the true church of Christ in France, in the Alpine valleys, and in Britain, and elsewhere in the East; where true doctrine (and, for the main, true discipline and worship) hath been preserved all along, though secretly, for the most part, and not with external glory and splendour: but that would infringe upon the dispatch of the remaining corollaries.

COROLLARY II.

This text, and doctrine thence deduced, discover all false-pretending churches from the true.

Such as lay any other foundation than Christ the Son of God, such as "hold not the Head," (Col. ii. 19,) such as build not upon the doctrinal foundation of the holy apostles and prophets, cannot be true churches of Christ. Let good Hilary be judge: *Quisquis Christum, qualis ab apostolis est prædicatus, negavit, Antichristus est:*[*] "He is the Antichrist, whoever denies Christ," *qualis*, "'such as' he is preached by the apostles." Then such as are departed from the doctrine of the apostles in fundamental points, are counted by Hilary Antichristian societies. To him we may adjoin holy Austin: *Mendax est Antichristus, qui ore profitetur Jesum esse Christum, et factis negat. Opera loquuntur, et verba requirimus? Ideò mendax quia aliud loquitur, aliud agit. Quis enim malus non benè vult loqui?*[†] "Antichrist is a liar, who professes Jesus to be the Christ with his mouth, and denies him in deeds; therefore a liar, because he speaks one thing, and does another. The works speak, and do we require words? For what evil man will not speak well?" And again: *Quære ab Arianis, Eunomianis, Macedonianis; confitentur Jesum Christum in carne venisse, &c. Quid ergò facimus? unde discernimus, &c.? Nec nos negamus, nec illi negant, &c. Invenimus factis negare.* "Ask of Arians, Eunomians, Macedonians; they confess Jesus Christ to be come in the flesh, &c. What shall we do then? how shall we discern him? Neither we nor they deny it. We find that they deny him in deeds." As the apostle saith of such, "They profess to know God; but in works they deny him." (Titus i. 16.) *Quæramus in factis, non in linguis:*[‡] "Let us seek it in their works, and not in their tongues." If we examine their Creeds, they profess to believe all the articles, and more too; but yet in all His three offices they evacuate the truth of their pretended credence, as the learned have abundantly evinced.[§] Which being true, then their own rule in the canon-law condemns them: *Certum est quòd is committit in legem qui, legis verba complectens, contra legis nititur voluntatem:*[||] "It is certain that he trespasses against the law who, embracing the words of the law, practises against the mind of the law." For "by their traditions they have made the commandments of God of none effect." (Matt. xv. 6.) So true is that which Ambrose, or some ancient under his name, thunders against such: *Quicquid non ab apostolis traditum est, sceleribus plenum est:*[¶] "Whatever is not delivered by the apostles, is full of wickednesses."

But before we enter the particulars of this inquiry, we must conclude that the question in hand ought not to be determined by particular doctors of this or that communion. It is not what an Erasmus, or a Cassander, or an Espencæus, or Ferus, do teach; nor what a Bellarmine, a Stapleton, a Scioppius, a Pighius; nor what the Spanish divines in some cases at Trent, or the French divines in point of supremacy and defence of the Pragmatical Sanction; nor wherein the Thomists and Scotists, the Dominicans and Jesuits, do conflict. That were an incongruous method, either to discern their minds by, or to accommodate any syncretisms or fallacious unims [unions]. These are but personal opinions: they will stand to none of their doctors. But what councils and authorized assemblies, what confessions and catechisms, composed by their direction and warrantry, have determined—there lies the rule of inquiry: and therefore I shall here touch upon no authorities or citations but such as are found in the canon-law, the council and Catechism of Trent, their missals, Bulls, and determinations from the chair. As for others, [I shall touch upon them] but *obiter et per transennam* ["by the way and in a cursory manner"]; as collateral proofs, or confirmed by Papal edicts; or such authors as have passed the trial of their Purging Indexes, set out by their own authority. Let us then proceed to some INQUIRIES in this affair.

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[*] HILARIUS *Contra Auxentium*, p. 282.

[†] AUGUSTINUS *in Ep. Johan.* tract. iii. tom. ix. p. 598.

[‡] Idem, tract. vi. p. 623.

[§] RAINOLDS, WHITAKER, SHARP, CRAKANTHORPE, WOTTON, &c.

[||] Regula Juris 88, in vi. *Decretal.* tit. v.

[¶] AMBROSIUS 1 *Cor. iv.* col. 1892.

INQUIRY I.

Is that a true church of Christ that determines fundamental doctrines contrary to Christ and his apostles, that builds upon another foundation than Christ?—That they have assumed Peter for the only head of the militant church, might be abundantly proved: insomuch that if princes and emperors do but perform their duty as keepers of both tables, how greatly are they offended! As when Charles V. took to himself some spiritual jurisdiction, how does Baronius exclaim, as if he set up another head of the church, *pro monstro et ostento,*[*] "as a portentous monster!" which might with much more truth be retorted upon themselves in respect to our Lord, whom they rob of his glory, when they ascribe it to Peter. Let but Peter be imprisoned by Agrippa, how does the same Baronius cry out!—*Magno sanè terræmotu ecclesia Christi tunc concuti visa est, cùm ipsa petra in ecclesiæ fundamento locata, tæntâ agitatione quassari conspiceretur:*[†] "The church of Christ truly then seemed to be shaken with a great earthquake, when the very rock placed in the foundation of the church, was seen to be so sorely shaken." It seems, Peter was the rock placed by Christ for the foundation of the church.

But let us look a little further. Clemens, in his first epistle to James the brother of our Lord, written to him after the apostle was dead, (as the learned Crakanthorpe hath proved,[‡]) which is set forth at Basil, and by Turrian and others,[§] and is extant in the first tome of the councils, and ratified by the canon-law; which speaks thus: *Simon Petrus, &c., veræ fidei merito et integræ prædicationis obtentu, fundamentum esse ecclesiæ definitus est:*[||] "Simon Peter, by the merit of his true faith, and having obtained it by his sincere preaching, is defined to be the foundation of the church." The divinity transcends the Latin in barbarism. But it seems by the forger, that it was our Lord's doing, consonant to after-popes' asserting the same: "That He committed to Peter, the blessed key-keeper of eternal life, the laws both of the earthly and heavenly empire."[¶] And again, treating of Peter: *Hunc in consortium individuæ unitatis assumptum, id quod ipse erat voluit nominari; dicendo,*

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[*] BARONIUS ad annum 1097, n. 28.

[†] Ad annum 44, n. 3.

[‡] CRAKANTHORPE'S "Councils," p. 422.

[§] Basil. 1526; Turrian. Paris. 1568, fol. 326.

[||] Dist. lxxx. cap. 2, fol. 507; et caus. vi. quæst. i. cap. 5; et caus. xi. quæst. iii. cap. 12 et 15; edit. Rom.

[¶] Dist. xx. cap. 1, p. 130.

Tu es Petrus, &c. : ut æterni ædificatio templi mirabili munere gratiæ Dei in Petri soliditate consisteret : * "This person being taken into fellowship of individual unity," (O fearful !) "He would have him called that which He was ; saying, 'Thou art Peter,' &c. : that the building of the eternal temple might consist in the solidity of Peter, by the wonderful gift of the grace of God." This needs no gloss. But the learned Glossators upon the Common Extravagants,—after they have expounded *Cephas* to signify "a head," they proceed : *Sicut in corpore materiali est ponere caput unum, in quo sunt omnes sensus, seu plenitudo sentiendi ; sic in ecclesiâ militante (ne sit tanquam corpus monstruosum, si duo haberet capita) est tantùm ponere unum caput ; videlicet, Romanum pontificem, in quo est plenitudo potestatis et auctoritatis, &c.* † "As in a material body there is but one head placed, in which are all the senses, or a fulness of sensation ; so in the church militant (lest it should be like a monstrous body ; if it have two heads) there is but one head placed, namely, the Roman bishop ; in whom is the fulness of power and authority." And Boniface VIII. *(in Extrav. Comm.* lib. i. cap. 1. *de Majorit.) : Igitur ecclesiæ unius et unicæ, unum corpus, unum caput ; non duo capita, quasi monstrum ; Christus, videlicet, et Christi vicarius ; Petrus, Petrique successor, &c. :* "Therefore, of the one only church, one body, one head ; not two heads, like a monster ; namely, Christ and Peter, Christ's vicar and Peter's successors."

By these doctrines we are now clearly illuminated, that, as to the influence and government of the militant church, Christ hath excluded himself from headship, lest the body should be monstrous, with two heads. Such fearful and tremendous points are taught south of the mountains ! But the truth is, they speak of themselves, and seek their own glory ; (John vii. 18 ;) and not Christ's, whose commandments they have annulled and evacuated by their many additions to and subtractions from his. They would seem indeed to retain all, only add some ; but whosoever adds, as well as detracts, is liable to the curse of God. (Deut. xii. 32 ; Prov. xxx. 6 ; Rev. xxii. 18 ; Gal. i. 8.) For hereby they stain the glory of the divine law, as insufficient and imperfect ; and more especially when they add fundamental points upon peril of damnation, when they frame new articles of faith, as pope Pius IV. hath done. Articles are principles ; and therefore indemonstrable, except by scripture.

1. Now when new ones are ADDED *de fide* ["as part of the faith"], extraneous to the holy scriptures, nay, repugnant in such mighty and weighty matters, can any man alive, that is not deep in the golden cup, sedately believe the true church of Christ to be there ? when, (1.) They require firm faith in the traditions, observations, and constitutions of the church of Rome : ‡ and, (2.) Tie all churches to their sense of the scriptures ; and, [require] (3.) To hold seven sacraments to be instituted by Christ ; and, (4.) The Trent doctrine about justification ; (5.) The propitiatory sacrifice in the Mass ; (6.) Transubstantiation ; (7.) Purgatory ; (8.) Invocation of saints ; (9.) Adoration of images ; (10.) Indulgences ; (11.) The Roman church to be mistress of all churches, and the bishop thereof Christ's vicar ; (12.) And all things in the canons and councils, but

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* Dist. xix. cap. 7, p. 110, edit. Rom. 1582. † *Extravagant.* lib. v. cap. 1, p. 345, Rom. edit. ‡ *Bulla* PII IV. *super Formâ Juramenti Professionis Fidei,* art. i.

especially of Trent: and in the conclusion, *Hanc veram catholicam fidem, extra quam nemo salvus esse potest, &c., profiteor et veraciter teneo, &c.;* you must "profess and truly hold this to be the true Catholic faith, without which none can be saved."

But, for the easing of men's minds in these and the like particulars, they cry up the immensity of their power and privilege to dispense with scripture and apostolical doctrine. Indeed there is great need *that* should be well proved; and the canon-law has done the deed. For, in the first place, it is pronounced *ex cathedrâ,* "from the very chair" of Peter: *Subesse Romano pontifici omnem humanam creaturam, declaramus, dicimus, diffinimus, et pronuntiamus, omninò esse de necessitate salutis.*[*] Pope Boniface VIII. hath very well expressed it in his definitive sentence: "We declare, affirm, determine, and pronounce, that it is altogether necessary to salvation, that every human creature be subject to the pope of Rome." Is not this doctrine wonderfully clear in holy scriptures, and obvious in every page? But lest we should mistake the places, we shall be helped out with some dispensations as to scripture.

The Gloss, upon pope Nicholas's rescript to the bishops of France, expressly says, *Contra apostolum dispensat;*[†] that he may "dispense against the apostle and against natural right:" And again, upon an edict of pope Martin's: *Sic ergo papa dispensat contra apostolum:*[‡] "So, then, the pope dispenses against the apostle." And Gregory XIII. adds a note out of Aquinas: *Non est absurdum quoad jus positivum:* "It is not absurd as to a positive law." And again: *Secundùm plenitudinem potestatis de jure possumus supra jus dispensare:*[§] where the Gloss adds, *Nam contra apostolum dispensat, et contra canones apostolorum, item contra Vetus Testamentum in decimis.* "According to fulness of power, we can of right dispense above," or "beyond," "right." "For he dispenses against the apostle, and against the canons of the apostles, and against the Old Testament, in tithes." Our Lord determines marriage not to be dissolved but in case of whoredom: (Matt. v. 32; xix. 9:) but Gregory III. orders, "If a wife be infirm" *ad debitum,* then *jugalis nubat magis,* "let her husband marry rather," *qui non potest continere.*[||] Our Lord teaches "not to resist evil:" (Matt. v. 39; Rom. xii. 17:) but Innocent IV. teaches, *vim vi repellere, et utcunque gladium, &c., alterum altero adjuvare;*[¶] "to resist force with force, and help out one sword with another." I might show it in the case of oaths and vows, and several others; as, If a priest commit fornication; though by the canons of the apostles he ought to be deposed, yet by the authority of Sylvester let him do penance for ten years, &c.[**] But enough of this.

2. Let us proceed to show their power in the point of SUBTRACTIONS, in some particulars.

(1.) *As to the holy scriptures.*—Let us observe several points.

(i.) *They substitute the Vulgar Latin translation to be the authentic word of God, instead of the original Hebrew and Greek.*—Of which an author of their own attests, that "the Roman church permits not the scriptures but in Latin." [*] But we need no further witness than the sanction of Trent; which appoints and declares, "that the old Vulgar edition, &c., should be used for the authentical, in public lectures, disputes, preachings, and expositions; and that none dare or presume to reject it upon any pretence." [†]

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[*] *Extrav. Com.* lib. i. cap. 1, *De Major. et Obed.* p. 212, Romæ; et *Quicquid salvatur est sub summo Pontifice, ibid.; Gloss.* col. 205.

[†] Caus. xv. ix. quæst. vi. cap. 2, Romæ, col. 1442.

[‡] Dist. xxxiv. cap. 18, p. 230.

[§] *Decretal.* lib. iii. tit. viii. cap. 4, col. 1072.

[||] Caus. xxxii. quæst. vii. cap. 18, col. 2156.

[¶] In vi. *Decretal.* tit. xi. cap. 6, p. 717.

[**] Dist. lxxxii. cap. 5, col. 529.

(ii.) *The common people are not to read them.*—Indeed Pius IV., in the fourth rule for the managing of the Purging Indexes of Books prohibited according to the appointment of Trent, grants to read them, if translated by Catholic authors, and leave had from the priest or confessor; else not: since, as they say, *si passim sine discrimine permittantur, plus inde, ob hominum temeritatem, detrimenti quàm utilitatis oriri;* [‡] "if they be commonly permitted without distinction, more detriment rises than profit, through the rashness of men." But in Clement VIII.'s observation on that fourth rule, this faculty or licence of reading or retaining Vulgar Bibles is wholly taken away; and [it] concludes, *Quod quidem inviolatè servandum est,* [§] "Which is to be kept inviolably."

(iii.) *They must be received and understood according to the sense of the Roman church.*—*Cujus est judicare de vero sensu et interpretatione scripturarum sanctarum:* [||] "In whose authority it is to judge of the sense and interpretation of the holy scriptures." It is said of Averroes, that he anointed Avicenna's books with poison, in design upon him; and what cause we have to fear the like from their commentaries, let the learned judge. But besides, since the Lateran decree of the pope's superiority to a council, we are in the dark what their church is. But Paul II. expounded it to poor Platina, as himself relates: *Torvis oculis me aspiciens, &c., Ac si nescires omnia jura in scrinio pectoris nostri collocata esse, sic stat sententia: loco cedant omnes, eant quo volunt; nihil eos moror: pontifex sum; mihique licet, pro arbitrio animi, aliorum acta et rescindere et approbare.* [¶] Let it be Englished by the abbot's version: "Know ye not that I am infallible, and carry all their judgments and reasons in the cabinet of my breast? I consider no man's person: I am pope; and it is in my power to null or confirm their acts, as I think good myself." [**] This case is manifest.

(iv.) *They equal the canons and traditions to the scriptures.*—*Pari pietatis affectu ac reverentiâ suscipit et veneratur:* [††] they "receive and reverence the one with equal pious affection as the other." And for this in the canon-law we have ample testimony: "All the sanctions of the apostolical seat are to be received as if confirmed by the voice of holy Peter himself: [‡‡] and although the yoke imposed by that holy seat be scarce tolerable, yet let us bear and endure it with a pious devotion. And if any man sin against them," *noverit sibi veniam denegari,* "let him know that pardon shall be denied him." [§§] Again: *Nulli fas est vel velle vel posse transgredi apostolicæ sedis præcepta:* [||||] "It is lawful for none so much as to will, much less to be able, to transgress the precepts of the apostolical chair." Again: the pope's Decretal Epistles are expressly reckoned among canonical scriptures: *Inter quas sanè illæ sint, quas apostolica sedes habere, et ab eâ alii meruerunt accipere Epistolas:*[*] "Among which surely those Epistles are to be, which the apostolical seat receives, and which others have deserved to receive from thence." Further: the violation of canons,—they state it to be blasphemy and a sin against the Holy Ghost.[†] Nay, as to some discipline and the ancient institution of Christian religion, *tantâ reverentiâ apicem apostolicæ sedis omnes suspiciunt, ut magis, &c., ab ore prœcessoris ejus quàm a sacris paginis, &c., expetant, &c.:*[‡] "with such reverence do all look up to the pinnacle of the apostolical seat, that they rather receive from the mouth of his predecessor than from the holy scriptures." So that the matter may well be reduced to the edict of the Jesuits at Dole, mentioned by Sir Edwin Sandys: "Having thus effectually deprived the people of the holy scriptures; to avoid all further contests and troubles in religion, forbid any talk of God, either in good sort or bad."[§] Thus we must bid adieu to holy scriptures, and, as one says, "embrace their holy trumperies." "For if any man desire to know which is the true church, how should he know it but only by the scripture?" (AUTHOR *Operis imperfecti in Matth.* hom. 49.)

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[*] "History of the Cardinals," p. 4.

[†] Sessio iv.

[‡] *Index Libr. prohib.* reg. iv.

[§] Obs. in reg. iv. Rhotun. 1640, ad calcem *Concil. Trident.*

[||] *Concil. Trid.* sess. iv.; *et* Pii IV. *Bulla super Form. Juram. Profess. Fidei,* art. ii.

[¶] Platina *in Vitâ Pauli II.* fol. 336, A. edit. Paris. 1505.

[**] "History of the Cardinals," p. 122.

[††] *Conc. Trident.* sess. iv.

[‡‡] Dist. xix. cap. 2 et 3, col. 106.

[§§] Dist. xix. cap. 1, col. 105.

[||||] Dist. xix. cap. 5, col. 109; *et* Ivonis *Epist. viii.* Paris. 1610; *et Synod. Rhemensis,* p. 47, Francof. 1600.

(2.) *They take away the cup in the Lord's supper from the Christian people.*—And that with a *non-obstante* ["notwithstanding"]: *Licet Christus post cœnam instituerit, &c.:* "Although Christ did after supper ordain, and administer to his disciples, in both the elements of bread and wine, this venerable sacrament;" *tamen hoc non obstante,* "yet, nevertheless, the authority of sacred canons, the laudable and approved custom of the church, hath kept and doth keep," &c.: *et habenda est pro lege;*[||] they "pass it into a law," to communicate in one kind; and pronounce such to be dealt with as heretics, that oppose this new law, made in defiance of Christ and the primitive church. What a church is this, that puts a bar to Christ! Pray resolve how blessed and obedient a spouse this is.

(3.) Though our blessed Lord and his apostles commend *marriage,* as the institution of God and honourable among all; (Matt. xix. 5, 6; 1 Cor. vii. 2; 1 Tim. iii. 2; Heb. xiii. 4;) and the forbidding of it [is] repulsed, as the "doctrine of devils:" (1 Tim. iv. 1, 3:) yet there is sounder advice, it seems, to be found in the canon-law: "Priests' marriage is not forbidden by the authority of law or gospel or of the apostles;" *ecclesiasticâ tamen lege penitùs interdicitur,*[¶] "yet by ecclesiastical law it is utterly forbidden." And they may commit fornication, and not be deposed;[**] and their Gloss gives this satisfying reason: *Quia hodie fragiliora sunt corpora nostra quàm olim erant:*[††] "Because our bodies are now-a-days more frail than they were of old." And though to take a second wife *secundùm præceptum apostoli est,* "that is but according to the precept of the apostle;" *secundùm veritatis autem rationem verè fornicatio est,* "yet, according to the account of truth, verily it is fornication."

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[*] Dist. xix. cap. 6, col. 107.

[†] Caus. xxv. quæst. i. cap. 5, col. 1897.

[‡] Dist. xl. cap. 6, col. 259.

[§] Sir EDWIN SANDYS'S "Survey of Religion in the West," p. 231.

[||] *Concil. Constant.* sess. xiii. fol. 515; *Cabilon. ii.*

[¶] Caus. xxvi. quæst. ii. cap. 1, col. 1921.

[**] Dist. lxxxii. cap. 5, col. 530.

[††] Caus. xxxi. quæst. i. cap. 9, col. 2084.

Sed dùm, permittente Deo, publicè et licenter committitur, fit honesta fornicatio: "But when it is publicly committed, and with licence,[*] by the permission of God, it becomes honest fornication." And for adultery, it is counted among "the lesser crimes:" *De adulteriis verò, et aliis criminibus quæ sunt minora,*[†] a bishop may dispense with his clerks.[‡] More of the like stuff may be read in Pelagius's rescript to the bishop of Florence; and reason rendered: *Quia corpora ipsa hominum defecerunt:*[§] "Because the very bodies of men are grown weak." And if a clerk embrace a woman, it is to be expounded to bless her.[‖] But for these and the like cases the "Tax of the apostolical Chancery" gives the richest reasons; where any thing is dispensed with for money: "A book wherein," saith Espencæus,[¶] "thou mayest learn more wickedness than in all the summists and summaries of all vices;" set forth in the days of pope Leo X., who made that infamous reply to cardinal Bembus: *Quantum nobis ac nostro cœtui profuit ea de Christo fabula, satis est seculis omnibus notum:*[**] "It is known well enough to all ages, how much that fable of Christ hath benefited us and our society." Well might the abbot of Ursperg cry out, *Gaude, mater nostra, Roma, &c.:*[††] "Rejoice, O Rome, our mother; for the cataracts of treasures are opened in the earth, that rivers of money may flow in to thee! Rejoice over the iniquity of the sons of men; for thou receivest the price for a recompence of such great wickedness!"

(4.) *For prohibition of meats.*—Whereas the apostle tells us, "Whatever is sold in the shambles, that eat, asking no question for conscience' sake;" (1 Cor. x. 25;) and, "Let no man judge you in meat, or in drink." (Col. ii. 16.) For "God hath created them to be received with thanksgiving of them which believe and know the truth; and nothing to be refused." (1 Tim. iv. 3, 4.) Such as believe in God, and are acquainted with the truth of his holy word, make no scruple, as those [do] who "speak lies in hypocrisy, and are seducing spirits." (Verses 1, 2.) But the canon-law commands fastings, as a tenth part of time consecrated to God out of the whole year;[‡‡] and against our eating of flesh assigns a pregnant citation out of the apostle: *Bonum est vinum non bibere, et carnes non comedere:*[§§] "It is good not to drink wine, nor to eat flesh." But the connexed words are left out, which refer to offence in the primitive times. But I shall not further touch this point,—their precepts and practices stand opposite to the holy scriptures. But how wholesome to the body to appoint their grand fasts and abstinence from flesh in the spring, let Fuchsius, a learned physician, be judge, out of Soranus and Hippocrates: *Quòd verno tempore minimè sit jejunandum:* "We ought least of all to fast in the spring-time." And after he hath urged his argument, he closes: *Romanum pontificem non solùm esse Antichristum, &c:*[‖‖] "That the Roman bishop is not only Antichrist, in stating a doctrine contrary to Christ; but *antiatrum*, 'contrary to physicians;' to appoint a fast *then* and forbid flesh, *when*, they have unanimously taught, we ought to eat more largely and abstain from fish." But it became the Man of Perdition not only to destroy our souls, but our bodies also, by his decrees; and our purses also: (imitating Peter in fishing for money at the Sea of Galilee: Matt. xvii. 27:) we must buy of him leave at that time to eat milk and the like viands.

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[*] *Licenter—quia pœnam temporalem non patiebantur:* "Because they suffered not temporal punishment."—*Gloss. ibid.*

[†] "With respect to adultery and other minor crimes."—Edit.

[‡] *Decretal.* lib. ii. *De Judic.* cap. 4, col. 523.

[§] Dist. xxxiv. cap. 7, col. 225.

[‖] Caus. xi. quæst. iii. cap. 14, col. 1223.

[¶] Espenc. *in Tit.* cap. i. digr. 2, p. 67, edit. Paris. 1568; and the *Centum Gravamina in Fasciculo Rerum expetend.* 178.

[**] Ranchinus's "Review of Trent," p. 79; Valeria "Of the Lives of the Popes," p. 150, out of Paulus Jovius.

[††] *Ursperg. Chron.* p. 235, Argentor. 1609.

[‡‡] *Decret.* pars iii. *De Consecr.* dist. v. cap. 16, col. 2671.

[§§] Dist. xxxv. cap. 2, col. 231.

[‖‖] Fuchsii *Instit. Medicin.* lib. ii. sect. ii. cap. 9.

But, to finish this paragraph: of such a society as add to, subtract from, dispense with, and over-rule the laws of God, what should all the sober and pious judge, but what the scripture hath prophetically deciphered them to be, and what the church of England hath determined concerning them? *—that since they have forsaken and daily do forsake the commandments of God, to erect and set up their own constitutions; we may well conclude, according to the rule of Augustine, that the bishops of Rome and their adherents are not the true church of Christ; much less, then, to be taken as chief heads and rulers of the same. "Whosoever," saith he, "do dissent from the scriptures concerning the head, although they be found in all places where the church is appointed, yet are they not in the church." A plain place, concluding directly against the church of Rome.

INQUIRY II.

Is that the true church of Christ, that pollutes the worship of God by idolatry? (2 Cor. vi. 16.)—Why is this sin so often called "whoredom" in scripture? Does not whoredom dissolve the bonds of marriage, by our Lord's own determination? Did not the Lord give up the ancient Israel and Judah, and disavow them from being his spouse, under the name of two notable whores,—Aholah and Aholibah? (Ezek. xxiii. 4.) And if we rightly consider the Revelation, we find also this to be the very cause why the name of "whore" is branded upon the forehead of a certain congregation that was to appear in the world after the dissolution of Rome imperial. And therefore God sent the Saracens and Turks against them, with stings both in head and tail, both in the east and west: but yet they repented not of their idols, &c. (Rev. ix. 20, 21.) This is that generation which lays stumbling-blocks both before Turks, Jews, and Heathens. For haste, I will instance but in a few.

Among the four great offences and scandals which the Grand Seignior told the German ambassador, he took at the Roman religion, one was, that they made their God in the church; another, that they ate him in the eucharist.† What would he have said, had he heard of the emperor Henry VII.'s being poisoned out of the sacrament-cup, by a Guelph of the pope's faction; ‡ or, as Dr. Donne expresses it more earnestly, "To poison their God, that they might poison their emperor?" § But how greatly the Turks are incensed against idols, the Alcoran almost every where discovers; and Hottinger, Sandys, and others. ||

As for the Jews, how greatly they are scandalized, we may observe even in elder times; when the second council of Nice was fain to give a solemn, though a sorry, answer to them: *Οντως φοϐερος ὁ λογος ὁ εντειλαμενος τῳ Ισραηλ, &c.:* "Verily, it was a terrible word, giving command to Israel not to make any carved image," &c.; "and yet afterward to command Moses to make cherubims, yet not as gods, but for re-memoration only," &c.* Not to observe at present how they shift off the second commandment, as if belonging to Israel only; nor what they further reply about the framing of images, not to be ultimate objects of worship, but only commemorative helps of devotion: that which I would principally take notice of is, that even then, at the first solemn and judicial publication of image-doctrine, how greatly the Jews were provoked and offended; who were so exact in the abhorrency of images, that they counted it unlawful to look up to an image in civil use, and forbade the very art of painters and statuaries;† nay, so nice and curious, that they scruple to pluck out a thorn out of their feet, or gather up money casually fallen, lest they should seem to stoop down in respect to any image in such a place.‡ And as to the present indelible continuance of the same hatred, Sir Edwin Sandys hath given a large account: § and how they call Popish churches, because of the worship of images in them, בית החרפה, "the houses of idolatry," or "filthinesses," with some remarkable observations out of their authors, may be seen in the learned Hoornbeeck's treatise "against the Jews." ||

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* "Homilies of the Church of England," in the second part of the Sermon for Whit-Sunday, 4to. fol. 229, B. † "Count Serini's Character," p. 107. ‡ *Paralip. Ursperg.* p. 267; NAUCLERUS, p. 991. § DONNE's "Pseudomartyr," p. 91. || *Alcoran*, cap. 10, 11, 13, 16, &c.; HOTTINGER, the same, p. 60; SANDYS, p. 54.

As to the Pagans or Heathens, I might enlarge; but I shall only refer to a story of the Americans: who, being vexed at the burning [of] their wooden god by Mr. Gage, replied, that they knew it was a piece of wood, and of itself could not speak; but seeing it had spoken, (as they were all witnesses,) this was a miracle whereby they ought to be guided: and they did verily believe that God was in that piece of wood, which, since the speech made by it, was more than ordinary wood, having God himself in it; and therefore deserved more offerings and adorations than those saints (that is, of the Spaniards) in the church, who did never speak unto people.¶ And to this may be annexed (since it touches upon saint-worship) what Sancta Clara insinuates as a reason why there is no precept under the gospel for invocation of saints; namely, "Lest the converted Gentiles should believe that they were again reduced to the worship of men;" *(terrigenarum;)* "and, according to their old custom, should adore saints, not as patrons, but as gods." **

To conclude this point: since God hath so severely forbidden the worshipping of his Divine Majesty by statues, pictures, sculptures, or images, and in all ages given ample evidences of his wrath against such worshippers; since the true Christian religion, by means of such titular and nominal pretenders to it, is greatly vilified and obstructed in its progress, as to the sincere conversion both of Turks, Jews, and Heathens; we may easily discern where that dangerous society resides, that commits fornication with stocks and stones; termed by the church of England, in her excellent and zealous homilies against idolatry, "a foul, filthy, old,

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* *Synodus Septima*, act. iv. p. 556, tom. iii. BINII; et DALLÆUS *De Imag.* p. 68.

† HOTTINGERI *Jur. Hebr.* p. 336.

‡ Idem, p. 41.

§ "View of Religion in the West."

|| HOORNBEECK *Cont. Judæos*, prolegom. p. 17; and the learned L. SARSON, in his *Roman. Cultûs Nullitas*, p. 15.

¶ GAGE'S "Survey of the West-Indies," p. 175.

** SANCTA CLARA, *Deus, Natura, Gratia*, p. 323, *De Invoc. Sanct.*

withered harlot," &c.; "that, understanding her lack of natural and true beauty, and great loathsomeness which of herself she hath, doth, after the custom of such harlots, paint herself, and deck and tire [attire] herself with gold, pearl, stone, and all kind of precious jewels." [*]

INQUIRY III.

Is that the true church of Christ, that, out of her own invention, intermixed with Jewish and heathenish customs, (as might be specified out of Blondus, Polydore Virgil, and others,) hath patched up a pompous worship, and bottomed now upon that grand fundamental of the Pope's authority; which (as it is said of Jeroboam's) is "devised of their own hearts;" (1 Kings xii. 33;) *and in comparison to the institutions of Christ, and scriptural, apostolical, primitive practice, is as it were but a novelty and of yesterday?*—As to which, the history of the church in most things gives us a precise account of their particular rise and genealogy. In the rest, we may evidently prove by the primitive administrations that then they were not, and afterward find when they were, in use and practice; though the exact moment of their intrusion be not determinable, since they did, *sensim sine sensu,* "secretly" creep in, by the subtle artifice of some, and the sequacious temper of others; and likewise, that the barbarous times of the Goths and Vandals, making fearful havoc of learning and the rare monuments of antiquity, have destroyed many records. But, however, there are great heaps of rubbish and soil, that might easily be scented up to their original stable. Let us but instance in a few. The use of fine linen, prayers in odd numbers, sanctuaries, wax-candles, worship toward the east, ember-days, consecrations, and the *Bacchanalia* and other feasts turned into the present festivities, —their origin, and [that of] multitudes of others, may be observed out of Polydore,[†] Innocent III.,[‡] Durandus's *Rationale,* and Durantius *De Ritibus,* Rupertus Tuitiensis, Gavantus, Gratian, Ivo, Blondus, and many others.

Give me leave a little to enlarge upon one constitution of the greatest moment, because it is a fundamental amongst them; namely, the decree of the Lateran council under Leo X.: whereby the pope's authority was fully settled, and whence he became exalted above a council, and infallible, and to be adored; as it is in the *Cæremoniale Romanum,* lib. i. p. 51; et lib. iii. p. 286. And it is this: *Solum Romanum pontificem pro tempore existentem, tanquam auctoritatem super omnia concilia habentem, &c., manifestè constat:* [§] "It clearly appears," &c., "that the Roman bishop solely, for the time being, as having authority over all councils." And then, p. 121: *Cùm de necessitate salutis existat, omnes Christi fideles Romano pontifici subesse:* "It is necessary to salvation, that all Christ's faithful ones should be subject to the Roman bishop." This was determined [on] the 14 *Kal. Jan.* 1516, [December 18th,] within the compass of the same year wherein Luther began to assault them, as may be observed out of Scultetus's "Annals." [||] Whence we may note what a profound question that is, when they demand of us, where our religion was before Luther; whenas themselves do date the commencement of the greatest point and pillar of their religion—namely, the doctrine of infallibility—within the same year wherein Luther arose; putting the hay and stubble of their infallible judge into the foundation of the church. Whereas, one of their own could boldly and freely assert, "that though the Catholics accuse them of pinning their faith upon Luther and Calvin, which is false: for neither Luther nor Calvin instituted any new religion." * When they ask, Where was ours? we answer, Where theirs is not; namely, instituted by our blessed Lord, preached by the holy apostles, set forth in the sacred scriptures, and practised by the primitive churches, and preserved all along by some notable confessors of the truth in every age to our present times. But theirs, indeed, as it now stands, built upon the Lateran and Trent councils, in their main fundamental, is but a mere novelty, started up in the very days of Luther; and, in other things wherein they dissent from us, is but of later invention, in comparison with the primitive apostolical times. And in how many grand and weighty particulars (beside their accessory and gaudy ceremonies) they dissent from scriptures, forsake the apostles, run contrary to the sanctions of ancient councils, might be at large educed out of authentic records, and demonstrated to be but a novelty.

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[*] "Homilies of the Church of England," in the third part of the Sermon "against the Peril of Idolatry," fol. 75, B.

[†] POLYDORUS VIRGILIUS, Bas. 1532.

[‡] INNOCENT. III. *De Altari,* Lips. 1534, &c.

[§] BINII *Concil.* tom. iv. part ii. *Concil. Lateran.* sess. xi. Dat. Romæ, 1516, 14 Kal. Jan.

[||] SCULTETI *Annales,* ad annum 1516.

OBJECTION.

"But are there not several things found in the Reformed churches that are of the same standing, and savour of equal novelty; of which it may be said, *Non sic ab initio*, 'It was not so from the beginning?'"

ANSWER.

To which it may be replied, that it is the duty of all reformations to come up exactly to scripture; † and what is not done at one time, *in levioribus aliquot*, "in some smaller matters," may be performed at another. The ingenious Bernard, glossing upon that of the Canticles, "O thou fairest among women!" speaks thus: *Pulchram, non omnimodè quidem, sed pulchram inter mulieres, eam docet; videlicet, cum distinctione; quatenus ex hoc ampliùs reprimatur, et sciat quid desit sibi:* ‡ "He calls her 'fair;' yet not altogether, but 'fairest among women;' namely, with a distinction: that hence she may be somewhat the more checked, and know wherein she is defective." There is no church under heaven perfectly beautiful: that remains for glory, when Christ will "present her to himself without spot or wrinkle." (Eph. v. 27.) If but pretended watchmen take away her spotted veil, (Canticles v. 7,) she will be glad of a purer. *Fas est et ab hoste doceri:* "It is wisdom to learn by the reproof of an adversary." But, as to the grand fundamental points, we unanimously agree: we lay no other foundation than the Rock Christ Jesus, and seriously profess the scriptures to be our perfect rule; and if any will teach us wherein we swerve, we are ready to yield obedience to the laws of Christ. So that, as the learned Crakanthorpe determines, those persons, as Irenæus, Justin Martyr, and Cyprian, &c.,—though in some things they might err, yet because they thought those things to be taught in scripture, which they made their guide, and were ready to reform upon eviction out of the holy scriptures, they no doubt died in the faith. But he teaches the contrary of those that hold the pope's infallible judgment in causes of faith; for that is none of God's foundation, whereupon to ground our belief or practice.*

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* "History of the Cardinals," p. 9. † "Preface to the Common-prayer." ‡ BERNARDUS *in Cantic.* serm. xxxviii. fol. 144, A.

INQUIRY IV.

Can that be deemed a true church of Christ successively in all ages, that varies from itself, contradicts itself, makes decrees quite contrary to precedent times, and that in matters of faith?—And if the philosopher said right,—that there is no medium in a perfect contradiction; if the one be true, the other is equally as false: † what shall be deemed of such a society, that in the great matters of faith have determined quite contrary, beside many other things of grand importance? Truth is always homogeneal, consistent, and invariable. But here is pope against pope, council against council, one society, order, and fraternity, against another. Where shall a poor Christian *sistere pedem*, "fix his resolution?" If the former be true, the latter are undeniably false; if the latter be true, in what a case were the forefathers of old? In what state did they leave the world? How might this amaze the drowsy and enchanted world, did it but awaken them to muse seriously on this point only!

Have not popes from the chair determined against each other; and that in matters of faith, and other weighty cases? How Sylverius and Vigilius clashed and conflicted in that grand point of the three chapters, agitated in the fifth general council, is at large set forth by the learned Crakanthorpe.‡ Did not pope Agatho determine quite contrary to pope Vigilius in the same case? as may be observed in comparing the actions of the fifth and sixth council.§ Stephen VI. abrogates the decrees of Formosus, digs up his body, and cuts off the two fingers of his right hand which are used in consecrations. And he [Platina] adds, *Postea ferè semper servata hæc consuetudo sit, ut Acta priorum pontificum sequentes aut infringerent aut omninò tollerent;* ‖ that "afterward this custom was almost always kept up,—that following bishops did either invalidate or utterly take away the Acts of their predecessors:" of which he gives instances in Romanus, Theodotus, John X., and Sergius.

Gregory I.¶ determines *him* to be Antichristian and to blaspheme, *that* should arrogate that profane name of "supreme over all other;" and calls him "the king over all the children of pride." But his namesake, Gregory IV., deposes every one, *(Sit ruinæ suæ dolore prostratus, &c.,)* whosoever does not obey the apostolical seat;** and Nicolas II. pronounces him without doubt for a heretic; †† and that worthy person, Gregory VII., or Hildebrand, (as set out by Benno the cardinal, and others,‡‡) stigmatizes such with the brands of idolatry, witchcraft, and

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* CRAKANTHORPE "Of Councils," p. 191.

† ARISTOTELIS *Poetic.* cap. 13.

‡ CRAKANTHORPE'S "Councils," p. 471, *et alibi.*

§ Idem, p. 28.

‖ PLATINA *in Vit.* fol. 139, B.

¶ GREGORII *Regist.* lib. iv. ep. 32, 36; lib. vi. ep. 31, &c. Rom. edit.

** Dist. xix. cap. 5, col. 107.

†† Dist. xxii. cap. 1, col. 130.

‡‡ *Fascicul. Rerum expetend.* dist. lxxxi. cap. 15, col. 516, &c.; *et* IVONIS *Decret.* pars v. *De Primat.* fol. 153.

Paganism, *quisquis, dum Christianum se asserit, sedi apostolicæ obedire contemnit;* "whosoever, asserting himself for a Christian, contemns to obey the apostolical chair." Again: Celestine III. determines against a divorce between Christians and infidels; but Innocent III. determines the contrary.[*] Again: Pelagius II. had commanded, that the subdeacons of Sicily should abstain from their wives:[†] but Gregory I. says [that] it is *durum et incompetens,* "hard and inconvenient," and allows the quite contrary; and the Gloss adds, that "the statute of Pelagius was against the gospel."[‡] There are multitudes of cases [which] might be added, wherein they made no scruple to rescind, abrogate, and decree contrary to their predecessors. But I shall (for haste' sake) speak a little of the variance of councils also.

The council of Constance determines thus: *Est de necessitate salutis, credere generale concilium habere supremam autoritatem in ecclesiâ:* "It is of necessity to salvation, to believe that a general council hath supreme authority in the church;" yea, over the pope himself. And this is ratified by pope Martin V., as the fathers of Basil set it forth to all the world.[§] And yet you have seen before, how that the Lateran council hath determined the quite contrary; stating it in those very words,—that "it is necessary to salvation, that all Christ's faithful ones should be subject to the Roman bishop;" and in that very point, "as having authority over all councils."[||]

The council of Orange in many canons, and that of Milevis or Melei in Numidia near Algiers, and the African council, (commonly so called,) determine against free-will.[¶] The council of Gangra, (now Congria, [Kiangari,]) by the river Halys, determines anathema to such as refuse to communicate with a married priest.[**] But these things are contradicted by Trent. The like might be shown about Rome's jurisdiction, and communicating the cup to the people, the conception of the blessed Virgin, and several other points, which would swell too large. Neither will time admit the several varieties and confessions to be recited out of Augustine of Tarracona, found in Gratian; nor the private oppositions of their doctors in numerous cases, collected by a reverend person.[††]

I shall conclude this section with an observation about the Holy Bible itself; whose former editions not satisfying Sixtus V., [he] set forth a new one, ratified by his edict, A. D. 1589. Then comes Clement VIII., A. D. 1592, with another *breve,* commanding another new edition to be received with equal veneration, and the contemners of it exposed to new imprecations and curses. And yet these two editions of the Holy Bible differ in two thousand places; and some so material, that they arise to flat contradictions; which is made evident by Dr. James, in his *Bellum Papale,* and the edicts themselves (because the Sixtine Bibles are hard to come by) are at large set forth by the learned Amama.[‡‡] So that if their popes' decretory sentences in matters of faith, their councils in points necessary to salvation, their doctors in great and important concerns of the church, their very Bibles (such as they will permit) in multitudes of places, egregiously differ one from another; where shall a Christian fix his mind, in such a society, under such grand uncertainties, contradictions, and oppositions one to another, in the high and momentous concernments of eternity and the other world?

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[*] *Decretal.* lib. iii. tit. xxxiii. cap. 1, col. 1276.

[†] *Ibid.* lib. iv. cap. 6, col. 1556.

[‡] Caus. xxvii. quæst. ii. cap. 20, col. 1991; *et* dist. xxxi. cap. 1, col. 195.

[§] *Concil. Basil. in Epistolâ synodali ad universos Christi fideles.*

[||] See p. 82 —EDIT.

[¶] *Concil.* tom. ii. p. 340, A.; p. 285, B.; p. 305, A.

[**] *Gangr. Concil.* can. iv. &c. Paris. 1618, p. 313, *cum Schol.* ZONARÆ.

[††] BISHOP HALL'S "Peace of Rome."

[‡‡] AMAMÆ *Antibarb. Bell.* 4to. pp. 67, 98, &c.

INQUIRY V.

Can such claim the honour of being a true church of Christ, who impiously derogate from the essential honour of God and of Jesus Christ? that exalt a sinful man unto the dignities and incommunicable excellences of the Divine Majesty?—I trow not. But such there are, who highly pretend to Christ and his holy church, and yet dare to open their mouths in strange and fearful expressions in their canon-law, when they magnify their Roman president. He is said to have a heavenly arbitrement: he changes the nature of things, &c.; he can make any thing of nothing.[*] In what he wills, his will stands for reason; neither may any say, "Why doest thou so?" which is by Job applied to God.[†] (Job ix. 12.) He can make justice out of injustice, by correcting and changing of laws; and hath the fulness of power.[‡] They allege, that "the pope was called 'God' by Constantine." And again: "Not man, but God, separates them whom the Roman bishop does, who bears the viceroyship of the true God in the earth:" but that never was nor can be proved.[§] Again: "To believe that the Lord our God the pope, the enactor of this decree, could not so determine, is heretical."[||] Again: "It is idolatry, Paganism, and heresy, not to obey the Roman seat: not one iota of his statutes must be disputed."[¶] Again: "Christ professes himself to preside under the faith and name of Peter," &c.: "and although he lead innumerable people by troops to hell," (or, *primo mancipio gehennæ; id est, diabolo,* says the Gloss,) "there to be eternally beaten with many stripes; yet none must reprove him," &c.[**] And, to name no more: the Common Extravagants treating of Christ's power and his vicar's, the Gloss upon pope Boniface, set out by Gregory XIII., adds this: *Non videretur Dominus discretus fuisse, (ut cum ejus reverentiâ loquar,) nisi unicum post se talem vicarium reliquisset, qui hæc omnia possit:* [††] "The Lord would not seem to have been discreet, (that I may speak with reverence of him,) unless he had left such an only vicar behind him, who might do all these things." Whoso desires to know more of the like tremendous matter, may peruse Ranchinus's "Review of the Council of Trent,"[‡‡] an author of their own, and many others.

INQUIRY VI.

The sixth and last inquiry is, *Whether that can be a true church, that persecutes them to the utmost, yea, and upon that very account, because they teach, profess, and maintain the holy doctrine and pure*

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[*] *Decretal.* GREG. IX. lib. i. tit. vii. cap. 3, *Gloss.*

[†] Dist. xcvi. cap. 7.

[‡] *Decretal.* lib. i. tit. vii. cap. 3, *Gloss.*

[§] *Extrav.* JOANNIS XXII. tit. xiv. cap. 4, col. 153.

[||] Dist. lxxxi. cap. 15, col. 517; et dist. xix. cap. 5, *Gloss.* col. 107.

[¶] *Extrav.* JOAN. XXII. tit. xiv. cap. 4, *Gloss.* col. 145.

[**] Caus. xxiv. quæst. i. cap. 10, *Gloss.* col. 1835.

[††] *Extrav. Com.* lib. i. cap. 1, *De Maj.* fol. 211.

[‡‡] "Review of the Council of Trent," p. 114.

worship which were left by our blessed Lord and his apostles in the holy scriptures.—And this is not an accidental thing, falling out now and then, when cruel ones sit in power; for it is by principle. To go no higher than Trent, what great points of primitive Christianity are smitten with terrible anathemas! Nay, what smaller differences are made obnoxious to the same indignation! as, to say [that] marriage is no sacrament, and that it does not confer grace; or to say [that] the church cannot dispense with the degrees of consanguinity or affinity in Leviticus; or to say that matrimonial causes belong not to ecclesiastical judges, &c.[*] Or if we inquire all the causes that state men guilty of heresy, what guilt would millions be involved in at that tribunal! To deny the supremacy of Rome, is absolute heresy;[†] and Pius II. has determined it to be treason and heresy, to appeal to a future council.[‡] In what a case stands the Gallican church! Now in these and all other points they will be judges in their own cause. Though sometimes they have asserted, that what touches all ought to be approved by all;[§] and Nicholas I. and Celestine III. professed, that even reason itself teaches that our enemies must not be our judges; and the canon-law expressly, that the pope himself must not judge in his own cause:[‖] yet they proceeded at Trent, though the clergy of several provinces were absent, and some Christian princes disavowed it.

Now what becomes of persons thus determined against and excommunicated? Why, the canon-law dispatches the matter speedily: *Non arbitramur, &c.*:[¶] "We do not esteem them for murderers, who, burning with zeal of the Catholic mother church, should happen to kill any that are excommunicated." And besides, heretics are reckoned in so black a catalogue, that faith is not to be kept with them: and although Molanus and others seem to differ, that is but a private opinion; they but plough upon the ocean, and write upon the sea-sands, so long as it stands in force in the canon-law: *Absolutos se noverint, &c.*:[**] "Let them know that they are absolved from the obligation of fealty, homage, and all duty, whoever were held bound by any covenant, strengthened by whatsoever band, to such as are manifestly lapsed into heresy." And the council of Constance hath defined, that "the safe-conduct of princes, granted to such, ought to be no bar to ecclesiastical procedures;" *quocunque vinculo se astrinxerint*;[††] "by whatever band they have obliged themselves." And then let us observe a ruled case laid down in the same canon-law: *Frustrà sibi fidem quis postulat, &c.*:[‡‡] "In vain does any man require faith to be kept to himself by him to whom he refuseth to keep the faith plighted by himself."

Now what brave work would these things make in the world, since all the Reformed churches lie prostrate under the thunderbolts of the Roman Capitol![§§] First censured for heretics, and then no punishment is severe enough! What will become of Christian or of human society, if any church differ from their sentiments? And what sad havoc has been made in the earth, the red lines in the annals and martyrologies of most churches do abundantly testify; even for such things as are consonant to the holy scriptures. How unmanly and brutish, to use blows instead of reasons! yea, how devilish, to persecute men for keeping the commandments of God! They are of the seed of the red dragon. (Rev. xii. 17.) How vain, to think to conquer men's spirits by crosiers turned into swords, and keys into guns! Persecution, indeed, may turn some; but it is into hypocrites: that man is never gained, but exasperated.

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[*] *Concil. Trident.* sess. xxiv. can. 1, 2, 12.
[†] Dist. xxii. cap. 1, *Omnes.*
[‡] Pii II. *Commentar.* p. 92, Franc. 1614.
[§] Regula Juris 29.
[‖] Caus. xvi. quæst. vi. cap. 1, *Gloss.*
[¶] Caus. xxiii. quæst. v. col. 1791.
[**] *Decretal.* tom. v. tit. vii. cap. 16, col. 1686.
[††] *Concil. Constant.* sess. xix. fol. 523, B.
[‡‡] Regula Juris 75, col. 850.
[§§] *Bulla Cœnæ* per SIXTUM V.

That is a declining cause that cannot support itself by the same means by which it was at first propagated. Did the apostles so, whose lines ran to the ends of the earth, and conquered so great a part of the Roman world to Christ by "the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God?" (Eph. vi. 17.) Good Bernard said once to Eugenius, "What do you use a sword for? You are commanded to sheath it:" (as Peter:) "Do the work of an evangelist, and feed the sheep."* Our Lord did not bid Peter feed his sheep with iron and steel, or his lambs with twisted wire; though Baronius said, "Peter's ministry hath two parts,—to feed and to kill."† That pastor shows weakness in policy, that takes ways to increase dissenters: as Polydore could observe, that the church's troubles under pagan emperors so increased the number of believers, that they were at length more suspected for their multitudes than their religion.‡ The more Israel was afflicted in Egypt, "the more they multiplied and grew." (Exod. i. 12.) Rome never lost ground so fast, as since they used the silly engine of persecution to gain it. Mankind is not devoid of humanity: and Christianity has nobler maxims than Phalaris; such as flow from that Prince of Might, elect, (Psalm xlv. 3,) who bids the world "learn" of him, for he is "meek and lowly;" (Matt. xi. 29, 30;) who rebuked the apostles for desiring that fire might descend upon the Samaritans. (Luke ix. 54—56.) And so is his blessed church a flight of doves and a flock of sheep; who, by the generous power of the Spirit of God in conversion, do *ponere id bruti*, "lay down the brutish" tiger at the foot of the Prince of Peace; and, of ferocious and savage by nature, become mild, meek, and peaceable, "forgiving and forbearing one another," because "God for Christ's sake hath forgiven them." (Eph. iv. 32; Col. iii. 12, 13.)

But how unhappy are they that leave the posts of wisdom, and take sanctuary at the gates of hell! And add this note, (beside purity of doctrine, worship, and discipline,) whereby the church may be known, —namely, its perilous and troublesome state,—and [they] shown to be of the world: as our Lord foretold: "In the world ye shall have tribulation: but in me ye shall have peace." (John xvi. 33.) Where hawks and wolves do haunt, there are dovecots or flocks of sheep near. So that if any ask, where our church was of old; reply, Where persecutions tried their faith. They know well enough where it was; they need not ask us. It is but reading their own records, their *rubricæ*, their "scarlet registers;" and they will easily discern, by the scriptural points for which holy men suffered, a sufficient mark and evidence of the true church.

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* BERNARDUS *De Consid. ad Eugen.* fol. 1426. † "History of the Quarrels of Venice," p. 65. ‡ POLYDORUS VIRGILIUS, lib. iv. cap. 11.

Let us then briefly recapitulate, and conclude, that since there are to be found such as in fundamental doctrines determine contrary to Christ and the blessed apostles; such as by idolatry have broken covenant with God, and give even the worship of *latria* to creatures, due to Him alone; can such without repentance and reformation enter into the kingdom of heaven? (1 Cor. vi. 9; Rev. xiv. 9—11; xxi. 8; xxii. 15;) such as form a worship to God out of their own inventions and novelties; such as contradict themselves in very material and important matters of salvation; such as blasphemously derogate from the glory and honour of Jesus Christ; such as persecute them who profess and endeavour to follow only the apostolical rules, and the consonant practice of the primitive churches? Though they may pretend to a unity and uniformity, yet does it not result into a league and conspiracy against the truth? The ship of the church is in danger to split against such a rock as this. Can we judge such societies and communions to be true churches of Christ, and not rather consent with the determination of the church of England to the contrary?*

If Charles the Great, Alcuinus, Agobardus, Bertram, Bernard, abbot Joachim, Peter de Vineis, Marsilius, Dante, Bradwardine, Petrarch, Mantuan, Gerson, Clemongis, Theodoricus de Niem, and the compiler of *Fasciculus Rerum expetendarum,* and many others down along the darker times, might bring-in their suffrages in various points; it might be justly feared, that the late abbot Gualdo would be acquitted from rashness, in concluding that, "amongst all the churches since the beginning of the world, there has not been found that unconstancy and confusion as in the church of Rome; so many anti-popes, schisms, heresies, controversies, confusions, suspensions, persecutions, so many false opinions, scandals, tyrannies, and intestine quarrels, as there." † But we will rather turn these complaints into unfeigned prayer for their salvation, and wish them no more hurt than to our own souls,—that the great "God would give them repentance to the acknowledging of the truth." (2 Tim. ii. 25.)

COROLLARY III.

Since those are true marks of the church of God which the church of England hath exhibited, and have been in some measure insisted upon; we may conclude, that the people of God in Britain (blessed be his holy name!) are in the happy possession of the true apostolical doctrine and worship, according to the holy scriptures, and consonant to what the true church of God hath held in all ages, since the Lord Jesus, "the Apostle and High Priest of our profession," (Heb. iii. 1,) *hath left this heavenly commission of the Father with his church.*

It were no difficult task (only of labour) to show out of our own monuments and antiquities, and from the writings and records of several ancients and moderns, that Britain was not converted by such as came from Rome, but by others that came hither in the reign of Tiberius, and such as attended Joseph of Arimathea, sent out of Gaul by Philip.

1. That Philip preached the gospel in Gaul, Isidorus,‡ and our ancient Nennius, and Freculfus, do attest.§ That Joseph of Arimathea

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* Second part of the Homily for Whit-Sunday.

† "History of the Cardinals," p. 39.

‡ ISIDORUS *De Sanctis*, lib. i. *Orthodox. Patrum.* vol. i. p. 598.

§ BALEUS *De Script.* fol. p. 15; FRECULFUS, tom. ii. lib. ii. cap. 4. p. 448.

came into Britain to preach the gospel, is exceedingly probable; unless to such whom no ancient testimonies, records, or traditions do savour or relish but such as gratify their own private fancies and designs. Yea, several agree that he came at the instance and by the direction of Philip. If the charters and muniments set forth in *Monasticon Anglicanum;*[*] if the charter of Henry II., granted to the abbey of Glastonbury, which our annalist, John Stow, says he both saw and read,[†] and Sir John Price, in his "Defence of the History of Britain," recites *(verbatim)* in part;[‡] wherein our king declares the several grants of his British and Saxon ancestors; "which," says he, *diligenter feci inquiri et coram me præsentari et legi,*[§] "I caused to be diligently searched out, to be presented and read before me;" where the very deeds of king Arthur and Kenwalch, a pagan prince, are mentioned;[||] and in some of them that place is called "the mother of saints, the grave of the saints," and that it was first built by the very disciples of Christ themselves:[¶] if these be not enough, let Capgrave speak,[**] mentioning the acts of Arthur and Melkin of Avalon or Glastonbury, who lived before Merlin; an author not utterly to be contemned, especially by some, as having rescued several memorials from the grave of oblivion: let Baleus testify,[††] delivering many things from Leland, one employed by king Henry VIII. in searching the antiquities of Britain, and out of Fleming, Scroop, and others; yea, Leland himself, in his "Assertion of King Arthur" (MS.): not to mention such as have been of later date; as Polydore Virgil, and Harding, Pitseus, &c.[‡‡] According to these, it appears, that what work Joseph performed in Britain, was by the recommendation of Philip out of Gaul, and not from Italy.

2. But yet we may ascend higher, and show, that the seeds of Christian religion were first sown in this island twenty-six years earlier; namely, in the latter end of the reign of Tiberius. For thus writes our ancient Gildas: (both of Polydore's edition, and Josselin's:) *Tempore, ut scimus, summo Tiberii Cæsaris, &c., radios suos primùm indulget, id est, sua præcepta, Christus:*[§§] "Christ first indulgeth his rays, that is, his precepts, in the latter end of Tiberius Cæsar, as we know." This testimony of Gildas Badonicus is also confirmed by Gildas Albanius, in his Tract of the victory of Aurelius Ambrose, as some relate.[||||] But, however, let us take the former Gildas's time; whereof though some of ours have in some measure debated,[¶¶] yet let us a little further examine it. The last year of Tiberius fell *in anno Christi* 37, as Petavius,[***] one of their exactest chronologers, states it; who brings Peter first to Rome, A. D. 42; and sets him in the chair, A. D. 43. But the Britons received the gospel five years before his coming to Rome; and that while Peter was yet (in the year 37) at Joppa. (Acts ix. 43.) But if Baronius's account be true, (who has but a small faculty at chronology or astronomical

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[*] *Monast. Anglic.* vol. i. p. 13, &c.

[†] Stow's "Annals," p. 37.

[‡] Price in "Defence of the History of Britain," p. 111.

[§] Usseri *Primord.*, p. 5, 27, 740.

[||] Spelman's *Concilia*, tom. i. apparat. p. 12.

[¶] Stow, p. 37; and Selden's "Notes on the Polyolbion," p. 54.

[**] Capgrave *De Joseph Arimath.* fol. 197, A. B.

[††] Baleus, p. 15, Bas. 1559, fol.

[‡‡] Harding, fol. 40, 41, anno 63; Polydore, p. 52; Pitseus, p. 12.

[§§] Gildas, ex edit. Polydori, p. 10, 1525; et edit. Joan. Josselin, p. 9, B. 1568.

[||||] Fox's "Martyrology," vol. i. p. 137.

[¶¶] Dr. Mason, p. 51; Bishop of Coventry's [Morton] "Grand Imposture," p. 35.

[***] Petavius *De Doct. Temp.* lib. xi. cap. 8, p. 304.

calculations, especially of eclipses, so necessary to an annalist, beside the truth of his allegation,)—he brings Peter to Rome A. D. 44,[*] but settles his episcopal chair there A. D. 45,[†]—if this be true, the Britons' receiving the gospel, A. D. 37, must then anticipate Peter's coming to Rome [by] seven years, and erecting his seat and ordering a church there [by] eight years. Again: Marianus Scotus brings him to Rome A. D. 47;[‡] and then Britain's conversion antedates theirs by ten years. But all this, and much more that might be urged, lies upon the supposition of Peter's being there at all; which many of the learned greatly question. For Marsilius of Padua argues that Peter was not there, and that Paul was the first bishop of Rome.[§] But these things impeach not our cause at all; forasmuch as all the apostles had the same commission, with parity of honour and power.[||]

If, then, the British church were planted before ever Peter came to Rome, let us call to mind that ancient rule: *Omnes ecclesiæ huic subjectæ manent a quo institutæ sunt:* "All churches remain subject to him" (that is, in his successors) "by whom they were instituted." And this is not so much a private, as a public, sanction of the general council of Ephesus, in the case of the Cypriots; who, having received the faith from Barnabas, yet were much molested by the bishops of Antioch. Concerning whom the Ephesine fathers made a decree, and extended it to all churches: *Nullus episcoporum, &c., aliam provinciam, quæ non antea et ab initio fuit sua, sub suam, &c., manum trahat:*[¶] "Let no bishop bring under his power another province, which was not his before and from the beginning." This is yet more insisted upon by Zonaras in his comment upon the eighth canon of that council,[**] and by Balsamon in his *Scholia;*[††] and what is there spoken of Cyprus, some have applied also to Crete upon the same ground; but it is not time to discuss that, or of other provinces. Suffice this canon to our case:[‡‡] that since Britain received the first glorious light of true faith from other disciples of our Lord, and not from Peter; and was converted some years before ever the common tradition of Peter's coming to Rome can be cleared; this rule totally exempts us from all jurisdiction pretended by them; since we are upon these grounds evidently reducible to some of the Asian or Greek churches, in respect to the ancient rites of worship concording with theirs and oppugnant to Rome. This was the quarrel between the British bishops and Austin the monk, as Venerable Bede relates,[§§] *in multis,* "in many things," but especially in the celebration of Easter and ministration of baptism. This troubled the North British churches: about which very thing the synod at Whitby was called A. D. 664; and there Hilda and her associates averred their customs from John, Philip, Polycarp, &c., of the eastern communion.[||||] Neither were these matters wholly silenced as to the Welsh Britons, till the year 762.[¶¶] More might be said also about Lucius's and Ethelbert's times; that the last especially was but an attempt to yoke the British churches under the dominion of Rome, which they stoutly resisted. And it might be evidenced, that Christian religion was initiated among the Saxons before Austin the monk arrived. For queen Bertha enjoyed the benefit of Christian worship by the ministry of Luidhardus, a bishop, sent with her out of France;[*] and it was celebrated in a British church, dedicated to St. Martin, in the east side of the city of Canterbury, and built in the time of the Romans, as some others were which Austin had leave to repair.[†]

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[*] BARONII *Annales*, ad annum 44, n. 11, 25.

[†] Idem, ad annum 44, n. 28; et an. 45, n. 1.

[‡] MARIANUS SCOTUS, p. 367.

[§] MARSILII *Defensor Pacis*, p. 207.

[||] Idem, *ibid.*

[¶] *Acta Concil. Ephesin.* tom. ii. app. cap. 4, p. 201, edit. Peltan.

[**] *Concil. Ephesin.* ZONARÆ, p. 85, edit. Paris. 1618.

[††] BALSAMON *in Synod. Ephes.* can. viii. p. 319, Paris. 1620.

[‡‡] *Corol. a Sancto Paulo*, p. 18.

[§§] BEDA, lib. ii. cap. 2, p. 112.

[||||] BALEUS, fol. 81; SPELMAN'S *Concilia*.

[¶¶] LLUYD'S "Brev. of Britain," fol. 57, B.

But say, 1. We received our light first from Rome; (which is false;) and grant, 2. The dominion of Peter to be universal; and yield, 3. The bishop of Rome to be his undoubted successor; and that, 4. There are no flaws in the old chair; and that, 5. This bishop is invested by Christ with all the privileges of an apostle; which are all precarious and begged: yet, if they apostatize from the doctrine and faith of Peter, must all other churches be censured for separating from them who separate from Christ, from Peter, and from Paul? We profess to hold unfeignedly with old Rome whatever it held according to Paul's epistle to the Romans; nay, and with the church "in Babylon," εν Βαϐυλωνι, (1 Peter v. 13,) (possibly near Memphis,) in whatever they retained of Peter's doctrine. When they are returned to Peter and Paul's doctrine, &c., then let them treat with us; but else, if any depart, that old maxim should be refreshed: *Causa, non separatio, schismaticum facit:* "It is not separation, but the cause, that determines schism. They are schismatics that depart from Peter."[‡] And another not to be forgotten: *Dùm ecclesia habet pastorem hæreticum vel schismaticum, vacare intelligitur:*[§] "While a church hath a heretic or schismatic for its pastor, it is to be counted vacant." In which case, what shall be said to their own Genebrard? who affirms, that fifty popes in succession, for almost one hundred and fifty years together, were either *apotactici vel apostatici, potiùs quàm apostolici;*[‖] "irregular or apostates, rather than apostolical." Pope Marcellinus said, he could not see how *they* could be saved, *who* were advanced to the papacy. (ONUPHRIUS *in Vitâ Marcellini.)* I shall not here enlarge upon any of their irregular intrusions into the throne, the fighting and bloodshed (mentioned by Ammianus[¶]) at the election of Damasus; nor their personal vices and heresies; nor the insession of the chair by that learned dame, unkindly mentioned by Laonicus,[**] and uncomfortably revived in our Church-Homilies.[††] When these points are duly and seriously weighed, what cause the Reformed have had for a secession and departure from them, to the glory of God, to the reverence of Peter's doctrine, to the comfort and peace of our consciences, let the Greek churches, or any other that maintain scripture-doctrine and worship, nay, let all in other parts of the world that own the true God, be judges.

But, to draw to an end: how greatly ought we to resound His praises, who hath in all ages, through the depth of the darkest times, conserved the true faith and doctrine all along; and of his great mercy conveyed to us authentic testimonies and evidences, notwithstanding the barbarism and violence of several ages against the truth! Nay, it might be shown that God hath not left us without a lamp of testimony to the most material points, even here in Britain: but that it would arise to a little chronicle, not proper for this place and time, but obvious to be observed, in the several hints and reflections upon what they called "errors" in several public synods in this island; even till the time of Wickliffe, when the truth broke out more gloriously, and still shineth in great lustre, blessed be His most holy name!

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[*] BEDA, lib. i. cap. 26.

[†] Idem, *ibid.* cap. 26.

[‡] *Constit. Apostol.* lib. vi. cap. 4.

[§] *Decretal.* GREG. IX. lib. v. tit. 7, fol. 285, Paris.

[‖] GENEBRARD. *Chron.* lib. iv. ad annum 904, p. 807.

[¶] AMMIANUS, lib. xxvii.

[**] LAONICUS CHALCOCONDYLAS *De Rebus Turc.* lib. vi. p. 200, ed. Col. Allobr. 1615.

[††] Second part of the "Sermon for Whit-Sunday," fol. 232, 233.

COROLLARY IV.

Hath Almighty God, of his infinite goodness, so graciously hitherto preserved his church; and bestowed upon the Reformed countries his most Holy Bible, translated with great care and diligence out of the sacred originals into our mother-tongues; and poured out that grace to endeavour to reform, according to his heavenly directions therein recorded? Let us "give the more earnest heed to the things which we have heard, lest at any time we should let them slip;" (Heb. ii. 1;) *and "hold fast" that which we have received from heaven, "that no man take away our crown."* (Rev. iii. 11.)

Let us take heed of wantonness; of resisting or abusing the blessed gospel; or any way walking unworthy of it; lest God, provoked by our unholiness, should remove the golden candlestick into corners or to other nations. Let us take great heed of creeping corruptions, and of those communions that err in faith, departing from the Head, from the scriptures, from the doctrine of the apostles, from purity of worship; lest, if we partake of their sins, we be involved also in their plagues. "Come out of her, my people," says the Lord: (Rev. xviii. 4:) and having been obedient to the heavenly vision, let us keep our garments unspotted, that men see not our shame; (Rev. xvi. 15;) as we love the salvation of our souls and the glory of "the Son of the living God," the only true Basis and Rock of his church. Let us heartily pity and earnestly pray for such as are yet judicially hardened to believe a lie. (2 Thess. ii. 10, 11.)

COROLLARY V.

Since our blessed Lord hath built his church upon himself, who is a Rock flowing with milk and honey; then all true believers, being fixed upon this amiable and lovely "Foundation laid in Zion," should sweetly unite in holy love together, being "rooted and built up together in him." (Col. ii. 7.)

Let not these living marbles, polished for Solomon's palace, dash against one another. Let not the sheep of Christ push each other.

——— *Quis teneros oculus mihi fascinat agnos?*—VIRGILII *Bucolica*, ecl. iii. 103.*

"Who hath bewitched you, O foolish Galatians?" (Gal. iii. 1.) These unnatural buttings (as shepherds observe) presage very stormy days. Shall roses that grow in Sharon gash each other's tender sides, and the church's vines turn brambles? When some troops in an army fight not against the enemy, but give fire at their own regiments, is it not a notorious sign of infatuation, or conspiracy against their native prince? Shall a few externals engage spirits in mutual heats and conflicts, to the laughter, scorn, and hope of the adversary? who will join with one part for a while, that they may devour both at last; and blow up those intestine heats into a flame, at which they will joyfully warm their hands. Mildness and meekness is the glory of a Christian; and the way to gain brethren to our opinions is by ponderous arguments and sweet affections. Naturalists observe, that fish will never be taken by a bloody net; and when sheep bring forth lions, it is portentous of tyranny.[*] It is utterly impossible, in our lapsed estate, to make all of a mind; and a most improper means, to propagate opinions by violence. Socrates, treating of the diversities about Easter and other rites, in an excellent chapter tending to Christian union, says, Ουδεποτε ϖρος ἑαυτους διεφωνησαν,[†] that "they by no means dissociated from one another;" and that those who consent in the same faith, may differ in rites and ceremonies; [‡] and that the apostles gave no precepts about such matters, but left all to their free liberty: [§] and again, bewails such as in his time counted whoredom indifferent, but strove for such feasts as for their lives.[||] Neither may we forget those golden sayings of blessed Austin: *Interminabilis est ista contentio, generans lites, non finiens quæstiones: sit ergò una fides, &c., etiamsi ipsa fidei unitas quibusdam diversis observationibus celebratur, quibus nullo modo quod in fide verum est impeditur:* [¶] "This contention is endless, gendering to strife, not putting an end to questions: let the faith therefore be one, &c., although the unity of faith be celebrated with certain diverse rites, by which that which is true in the faith is no ways hindered." All the glory of the queen is within: those outward rites are only the embroidery of her garments, which may be of various colours. (Psalm xlv. 13, 14.) The dove of the church may have her "wings covered with silver, and her feathers with yellow gold." (Psalm lxviii. 13.) The same army may have diversity of banners; and yet fight unanimously and victoriously under one and the same general. We agree in the main; and "whereto we have already attained, let us walk by the same rule, let us mind the same thing:" and if any be otherwise minded, God may in time reveal even that unto them. (Phil. iii. 15, 16; Gal. vi. 16.) There will never be peace in the Christian world, so long as scrupulous externals are by proud and foolish persons pressed with equal rigour to many substantials and fundamentals.

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* "What magic has bewitch'd the woolly dams,
And what ill eyes beheld the tender lambs?"—DRYDEN'S Translation.

So far are some pious spirits from this fiery temper, that they are not without hope of several in far different communions. But if any among ours speak or write more mildly, favourably, and softly, of some of theirs, it is not to be understood of such as finally persist in the high and fundamental points of difference; but of them that privately whisper and sigh among their friends, *Sic dicerem in scholis, sed tamen (maneat inter nos,) diversum sentio, &c.; non potest probari de sacris literis, &c.:* [**] "So I speak in the schools, but yet (let that be kept private) I think otherwise, and that it cannot be proved out of holy scriptures:" of such as sincerely cry out with the cardinal, *Tutissimum est fiduciam totam in solâ*

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[*] ÆLIAN. [†] SOCRATIS *Eccles. Hist.* lib. v. cap. 21. [‡] Page 696. [§] Page 697. [||] Page 699. [¶] AUGUSTINI *Epist. lxxxvi.* p. 388. [**] *Ursperg. Paralip.* p. 343, edit. 1609.

Dei misericordiâ et benignitate reponere: "It is safest to cast all our confidence on the mercy and benignity of God only;" * to adhere to the precious blood of Christ alone, without works: (there be some even in Babylon of His people, to be called out in the day of vengeance: Rev. xviii. 4:) such as are in heart ours; and, as to the cardinal point of justification, die in the Reformed religion: such as Pighius, (though otherwise bitter,) as Vergerius, Gerson, Ferus, Jansenius, and father Paul the Venetian, and many others.†

COROLLARY VI.

In the sixth and last place: *All the true living members of the holy church of Christ may be greatly comforted from this text and doctrine.*

For though the church will never be fully quiet and at rest while the gates of hell stand undemolished; but will be still exposed to furious assaults, to boisterous waves, tempestuous storms, direful persecutions, and secret undermining heresies, to their *molimina* and *blandimenta;* sometimes to "fierce oppositions" and "flattering enticements," and sometimes to both together: yet herein stands "the faith and patience of the saints." (Rev. xiii. 10; xiv. 12.) Therefore all gracious Christians must be content, and resolved to exercise themselves in this spiritual warfare, and by fervent prayer call down auxiliary help from heaven; whereby the invincible and omnipotent God is humbly implored, and legions of holy angels sent in for assistance. Yet,

1. Let holy souls be comforted in this,—that "*no weapon formed against Mount Zion shall*" *finally* "*prosper.*" (Isai. liv. 17.)—"The virgin, the daughter of Zion, hath despised them, and laughed them to scorn; the daughter of Jerusalem hath shaken her head at them." (Isai. xxxvii. 22.) For, as the "golden-mouthed" preacher expresses it, Την βελοθηκην αυτου εξεκενωσεν ὁ διαϐολος, την δε εκκλησιαν ουκ εϐλαψε.‡ "Satan hath emptied his quiver, but hath not hurt the church." By how much the more the enemies rage against her, by so much the more the true professors of piety and faith increase: not unlike the vine, that grows the more fertile by pruning; or as the palm, that rises the more erect after weights and pressures; and although in time of trouble like some plants that shut up their flowers upon a storm, yet afterward display their lively and lovely colours more oriently to the face of the shining sun. The church of God, though she be not always so openly visible as that all the world shall cry, "Hosanna" to her splendour and glory, yet she grows more numerous, holy, and stable, by her troubles. Her enemies may seem for a time ισχυειν, *valere;* but shall not κατισχυειν, *prævalere,* as it is promised in the text: [they may seem] "to be potent and strong;" but shall never "subdue and vanquish" her. They might believe Christ, and spare their trouble. They may *vires exerere,* "put forth their utmost power;" but "the gates of hell," (ᾅδου, *portæ mortis,*) "of death and the grave," shall never attain to or compass so deadly a stroke as shall extirpate the church in any age. Nay, the wisdom of God hath ever turned their policies into folly, and their

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* BELLARMINUS *De Justif.* tom. iv. lib. v. c. 7, p. 276, Col. Agrip. 1628.

† OSIANDER, cent. xvi. p. 501.

‡ CHRYSOSTOMI *Serm. i. in Pentecost.* tom. v. p. 979, ed. Æton.

puissance into cowardice. They have often been forced to suck up the cockatrice-eggs that they have laid, and felt the keenness of their own recoiling arrows. They may open [their mouth], but shall never be able to swallow the church: they may cast out floods, but shall never drown her: (Rev. xii. 15, 16:) as he said of ancient Rome, *Mersa profundo, pulchrior evenit:* * "Cast her in the sea; she dives, and rises again with her face washed from spots, and looks more beautiful." The church may be pressed for a while, but suppressed never. "The archers may shoot sorely at" her: but her "bow shall abide in strength." (Gen. xlix. 23, 24.) God will have a church to endure to the world's end, in spite of all the privy leagues and confederacies that are contrived in, or all the forces and powers that issue from, the gates of hell. Her "place of defence shall be the munitions of rocks;" (Isai. xxxiii. 16;) and "all the nations that fight against Ariel shall be as the dream of a night-vision." (Isai. xxix. 7.)

2. *The church, after all assaults and conflicts, in fine shall be completely victorious and triumphant; she will joyfully survive her enemies, and behold their funerals.*—Let holy souls rely upon this promise in the text, and improve it in prayer for their comfort and sustentation; for the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it: "The nations shall see" it, "and be confounded at all their might: they shall lay their hand upon their mouth, their ears shall be deaf. They shall lick the dust like a serpent, they shall move out of their holes like worms of the earth: they shall be afraid of the Lord our God, and shall fear because of him." (Micah vii. 16, 17.) There is a time,—and it hastens,—that this rock shall dash them in pieces, and they shall "become like the chaff of the summer threshing-floors; and the wind shall carry them away, and no place be found for them." (Dan. ii. 35.) There is a glorious time a-coming, *(rumpantur ut ilia Romæ,†)* when the stones of this temple shall be "laid with fair colours, and her foundations with sapphires, her windows with agates, her gates with carbuncles, and all her borders with pleasant stones;" (Isai. liv. 11, 12;) when the false rock of the pretended Peter shall, like a millstone, be flung into the depth of the sea; and her gaudy edifice shall melt into foam, and be dissipated among the waters. Then shall one of their own prophecies (I mean, of the Irish Malachi ‡) be surely fulfilled: *Civitas septicollis diruetur, et Judex tremendus judicabit populum suum:* "The seven-hilled city shall be ruined, and the terrible Judge shall judge his people." Or rather, that of Obadiah: "Saviours shall come up on Mount Zion to judge the Mount of Esau; and the kingdom shall be the Lord's." (Obad. 21.)

3. In the mean time, let the church of God be comforted also in this, —that *the bread of support shall be given her, and the water of consolation shall be sure.* (Isai. xxxiii. 16.) Out of this Rock of ages flows a river of living waters, "the streams whereof shall make glad the city of God." (Psalm xlvi. 4.) Nay, "with honey out of the rock" shall they be satisfied, (Psalm lxxxi. 16,) while wandering in the wilderness toward

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* HORATII *Carm.* lib. iv. od. iv. 65. † This quotation is altered from a line of VIRGIL, *Bucol.* ecl. vii. 26. WARTON thus translates the original:—

"Till Codrus' heart malign with envy break."—EDIT.

‡ MESSINGHAM, *Florileg. Hiberniæ*, p. 378.

Canaan; and at last transported to the city of the New Jerusalem, which is above; where there is "fulness of joy, and pleasures for evermore;" (Psalm xvi. 11;) where "they shall be abundantly satisfied with the fatness" of that heavenly temple, and shall drink-in the rivers of the celestial Eden, עֲדָנֶיךָ *Edenis tuæ.* (Psalm xxxvi. 8.)

SERMON X. (XV.)

BY THE REV. RICHARD MAYO, A. M.

THE PAPISTS DANGEROUSLY CORRUPT HOLY WORSHIP, BY THEIR SINFUL PRAYERS TO SAINTS AND ANGELS.

INVOCATION OF SAINTS AND ANGELS UNLAWFUL.

How then shall they call on him in whom they have not believed?—
Romans x. 14.

My business being to show the sin and folly of the Papists in praying to angels and saints departed, I thought this scripture would be a fit introduction to it. This text alone, in the learned Usher's opinion,* will put an end to this controversy amongst those that list not to be contentious. I shall not dilate upon the context; let it suffice to tell you, that the scope of the apostle is to prove, that there was a necessity of preaching the gospel to the Gentiles, as well as the Jews. He had showed before that there is no difference betwixt them; that "the same Lord over all is rich unto all that call upon him;" that the Gentiles calling upon him should be saved by him: (verses 12, 13:) hence, therefore, he infers that the gospel must needs be preached to them; for, as it follows in the text, "How shall they call on him in whom they have not believed? and how shall they believe in him of whom they have not heard? and how shall they hear without a preacher?"

His way of arguing is such as logicians call "sorites;" rhetoricians, "a gradation:" and it is very forcible and demonstrative. So also is his manner of speaking, which is by way of interrogation; which is the more convincing, because it carries with it a kind of an appeal to the persons spoken to. The interrogation here is equivalent to a negation: "How shall they call upon him?" that is, They cannot call upon him; it is not possible nor practicable. "In whom they have not believed:" the original is, "On whom," Εις όν ουκ επιστευσαν· there must be a believing *on* him, as well as *in* him, whom we invocate; that is, there must be a fiducial trusting and relying upon him. All supplication is founded on faith: none implore *his* favour on *whom* they have not some reliance; we petition no others here on earth, we must direct our prayers to no other in heaven. Whoever is the object of our prayers, must likewise be the object of our trust. Now, it is God alone (who is distinguished into Father, Son, and Spirit) in or on whom we must believe. It is to him, therefore, and him only, that we must pray. He is accursed in scripture that trusteth in any other, and so is he that religiously worships or invocates any other, but God alone. If Christ himself were a mere man, and not God as well as man, we should sin by believing in him, or by worshipping and calling upon him. It is one argument whereby we prove the Deity of our blessed Redeemer,—that the scripture doth everywhere represent him as the object of faith and religious invocation.

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* In "Answer to a Challenge made by a Jesuit in Ireland," p. 377.

This foundation being laid, I come, without farther prefacing, to raise or build upon it this ensuing proposition :—

THE PROPOSITION.

The practice of the Papists, in praying to angels and saints departed, is very blameworthy and abominable in the sight of God.

In the handling hereof, I shall, First, show you *that this is the practice of the Papists,—to pray unto angels and saints ;* Secondly, *that their so doing is very blameworthy and abominable in the sight of God.*

I. *This is the Papists' practice.*—To the end I may not falsely charge or accuse them,

1. I shall, in the first place, set down *the doctrine of their church about this matter, and that as it stands recorded in the council of Trent.*—Thus, then, that council hath determined : "That, the saints reigning with Christ and offering up their prayers for men, it is good and profitable humbly to invocate them, and, that we may obtain benefits of God through his Son Jesus Christ our Lord, who is our only Redeemer and Saviour, to have recourse to their prayers, aid, and assistance." [*] It is true, here is nothing decreed about the invocation of angels ; (though that be also their common practice ;) but here is a positive prescription about the invocation of saints. "It is good and profitable," says the council, "humbly to invocate them, to have recourse to their prayers ;" who, beside their praying for us, are supposed to afford some other aid and assistance to us : and what should that be ? Why, to confer grace and glory and every good thing.[†]

2. That this is intended, will appear, if you consider, in the next place, *those forms of prayer that are in common use amongst them.*—And here I shall not instance in those pieces of devotion which are muttered in private corners or closets, but in such as are read or sung in their public churches or assemblies. In the "Breviary" or "Hours of Sarum"

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[*] *Sanctis unà cum Christo regnantibus, et orationes pro hominibus offerentibus ; bonum atque utile est suppliciter eos invocare, et ob beneficia a Deo impetranda, per Filium ejus Jesum Christum, qui solus noster Redemptor et Salvator est, ad eorum orationes, opem, auxiliumque confugere.—Conc. Trid.* sess. ix.

[†] *Invocandi sunt sancti eò quòd pro salute hominum preces assiduè faciunt, multaque eorum merito et gratiâ in nos Deus confert beneficia. Rogati peccatorum veniam nobis impetrant, et conciliant nobis Dei gratiam.—Vide plura in Catechismo ex Decret. Concil. Trident. Pontif. Jussu edit.* "The saints are to be invoked, forasmuch as they pray with assiduity for the salvation of men, and God confers many benefits upon us on account of their merit and favour in his sight. When entreated, they obtain for us the pardon of our sins, and procure for us the good-will and grace of God."—EDIT.

(which was in great request here in England before the Reformation) I find many pretty strains of devotion: sometimes to all the choir of angels in general; sometimes to this and the other angel in particular,—to Michael, Gabriel, Raphael, whom they dignify with the title of "archangel." But in that and in other Breviaries they are far more liberal of their prayers to the saints: though they are made a little lower, yet the devotion of the Papists is carried a little higher to them than to the angels. To these, and to their prayers, aid, and assistance, they are more particularly directed; (as you heard;) and accordingly they practise. Of these they do not only desire that they would pray for them; (as some of their later writers, mincing the matter, do pretend;) that indeed would be less culpable, though altogether (as we shall see) unwarrantable: but these they formally invocate and pray unto; and that with the same show of devotion which they use to God himself. To these they build temples, erect altars, burn incense, make vows and promises, &c. These they dignify with the same names, titles, and attributes as they do our Saviour himself;* and of these they ask the same blessings and favours as they do of God, and which are beyond the power of any mere creature in heaven or earth to give. In particular, they pray unto them to enlighten their eyes, to increase their virtues, to pacify their consciences, to pardon their sins, to comfort and save their souls, &c.†

It is a poor plea of Bellarmine's whereby he attempts to defend such prayers,—that "though the words themselves may seem to imply more than a mere praying to the saints to pray for us, yet that is all which they intend."‡ To this purpose, also, a later writer delivereth himself. "It is not," says he, "the dead words, but the intention of the speaker that animates them, that makes them to be a prayer." And again: "It is the sense that makes the words to be prayer, and not the bare characters or letters: and that the church's sense is no other but to desire the saints to obtain for us the blessings expressed in those forms, is manifest from her frequent intermixing that usual form of, 'Pray for us,' and from her public doctrine, as declared in the council of Trent, and inculcated to all the faithful in their Catechisms."§ To all which it may be replied, that many use these prayers who never were instructed concerning any such interpretations of them. And from whence should men learn the sense of their prayers, but from the known signification of the words used in them? If their leaders did mean as some of them speak and write for the better colouring and gilding-over [of] this abomination, why do not they all this while reform their Breviaries and forms of devotion, and so frame the petitions or prayers therein that they may be a little accommodated to this sense that they would seem to put upon them? A learned person,[*] speaking to this very case, brings the Papists to this dilemma: "Those," says he, "of the Roman church that use these forms, and that according to the known sense of the words, either they do well or ill in so doing: if they do ill, then their church is guilty of intolerable negligence in not preventing of it; if they do well, then their church allows of more than bare praying to angels and saints to pray for them."

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* *S. Claudi, desolatorum consolator, captivorum liberator, resurrectio mortuorum, lumen cæcorum, auditus surdorum, sanator languidorum, tutor naufragantium, via errantium, salus omnium in te sperantium, &c.—Horæ secundùm Usum Romanum*, 6 *die Junii.* "O St. Claudius, the consoler of the desolate, the liberator of the captives, the resurrection of the dead, the light of the blind, the hearing of the deaf, the healer of the sick, the guardian of the shipwrecked, the way of the wanderers, the salvation of all who hope in thee," &c.—EDIT.

† *O beati apostoli Dei, solvite me a peccatis, defendite me a pœnis inferni et de potestate tenebrarum, confortate me, et ad regnum æternum me perducite. Omnes sanctæ virgines Dei, adjuvate me, ut habeam bonam voluntatem cordis, corporis sanitatem, castitatem, et, post cursum vitæ meæ, societatem perpetuæ beatitudinis.—Ibid.* "O ye blessed apostles of God, absolve me from my sins, defend me from the pains of hell and from the power of darkness, strengthen me, and bring me to the eternal kingdom. O all holy virgins of God, assist me, that I may possess a good will in my heart, health and chastity of body, and, after the journey of my life, the society of endless bliss."—EDIT.

‡ *De Sanct. Beat.* lib. i. cap. 17.

§ "Catholics no Idolaters," p. 402, 404.

It must be confessed, the church of Rome hath laid aside some of her old Breviaries and Offices: yet, because they were formerly allowed and enjoined, she must be accountable for them, until she confess her error and mistake.

Before I pass this head, let me show you one thing in their practice that deserves a particular remark; and that is the *hyperdulia*, (as they call it,) or "the transcendent service and worship," which they bestow upon the Virgin Mary. Her they salute and call upon under the terms of "the queen of heaven, the gate of glory, and fountain of mercy, and mother of all grace:" she is a "goddess, saviouress, advocatess, mediatrix, empress," and what not? For her they have many particular Offices;[†] and to her they direct more prayers than unto God himself. To one Pater-noster they are taught to say ten Ave-Marias; which being five times said, makes one "rosary," or "chaplet of prayers:" and, to the end they might not be deceived in their tale, they say that St. Dominic (it may be, one of Our Lady's chaplains) did invent the use of beads. Of her their approved and renowned doctors affirm many incredible things; as, that, "she being the mother of the Son of God who doth produce the Holy Ghost, therefore all the gifts, virtues, and graces of the Holy Ghost are by her hand administered to whom she pleaseth, when she pleaseth, how she pleaseth, and as much as she pleaseth."[‡] They teach that "she is constituted over every creature; and whosoever doth bow his knee unto Jesus, doth fall down also and supplicate his mother; so that the glory of the Son may be judged not so much to be common with the mother, as to be the same:"[§] that "she assumes to herself, of the omnipotency of her Son, as much as she pleaseth;"[||] and that "she comes before the golden altar of human reconciliation, not interceding only, but commanding; a mistress, not a servant."[¶] They tell us that "the history of Ahasuerus in Esther was a figure of God's bestowing half his kingdom upon the blessed Virgin; that, having justice and mercy, as the chiefest goods of his kingdom, he retained justice to himself, and granted mercy unto her. Hence, if a man find himself aggrieved in the court of God's justice, he may appeal to the court of mercy of his mother; she being that throne of grace whereof the apostle speaketh in the Hebrews: 'Let us go boldly to the throne of grace, that we may receive mercy, and find grace to help in a time of need.'" *

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[*] DR. STILLINGFLEET'S "Idolatry of the Church of Rome," p. 166.

[†] In the Psalter approved by the doctors of [the] Sorbonne, I find this prayer to the Virgin Mary: "My only succour, my lips are bound to publish no other praises but thine. By thee the head of the serpent hath been bruised, the world repaired; thy power is boundless. Unto thee I confess my sins; into thy hands I commit my soul. Come unto Mary, ye who have thirst: pray unto her, that with her water she will wash away the filthiness of your sins," &c.

[‡] *Mater est Filii Dei qui producit Spiritum Sanctum; ideò omnia dona virtutis et gratiæ ipsius Spiritûs Sancti, quibus vult, quandò vult, quomodò vult, et quantùm vult, per manum ipsius administrantur.*—BERNARDINI SENENSIS *Serm. lxi.* art. i. cap. 8.

[§] *Constituta est super omnem creaturam; et quicunque Jesu curvat genu, matri quoque pronus supplicat; et Filii gloriam cum matre non tam communem judico quàm eandem.*—ARNOLDI CARNOTENSIS *Tract. de Laudibus Virginis.*

[||] *Ipsa Dei mater de omnipotentiâ Filii sui, cui est innixa, quantum vult sibi assumit.*—BERNARDINI DE BUSTIS *Mariale*, pars xii. serm. ii.

[¶] *Accedit ante aureum humanæ reconciliationis altare, non solùm rogans, sed imperans; domina, non ancilla.*—DAMIANUS *De Nativit. beatæ Mariæ*, serm. i.

"In respect of her," they say, "God after a sort is more bound to us, than we are to him." † "She in some respect did greater things to God, than God himself did to us and all mankind." ‡ "She only said, 'He that is mighty hath done great things to me:' but of her we may say, 'She hath done greater things to Him that is mighty.'" § Farther, they tell us that, "though she be subject to God, inasmuch as she is a creature; yet is she said to be superior and preferred before him, inasmuch as she is his mother." ‖ Hence they call upon her, "in a mother's right, to command her Son." ¶ Yea, in Our Lady's Psalter, which is made in imitation of David's Psalms, the name of God is every where expunged, and the name of the Virgin Mary put in its place. "Our Lord" is changed into "Our lady." Instead of, "In thee, O Lord," it is, "In thee, O lady, I put my trust: let me never be confounded." Instead of, "Let the Lord arise," it is, "Let our lady arise, and let her enemies be scattered." Instead of, "O come, let us sing unto the Lord," it is, "O come, let us sing unto our lady, and make a joyful noise to the queen of our salvation." The very rehearsal of these things is enough to make your ears to tingle, and your hair to stand on end. O how patient is God in bearing with the provocations of the Papacy!

II. The second thing to be considered is this, *that this practice of the Papists is very blameworthy and abominable in the sight of God.*—A little reflection upon what hath been already declared might serve for confirmation hereof, and be instead of a thousand arguments, with all those who have the least zeal of God's honour remaining in them. However, *ex abundanti*, ["over and above,"] I shall attempt the proof of what I have propounded, by showing you that this practice of the Romanists is,

IT IS UNSCRIPTURAL.

1. *Unscriptural.*—It hath not any warrant from the word of God. This is acknowledged by the most ingenuous amongst themselves. Ban-

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* *Dedit beatæ Virgini Rex regum, Pater cœlestis, dimidium regni sui; quod significatum est in Hester reginâ, &c. Sic Pater cœlestis, cùm habeat justitiam et misericordiam, tanquam potiora regni sui bona, justitiâ sibi retentâ, misericordiam matri Virgini concessit.*—GABRIEL BIEL *in Canon. Missæ*, lect. 80. *Si quis sentit se gravari a foro justitiæ Dei, appellet ad forum misericordiæ matris ejus.*—BERNARDINI DE BUSTIS *Mariale*, pars iii. serm. iii. in excellent. 4, et pars v. serm. vii. in excellent. 5.

† *Propter beatam Virginem Deus quodammodò plus obligetur nobis quàm nos sibi.*—BERNARDINI SENENSIS *Serm. lxi.* art. i. cap. 11.

‡ *Plus fecit Deo.*—Idem, *ibid.*

§ *Tu fecisti majora ei qui potens est, &c.*—BERNARD. DE BUSTIS *Mariale*, pars vi. serm. ii.

‖ *Licet sit subjecta Deo in quantum creatura, superior tamen illi dicitur in quantum est ejus mater.*—Idem, pars xii. serm. ii.

¶ *Jure matris impera dilectissimo tuo Filio Domino nostro Jesu Christo.*—BONAVENTURA *De Coronâ beatæ Mariæ Virg.* tom. vi. A, edit. Rom. 1588. *Ora Patrem, jube Natum. O felix puerpera, pians scelera jure Matris impera Redemptori. Ora suppliciter, præcipe sublimiter.*—*Hist. secundùm Char. August. de Commem. B. M. Virg* "Beseech the Father, command the Son. O blissful child-bearer, that dost expiate crimes, by a mother's right, command the Redeemer. Suppliantly beseech, loftily command."—EDIT.

nesius confesseth that "it is not taught in the holy scriptures, neither expressly nor covertly, that prayers are to be made to the saints."[*] Bellarmine tells us, "It was not the manner under the Old Testament to say, 'Holy Abraham, pray for us,'" &c.[†] For which he gives several reasons; as, that "the fathers were then shut up in prison, and did not see God," &c. Salmeron says the same; and withal adds, that "there is nothing expressed in the gospels, or the epistles of the apostles, touching this matter."[‡] "It would have been hard," says he, "to enjoin such a thing on the Jews; and the Gentiles would have thought that many gods were put upon them instead of the many gods they had forsaken."[§] And if they had not themselves confessed, they might easily have been convinced, that there are no footsteps at all of this practice in the holy scripture. In all the book of God there is not one precept for praying to saints, nor any example of any one of God's people that ever made such a prayer, nor any promise that such a way of praying shall be accepted, nor any punishment threatened in case it be neglected.[||] The scripture every where makes God to be the only object of prayer and invocation: how many hundred petitions or prayers are upon record there, and not one of them put up to any other! When the Lord taught his disciples, and us in them, to pray, he directs them to say, "Our Father, which art in heaven." (Matt. vi. 9.) The scripture often expresseth this duty by the term of "praying" only, without any mention of the object: "When ye pray, use not vain repetitions:" "But thou, when thou prayest, enter into thy closet," &c. (Verses 6, 7.) And hereby it is intimated, that "prayer" in matter of religion can signify nothing else but praying unto God: it is not prayer, if it be directed to any other.

This being the case, the Popish practice must needs be an abomination. God will allow of nothing in his service and worship but what he himself hath instituted. It is a saying of bishop Davenant, that "all the necessary parts of religious worship do so depend upon the will of God revealed in his word, that whatsoever is not founded in his word is contrary to his will."[¶] To this purpose, also, is that of St. Augustine: *Deum sic colere oportet quomodò seipsum colendum esse præcipit:*[**] "We ought so to worship God as he hath appointed himself to be worshipped." Hear what the scripture itself says. In Deut. xii. 29—31, the Israelites are dehorted from using the religious rites and customs of the Heathens in the worshipping of God. How then? in what manner must they worship him? "What thing soever he commands, they must observe to do it: they may not add thereto, nor diminish from it." (Verse 32.) To all which may that of our Saviour be added: "In vain they do worship me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men;" (Matt. xv. 9;) that is, pressing men's traditions in the room of Christ's institutions.

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[*] *Orationes ad sanctos faciendas neque expressè neque involutè sacræ literæ docent.—Comment. in Secundam Secundæ,* quæst. i. art. 10, lib. i.

[†] *De Beat. Sanctit.* cap. 19.

[‡] *In* 1 *Tim. ii.* 2, disput. 7, 8; Eccii *Enchiridion,* cap. 15; Suarez, tom. ii. *in disput. Thom. xlii.* sect. 1. *Vide* Eccium *in Enchiridio suo.*

[§] *Durum erat id Judæis præcipere, et Gentibus daretur occasio putandi multos sibi deos, &c.*—Salmeron *ut supra.*

[||] "Christians were required, when infirm, to have recourse to the prayers of living saints; and were told, the fervent prayers of such were prevalent. Why were they not directed to the patriarchs and prophets, to the blessed Virgin, to St. Stephen and St. James, and other early martyrs of the church, whose prayers, it seems by the church of Rome, are highly meritorious, and far more prevailing? This should have been the rather inculcated, because it was novel practice, and never used by the Roman church; and therefore they had need of an express to encourage them to such devotions."—Dr. Whitby's "Discourse of the Idolatry of the Church of Rome," p. 188.

[¶] *Quæ in verbo non fundentur divinæ voluntati adversantur.*—Davenantii *Determinationes Quæstionum,* quæst. 44.

[**] *De Consensu Evangelistarum.*

One thing more may be considered under this head,—that the worshipping of saints and angels, (of which prayer and invocation is "a principal part,"[*]) it is not only unscriptural, but antiscriptural; as it is not commanded, so it is forbidden, in the scripture. There it is written, "Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve." (Matt. iv. 10.) I am not ignorant of the Popish distinction betwixt λατρεια ["latria"] and δουλεια ["dulia"]. The former, they say, belongs only to God; the latter may be applied to the creature. But how often have they been told and convinced, that these are used reciprocally both in sacred and profane writ! And some of themselves have been so ingenuous as to acknowledge it.[†] He that first coined this distinction was no critic in the Greek tongue;[‡] nor did he ever intend it in the Popish sense. He himself confesseth, that both the one and the other belong only to God: "The one is due to him as he is our Lord; the other, as he is our God." Nor, when our Saviour uttered those words, was He desired of the devil to defer that service to him which they call "the superior and highest worship;" nor did he pretend to be God himself, but only to be his minister, and to enjoy what he offered by the bounty of God; and a little religious prostration would have served his turn. But what says Christ to him? "Get thee behind me, Satan: for it is written, Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve." The word "only" is not in the Old-Testament text where it is recorded; (Deut. vi. 13;) but our Saviour puts it in, to show that God, and none but he, is the object of religious worship and service. Hence it is, also, that an angel chides the apostle John for offering religious service to him: "See thou do it not," says he: "I am thy fellow-servant." (Rev. xix. 10; xxii. 9.) The word is συνδουλος· "I am thy fellow in *dulia*:" he rejects that kind of worship which, the Papists say, belongs to saints and angels. And then it follows, "Worship God:" "He is the only object of religious worship: do not worship one that is thy fellow-servant and worshipper."

IT IS IRRATIONAL.

2. This practice is *irrational*.—It is not λογικη λατρεια, "a rational service:" (Rom. xii. 1:) there is nothing more absurd. The absurdity of it appears in these two particulars:—

(1.) *Consider their incapacity to hear the prayers that are directed to*

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[*] *Eximium adorationis genus.*—BELLARMINUS *De Eccles. Triumph.*

[†] *Quid si et una religionis virtus sit, quæ latriam duliamque continet? Certè plurimis atque sapientissimis ea est opinio.*—NICOLAUS SERARIUS *in Litan. ii.* quæst. 27. Vide PETRUM DU MOULIN *De Novit. Pap.* lib. vii. cap. 13. "What, if also it be one and the same power of religion which contains both latria and dulia? Certainly that is the opinion of the most and the wisest."—EDIT.

[‡] AUGUSTINUS. *Ego quidem Grææ linguæ perparùm assecutus sum, et propè nihil.*—*Contra Literas Petiliani*, lib. ii. cap. 28; *Contra Faustum*, lib. xx. cap. 21. "I, indeed, have paid but little attention to the Greek language, and have not attained to any proficiency in it."—EDIT.

them.—It is owned on all hands to be ridiculous and irrational to pray to them that cannot hear our prayers. The text says, "How shall we call on them in whom we do not believe?" And I may add, "How shall we call on them who cannot hear us?" That this is the case of the glorified spirits, is evident, because,

(i.) *They are not omnipresent.*—They are circumscribed and finite creatures, and can be but in one place at once. I dare affirm this of the Virgin Mary herself. And how, then, shall she hear the prayers of one hundred thousand persons, who, it may be, are praying to her at one and the same time, some of them in this hemisphere, and some in the other? And if she cannot hear, I doubt me, she cannot help, those that are so much devoted to her service.

(ii.) *They are not omnipercipient.*—If they should hear what men say with their mouths, they cannot perceive or understand what men say in their hearts. Now, the most of our prayers, especially in our private devotions, are merely mental; they are *conceptus animi*, "such as are conceived in our hearts and minds:" yea, "the most acceptable prayers consist many times in those sighs and groans which are never uttered."[*] To say [that] the saints and angels are privy to these, is to deify them. There is never a mere creature in heaven but will confess, as David doth in another case, that "such knowledge is" too painful and "too wonderful for him." (Psalm cxxxix. 6.) This is an incommunicable property and perfection of God: so Solomon affirmeth: "Thou only knowest the hearts of the children of men." (2 Chron. vi. 30.)

It is disputed whether the saints in heaven have any knowledge at all of human affairs on earth: many wise and learned men are of an opinion to the contrary;[†] and so the scripture itself seems to be. (Job xiv. 21; 2 Kings xxii. 20; Eccles. ix. 5; Isai. lxiii. 16.) This we may affirm with the greatest confidence,—that they have no such knowledge as is necessary in this case: they can neither hear nor understand the prayers that men offer up unto them; nor (which is also requisite) with what mind they offer them, whether in sincerity or in hypocrisy.

The Papists themselves are greatly divided to this day about this matter; and can neither satisfy themselves nor one another, how the glorified saints come to have notice of our supplications.[‡] Many nice and curious questions they have; as, whether the souls of those they pray-to be present or absent. If they be present, then whether it be really or virtually: if they be absent, and have information from others, then whether it be from the angels, or from God himself; or if it be from God, then whether it be by particular revelation from him, or by the beatifical vision of him. Thus these Babel-builders are confounded and distracted. They agree (as I hinted before) that the saints in heaven must be made acquainted with our prayers, or else in vain are they invocated; but how they come at it, *non convenit inter omnes*, says Pinello, "all are not agreed about it." Some of them are much taken with a conceit of a looking-glass in the face of God, wherein those blessed spirits have a full view of all things, past, present, and to come. This is a pretty notion, and it is pity that it hath no more universal reception: but, alas! this *speculum Trinitatis vel Deitatis*, this "looking-glass in God's face or essence," was broken in pieces long ago; and now some of their own can see nothing in it but the folly and rashness of those that invented it without any warrant in the word of God. Cajetan, Gabriel, Durandus, Scotus, Occam, and a many other great names, will not be beholden to this imaginary glass. Nor will that text, "In thy light shall we see light," (Psalm xxxvi. 9,) nor that saying, *Qui videt videntem omnia, is videt omnia*, "He sees all things that sees Him who sees all things," establish the belief of it. If it were so,—that he that seeth God, seeth whatever is in God and whatever God seeth,—then the angels, that always behold his face and look up to this glass, would never have stooped down to pry, as they did, into the mysteries of the gospel, and needed not to have been informed by the church about the manifold wisdom of God: (Eph. iii. 10:) then they would not be to seek concerning any future events; no, nor be ignorant of the day and hour of the last judgment.

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[*] *Plerùmque hoc negotium plùs gemitibus quàm sermonibus agitur, plùs fletis quàm affatu.*—AUGUSTINI *Epist.* 121.

[†] AUGUSTINUS *dicit, Mortui nesciunt, etiam sancti, quid agant vivi, etiam eorum filii.*—ANSELMI LAUDUNENSIS *Gloss. interlinearis, in loco prædicto.* "Augustine says, 'The dead, even the saints, are ignorant what the living, even their own sons, are doing.'"—EDIT. Vide GRATIANI *Gloss.* in 13 quæst. *De Mortuis;* AUGUSTINUM *De Curâ pro Mortuis*, cap. 13: *Si rebus viventium interessent animæ mortuorum, &c.* "If," says he, "so great and famous patriarchs as Abraham and Jacob did not understand how the world went with their posterity, how can it be that the dead should at all take notice of the living, or intermeddle with assisting them?" &c.

[‡] See DR. WHITE'S "Defence of the true Way to the true Church," pp. 105, 106.

(2.) *Consider what manner of saints many of them are, whom the Papists solemnly invocate and pray unto.*—They are such whose saintship, nay, whose existence, is very questionable. Cassander (one of their own party) makes this complaint:—that "the people do now almost despise the old saints, and serve with more affection the new, whose holiness is less certain; yea, there are some of them, of whom we may justly doubt whether ever they lived in the world." *

(i.) *They call upon some of doubtful saintship or holiness; who, instead of reigning in heaven, are frying, it may be, in hell.*—He must be of an easy belief, that can be certainly persuaded that every one whom the pope canonizeth and putteth into the list of saints, is so indeed. The Romanists themselves acknowledge,† that in a matter of fact his infallible Holiness may be mistaken, and that there may be an error in this very business of canonization. And some are strongly of opinion that the pope was out, when he canonized Thomas Becket, archbishop of Canterbury, and commanded the people of England annually to celebrate the day of his passion, and that by prayers to him they should endeavour to merit the remission of their sins. Now this Thomas, for aught that can appear in his history, and that as related by their own writers,‡ was a proud prelate and a rebel to his prince, one that had set the whole nation in a flame to defend the pope's quarrel against the king; and, when he died, was rather the pope's, than God's, martyr, seeing he died not for the faith of Christ, but for the defence of the Popish tyranny and usurpation. It is a good diversion to read his history, as it is set together by Dr. Patrick in his "Reflections upon the

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* *Consultatio de Articulis Religionis*, cap. *De Meritis et Intercess. Sanct.*

† THOMAS AQUINAS, CAJETAN, MELCHIOR CANUS.

‡ NEUBRIGENSIS *De Rebus Angliæ*, lib. ii. cap. 16; BARONII *Annales*, ad annum 1163.

Devotion of the Roman Church." There you may find what a kind of saint he was, and what devotions the people by thousands paid to his shrine. Yea, the people were so devoutly affected to this new saint, that, in respect of him, they seemed to have but little consideration of the blessed Virgin, or of Christ himself: for, there being three altars in the church of Canterbury,—one to Christ, another to the Virgin Mary, and a third to this St. Thomas,—the offerings at his shrine came to about a thousand pounds, when those to the Virgin Mary came not to five pounds, and to Christ nothing at all. The people were the more encouraged in their devotion, because of the lying legends and fabulous miracles that were reported to be wrought upon those that did invocate and pray unto him. One pleasant story may not be omitted; and it is of a little bird that was taught to speak, and could say, "St. Thomas." It happened that this bird, sitting out of his cage, was seized by a sparrow-hawk: who being ready to devour it, the bird cried, "St. Thomas, St. Thomas;" whereupon the sparrow-hawk fell down dead, and the pretty bird was saved alive. "Now," says a devout author, (and doubtless his inference is strong and concluding,) "if St. Thomas, of his great grace, heard and helped this poor bird, much more will he hear a Christian man or woman that cries to him for help and succour." *

Let me instance but in one more of their saints; (the Papists will be very angry, if they hear [that] I call his saintship in question;) and that is St. Francis, the founder of the Franciscan order. He is no ordinary person with them: his admirers parallel him with Christ, in the prophecies that were before of him, in his birth, life, temptations, doctrine, miracles, and what not? This and a great deal more may be read of him in his "Book of Conformities," which was not long since (A.D. 1590) published with allowance. Of him one sings,†

Qui Franciscus erat, nunc tibi Christus erit.
"Francis he was wont to be;
Now he shall be Christ to thee."

Another great person ‡ swore at Paris, [that] it was revealed to him of God that St. John, by the angel that had "the seal of the living God" in the Revelation, (Rev. vii. 2,) meant no other than this St. Francis. Yea, such is their esteem of his intercession, that they prefer it to Christ's; and say, *Christus oravit, et Franciscus exoravit:* "Christ hath prayed; Francis hath obtained."

And yet whoso reads the aforesaid "Book of his Conformities," and Bonaventure of his life, and other chronicles and records of him under the Papists' own hands, will soon find that he was a strange kind of saint; nay, that he did a multitude of things that argued him destitute of common sense.§ What will you say of a man that shall preach to birds and beasts; and salute them kindly with saying, "Brother bird," and, "Brother beast?" What, if you should see a man taking up the lice that fall from his garments, and putting them on again, for fear, it may be, of wronging or dislodging those poor innocent creatures?

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* *Festiv.* fol. 80; ANTONII *Hist.* tom. ii. p. 707. † TURSELLINE. ‡ BONAVENTURE. Thence, as a motto, it is placed under his picture. § WADDING, *anno* 1212, *n.* 30, 31; BONAVENTURA *in Vitâ Francisci.*

What can be said for cutting his garments in pieces, and then giving them away? unless it were that he might give to the more. What will you say to his tumbling in the mire? unless it were a significant ceremony; and to his making crucifixes of mortar, as children do babies of dirt, with his own hands? Once more: what shall one think of his making a wife of snow, and of his embracing her, to allay his amorous and lustful heat? These, with many more such ridiculous actions, show him to be a Bedlam, brain-sick creature: and though by me he shall be no farther censured, yet I see no reason why he should be sainted; much less, why he should be so blasphemously magnified and adored.

(ii.) *They invocate some that are of dubious existence, as well as holiness.*—As they have many suspected, so they have many feigned or fabulous, saints in the church of Rome. What Christ said of the Samaritans, may as truly be said of the Romanists: "They worship they know not what; yea, they know not whom." (John iv. 22.) Who would imagine [that] this people should be so blinded and besotted as to worship and invocate imaginary saints? In the aforesaid "Breviary" or "Hours of Sarum,"[*] I find St. Christopher prayed unto, whom they suppose to have been a giant of a prodigious stature. Mantuan says,[†] he was many ells high. Ludovicus Vives says, he saw a tooth of his bigger than his fist. Of him it is reported that he carried Christ over *marinum flumen*, "an arm of the sea;" and at last became his martyr, as well as his bearer. Another Office you may there find to the three kings of Collen [Cologne];[‡] who are invocated by the names of king Jaspar, king Melchior, and king Balthazar; and are entreated, "by the King of kings, whom they merited to see crying in his cradle, to compassionate their suppliants in their miseries." A farther Office may be there seen for the most holy Ursula, and the eleven thousand virgins her companions, who were all martyrs.[§] The history of these virgin-martyrs is variously reported by their own authors. The most agree that they were killed at Collen [Cologne] by the barbarous Huns; where they were all interred, and many of their precious relics are reserved to this day: and it did not a little encourage them in their martyrdom, that Christ had sent his vicar amongst them, pope Cyriacus, to absolve them from their sins, and to die a martyr with them. Others, indeed, report otherwise concerning them; and we heretics, in such uncertainties, must be excused if we doubt whether ever there were any such number of virgin-martyrs or no,[||] and do think the church of Rome ridiculous (to say no more at present) in conferring on such imaginary saints religious worship and invocation. I could instance in many more such-like Popish saints: as, the Seven Sleepers, who slept in a time of grievous persecution three hundred and sixty-two years, and afterwards in the reign of Theodosius awaked, and are deservedly worshipped (one would think) in the church of Rome:[¶] and St. Longinus, the soldier that with his lance pierced our Lord Jesus upon the cross, and, being almost blind, with the sparkling of that blood, immediately received his sight, and believed; and, being instructed by the apostles, forsook his military profession, and lived thirty-eight years a monastic life in Cappadocia, and was at last martyred for the Christian faith.*

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[*] *Et secundùm Usum Romanum.*

[†] Lib. vii. *Fastorum.*

[‡] *Horæ sec. Usum Sarum, et sec. Usum Roman.* 1570.

[§] Vide *Breviarium Rom. reform.* 21 *Octob.*; *Hortulum Animæ secundùm Usum. Antiq. Eccles. Rom.*

[||] In "the Golden Legend," printed at London, *anno* 1512, the company is made twenty-six thousand.

[¶] *Breviarium secundùm Usum Sarum,* 27 *Julii; et Missale Sacrum, anno* 1554.

Whoso consults the Roman Breviaries will meet with many more of this sort; yea, with some that their own authors call "symbolical saints," who yet are worshipped and invocated with the greatest formality. But enough of this second particular,—that it is an absurd and irrational service.

IT IS IDOLATROUS.

3. This practice is *idolatrous.*—The Romanists are much offended at this charge. "Any man," says a late writer,† "of common reason would think it were as easy to prove snow to be black, as so innocent a practice to be idolatry." But it may be [that] he is mistaken. It is agreed on all hands that "idolatry," in the proper notion of it, is "a giving that worship and service to the creature which is due only to God:" yea, though men worship God, yet if they worship a creature also, they are idolaters. The apostle reproves those that "worshipped the creature" *ϖαρα τον κτισαντα*, "beside the Creator."‡ (Rom. i. 25.) And this was the idolatry of those that Shalmaneser sent to inhabit Samaria: "They feared the Lord, and served" other, or "their own, gods." (2 Kings xvii. 33.) Now, that the Papists give religious worship to saints and angels as well as unto God, is evident by their own profession and practice: only they think they may help themselves out with the aforesaid distinction of *latria* and *dulia*, the vanity of which we have already seen.§ To the same purpose is that distinction of theirs,—of superior and absolute worship as due to God, and inferior and relative worship as applicable to the creature. Whereas, if by "inferior and relative" they mean religious worship, (as they must do, if they speak to the thing in question,) then we answer, that there is no foundation for any such distinction in the whole book of God. And it would have stood the Arians in great stead, if it had been then invented; for, by the help of such a distinction, they might easily have enervated the force of the apostle's argument, whereby he proves the Deity of Christ, because the angels of God are enjoined to worship him. (Heb. i. 6.) To this they might readily have replied, that the text intends a religious worship of an inferior degree, such as may be given to the most excellent creature. If the Socinians now get this by the end, they may thank the Papists for it.

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* *Brev. Rom. antiq., Martii* 15.

† "Catholics no Idolaters," p. 334.

‡ *Non tantùm Creatorem, sed præterea creaturas, coluerunt: sic ϖαρα usurpatur,* 1 *Cor. iii.; Gal. i.* "They worshipped not the Creator alone, but the creatures besides; so the Greek preposition is used in 1 Cor. iii. 11; Gal. i. 8."—EDIT.

§ עבד *servire, modò verbo δουλευειν, modò verbo λατρευειν, indifferenter sit versum. Confer Luc. iv.* 8, *cum Deut. vi.* 13; *x.* 20: *item Act. vii.* 6, 7, *cum Gen. xv.* 13. *Idem Septuaginta indifferenter verterunt. Per vocem λατρευειν reddiderunt, Exod. iv.* 23; *xxiii.* 24; *Deut. vi.* 13; *x.* 12, 20; *xi.* 13; *Josh. xxiv.* 15; *Jud. x.* 16; *Dan. vi.* 20: *per vocem δουλευειν reddiderunt, Deut. xiii.* 4; *Jud. ii.* 7; 1 *Sam. vii.* 3; *xii.* 10, 20, 24; 1 *Reg. xvi.* 31; 1 *Chron. xxviii.* 9; *Psal. ii.* 11; *c.* 2; *cum multis aliis.* LAURENTIUS VALLA *in Annot. suis in cap. iv. Matthæi Evang. fuse probat nihil interesse inter δουλευειν et λατρευειν, idque fretus authoritate principum Græcorum.* "The Hebrew verb which signifies 'to serve,' is translated into Greek sometimes by the word δουλευειν, and sometimes by λατρευειν. The same Hebrew verb the Septuagint renders indifferently by these two Greek expressions [as in the passages of scripture here adduced]. LAURENTIUS VALLA, in his 'Annotations' upon Matt. iv., adduces copious proof that there is no difference between the two; and this, relying upon the authority of the most eminent Greek writers."—EDIT.

Here let it be farther considered, that the adoration and invocation of saints and angels in the church of Rome is not only idolatrous, but it is in imitation of the old Pagan idolatry, and a manifest reviving of their "doctrines of demons;" which is foretold in scripture as that which should fall out in the last days amongst the degenerate and apostatizing Christians. So the apostle tells us, in 1 Tim. iv. 1, 2, "that in the latter times some shall revolt from the faith, giving heed to seducing spirits, and" (διδασκαλιαις δαιμονιων) "doctrines of devils," or "demons:" that is, doctrines which they are objects, rather than authors, of; * "doctrines concerning demons;" as "doctrines *of* baptism, and *of* laying on of hands, and *of* the resurrection of the dead, and *of* eternal judgment," are doctrines *about* and *concerning* all these. Now what these demons were, and what the Heathens' doctrine about them was, may be read at large in Mede's "Apostasy of the latter Times," a book which the Papists never cared to meddle with. There the author hath made it manifest, that the Gentiles' idolatry, and theology of demons, is revived and re-enforced in the church of Rome. They fancied that their demons were an inferior sort of deified powers, that stood in the midst between the sovereign gods and them. The sovereign gods they supposed so sublime and pure, that mortals could not, might not, approach to them: therefore they introduced this middle sort of divine powers to be as mediators and agents betwixt them.† These demons, or mediators, were supposed to be of two sorts. Some were the souls of men who were deified after their death: the canonizing of heroes and deceased worthies is ancient indeed; it is older than the Papacy. Rome, when it was heathen, had a custom to canonize their deceased emperors, and call them *divi*, or "saints," too.‡ We read of *divus Augustus* as well as of *divus Augustinus*. Another sort of demons they had, who were more sublime; who never dwelt in mortal bodies, but were from the beginning always the same.§ This second sort of demons doth fitly answer to those spiritual powers [whom] we call "angels;" as the former sort doth to those who with us are called "saints." To these demons they built temples; their images, shrines, and relics they religiously adored.|| So that, in many respects, the Pagan idolatry was

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* "The genitive *δαιμονιων* is to be taken passively for the object of these doctrines. See the like, Heb. vi. 2; Acts xiii. 12; Titus ii. 10; Gal. ii. 20."—JOSEPH MEDE.

† *Platonici opinantur quòd dæmones mediatores sunt inter deos et homines, per quos ad deorum amicitias homines ambiant.* *Vide* AUGUSTINUM *De Civitate Dei*, lib. ix. cap. 9, 11. "The Platonists suppose that the demons are mediators between the gods and men, by whose intervention men ingratiate themselves into friendship with the gods."—EDIT.

‡ *Divi qui cœlestes semper habiti, et qui in cœlum vocati.*—CICERO *De Legibus*, lib. ii. "The divine are those who were always esteemed celestial, and who were called to heaven."—EDIT.

§ PLUTARCHUS *De Defectu Oraculorum.* *Sunt et superius aliud augustiusque dæmonum genus, qui semper a corporis compedibus et noxis liberi. Ex hâc sublimiori dæmonum copiâ autumat Plato singulis hominibus in vitâ agendâ testes et custodes singulos additos.*—APULEIUS. "There is also another class of demons, higher and nobler, who have been always free from the shackles and annoyances of the body. Of this sublimer number of demons Plato conjectures that each is joined to a particular man while passing through life, as a witness and guardian."—EDIT.

|| *Æneas patrem defunctum invocat:* ["Eneas invokes his deceased father:"]

Nunc pateras libate Jovi, precibusque vocate
Anchisen genitorem.—VIRGILII *Æneid.* vii. 133.

"Be great Anchises honour'd and adored,
And pour the wine to heaven's almighty Lord."—PITT'S Translation.

a pattern of the Popish idolatry; the one is exactly parallel with the other; it hath a great affinity to it, and its very foundation from it.

OBJECTION.

I know that it will be objected, that "those demons or inferior deities of the Heathens were the souls of wicked men and devils; whereas those who are invocated and adored by the Romanists are the spirits of just men and angels."

ANSWER.

To which I answer, that though in that respect there be a disparity, yet the objection hath no force; because the idolatry of the Heathen did not lie in making an ill choice of the demons [whom] they worshipped, but in giving that religious worship to a creature, which was due only to the Creator. Let him be a good or a bad angel, a just or a wicked person; so long as he is a creature, it is idolatry to defer religious worship or invocation to him.

Before I conclude this point, let me give you the opinion of one of their own way upon this matter. His words are these: "Many Christians do for the most part transgress in a good thing,—that they worship the he-saints and she-saints no otherwise than they worship God; nor do I see, in many things, wherein their opinion of the saints doth differ from that which the Heathen had of their gods." * What Protestant heretic could have spoken more plainly?

To carry on the allusion, consider how the Heathen had their tutelar gods for countries and cities: in like manner the Papists have their saint-patrons for particular places and nations; as, St. George for England,† St. Patrick for Ireland, St. David for Wales, St. James for Spain, St. Denis for France, &c. The Heathen did appropriate particular employments and offices to their demons or deities: so do the Papists to their he and she-saints. Only (as one observes) the superstition and folly of new Rome in this exceeds that of the old,—that *they* could content themselves with Æsculapius only in all matters that related to physic and diseases, but *these* have almost as many saints to invoke as there are maladies to be cured. One saint is good for sore breasts; (St. Agatha;) another, for the tooth-ache; (St. Apollonia;) a third, for fevers; (St. Sigismund;) a fourth, for inflammations; (St. Anthony;) and so on. Nay, in some cases they will not trust themselves in the hands of one saint alone; as for instance, in case of the pestilence, they join St. Roche with St. Sebastian, for surer aid. The Heathen were wont to invoke Lucina in the pains of child-birth: but the Papists think St. Margaret to be the better midwife; and St. Nicholas now, in their esteem, hath as much or more power in the seas than ever Neptune had.

IT IS INJURIOUS TO CHRIST.

4. This practice is *injurious unto Christ.*—It intrencheth upon his mediatory office, and doth manifestly rob him of his royal prerogative;

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* *Multi Christiani in re bonâ plerùmque peccant,—quòd divos divasque non aliter venerantur quam Deum; nec video in multis quid sit discrimen inter eorum opinionem de sanctis, et id quod Gentiles putabant de diis suis.*—LUDOVICUS VIVES *in Notis in* AUGUSTINUM *De Civit. Dei,* lib. viii. cap. 27, edit. 1596.

† *Ut Martem Latii, sic nos te, dive Georgi.*—MANTUANUS. "As the Latins had Mars (for their tutelar deity,) so have we thee, O divine George, for ours."—EDIT.

which is, to be the one and only Mediator betwixt God and man.* Hear what the apostle says: "There is one God, and one Mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus:" (1 Tim. ii. 5:) "one" exclusively; "one," and but "one." In this office Christ hath no sharers or partners. As God is but one, and there is no other; so the Mediator is but one, and there is no other. The Papists may as well fancy many subordinate gods, as subordinate mediators betwixt Him and us. I am not ignorant of their distinction,—how that there is but one Mediator of redemption, but there are and may be many mediators of intercession. To which I answer, that the scripture knows no such difference or distinction of mediators; and in Christ they are one and the same thing: in this he intercedes,—that he hath satisfied for us; and it is in consideration of his death that God receives us into his favour. And if the distinction be admitted, the word "between," in the text fore-cited, doth evidently show that he rather speaks of a Mediator of intercession; for it is improper to say that "Christ is a Redeemer *between* God and man:" and yet, that we may know that he doth not intercede for us only by his prayers, but by his passion and merits also, it is added, that he "gave himself a ransom for us." (Verse 6.) And in 1 John ii. 1, when "Jesus Christ the righteous" is spoken of as our "Advocate," it is presently added, that "he is the propitiation for our sins;" (verse 2;) which shows that his intercession consists in his being a propitiation for sin. The High Priest under the law was a figure or type of Christ in this respect; for he was typically a mediator both of intercession and redemption. There was no other ordinary mediator of intercession but he: and hence it is that he went alone into the Holy of Holies to offer up incense unto God: he had no partners with him in his office. So Jesus Christ is entered alone into the holy place not made with hands, to wit, "heaven itself, to appear in the presence of God for us." (Heb. ix. 24.) In the tabernacle of this world, (as it was in the first tabernacle,) there you may haply find many priests whom you may employ as agents for you with God: but in the second tabernacle, which is heaven, there is but one High-Priest that hath to do in that holy place, but one Agent to deal with God for you; there is but one Advocate admitted into that court to appear for you, and plead your cause. It is necessary for the constituting of an advocate or intercessor for us in heaven, that he be commissionated and deputed by God unto that office. He must not arrogate or take it upon himself, unless he be called thereunto. Now this qualification doth suit with Christ and no other: no saint or angel had ever any commission or deputation from God for this service. To which of the angels or saints did he ever say, "'Sit thou at my right hand,' receive the devotious and petitions of sinners on earth, and present them to me in heaven?" (Heb. i. 13.) I have read, indeed, that angels are deputed to be their guardians and ministers, but not to be their advocates and mediators. (Verse 14.)

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* *Quid tam proprium Christi quàm Advocatum apud Deum Patrem adstare populorum?*—AMBROSIUS *in Psal. xxxix.* "What is so peculiarly the proper office of Christ, as to stand in the presence of God the Father, as the Advocate of his people?"—EDIT. *Pro quo nullus interpellat, sed ipse pro omnibus, hic unus verusque Mediator est.*—AUGUSTINUS *Contra Epist. Parmeniani*, lib. ii. cap. 8. "That person for whom no one intercedes, but who himself intercedes for all,—he is the only and true Mediator."—EDIT. And in the same place, "The mutual prayers," saith he, "of all the members who yet labour upon the earth, ought to ascend up to the Head, who is gone before into heaven, in whom we have the remission of our sins. For if St. Paul were a mediator, the other apostles would be so also; and so there would be many mediators: which would not agree with that which elsewhere he saith,—that 'there is one Mediator between God and man.'"

One thing I would add, which deserves our consideration,—that these Popish distinguishers do make the saints in heaven to be their mediators of redemption, as well as intercession: for no petition is more frequent in their offices to the saints than that by their merits, as well as prayers, they might obtain such and such blessings here, and eternal life hereafter. If it would not tire you, I could treat you with many scores of instances.[*] For a taste, let me give you a piece of a prayer to one Etheldred, an English saint; and it is in these words: "Look, O most gracious virgin, upon our troubles which we deservedly sustain; and, by the merits and intercession of thy holiness, both appease the anger of the Judge whom we have offended, and obtain that pardon which we have not deserved."[†] But, above all, commend me to one of our country-folk; and that is the honest man [whom] I named before, even St. Thomas Becket, whose blood they supposed of old to be as sovereign as Christ's himself. It is not enough to "pray" (as they do) "that by his merits and prayers they may be translated from vices to virtues, and from the prison to the kingdom;"[‡] this they hope for from more ordinary saints: but as for St. Thomas, they pray that "by his blood they may climb to heaven, as he has done before them."[§] Now judge, by what hath been said, if the saints be not made mediators of redemption, as well as intercession.

I shall have done with this head, when I have observed one thing more, for the sake of which I shall never be reconciled to Rome; that is, they do not only degrade our Lord Jesus Christ, and bring-in partners upon him in his office of intercession; but they disparage him too, and report that he, being a Judge as well as an Advocate, is more inclined to severity; that we may expect more pity and compassion from his mother and the other saints, who are more disposed to mercy than he is.[||] Yea,

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[*] *O omnes sancti et sanctæ Dei, subvenite mihi, &c., ut per merita vestra pervenire valeam ad æternæ beatitudinis patriam.—Horæ sec. Usum Rom.* "O all ye male and female saints of God, assist me, that by your merits I may be able to arrive at the country of eternal bliss."—EDIT.

[†] *Per tuæ sanctitatis merita et intercessiones iram Judicis placa quam offendimus.—Breviarium sec. Usum Sarum*, fol. 100.

[‡] *Te supplices exoramus ut ejus meritis et precibus a vitiis ad virtutes et a carcere transferamur ad regnum.—Brev. Sar. in Translatione Thomæ, 7 Julii.*

[§] *Tu per Thomæ sanguinem, quem pro te impendit, fac nos, Christe, scandere quò Thomas ascendit:*

"By that same blood Thomas for thee expended,
Christ, raise us thither whither he has ascended."
Jesu Christe, per Thomæ vulnera,
Quæ nos ligant relaxa scelera,
Ne captivos ferant ad infera
Hostis mundus vel carnis opera.

"O Jesus Christ, by the wounds of Thomas, unloose the crimes which bind us; lest our enemy the world or the works of the flesh carry us captive to hell."—EDIT. *Deus patitur se misericorditer reconciliari propter merita et intercessiones sanctorum.*—COLONIENSIS *in suo Antididagm.* "God suffers himself mercifully to be reconciled on account of the merits and intercessions of the saints."—EDIT.

[||] *Christus non solùm Advocatus est, sed et Judex, cuncta discussurus, ita quòd nihil inultum remanebit. Cùm itaque vix justus ante eum sit securus, quomodò peccator ante eum tanquam Advocatum accederet? Ideò Deus providit nobis de advocatâ, quæ mitis et suavis est, in quâ nihil invenitur asperum.*—ANTONINI *Summa Theologiæ*, pars iv. titul. 15. "Christ is not solely an Advocate, but

I have understood, that in some of their churches, they have pictured Christ frowning and casting darts at sinners, whom they make to flee from him, as if they were afraid of him; and then the Virgin Mary is brought-in as shrouding of them, and interposing betwixt him and them. O unparalleled wickedness! O ye vile and wretched Papists! Have you never read what is reported of Christ in the scriptures of truth?—that he is "a merciful and faithful High Priest;" (Heb. ii. 17;) one that hath compassion on poor sinners, (v. 2,) as having himself been "touched with the feeling of their infirmities." (iv. 15.) Is this your dealing with him,—to disgrace, as well as to displace, him? What mean your great doctors by telling the world, that the intercession of the saints is more available than his? that as he wrought greater miracles by the saints than by himself, so oftentimes he showeth the force of their intercession more than his own?* What was *his* meaning *who* upon this question, "Whether it be better to pray to God by Christ alone, or by the saints," determined it thus?—*Oratio fusa per sanctos melior est:* "It is better to do it by the saints."

But it is time to conclude this part of my discourse, which was to prove the practice of the church of Rome in praying to saints and angels to be blameworthy and abominable in the sight of God.

POPISH PLEAS FOR INVOCATION OF SAINTS.

It remains now that I examine the pleas [which] the Papists have for this practice. You will suppose they have something to say for themselves in this behalf: and so they have. I shall not wittingly conceal any thing of force which is urged or pleaded by them. You have understood already that they do not pretend the warrant of God's word for their so doing. Those of them that have endeavoured to find this practice in the scripture, have fumbled so lamentably, that others of their own party are ashamed of them. Who can forbear smiling to hear it inferred that, because the rich man prayed father Abraham to send Lazarus to his aid, therefore it is lawful to invocate the saints, and to desire their assistance? There is one text of scripture which seems to patronize the invocation of angels, and it is strongly urged by some upon that account; and that is in Gen. xlviii. 16: there Jacob says, "The Angel which redeemed me from all evil, bless the lads." "These words of Jacob," says a learned writer, "are not spoken to an angel, but of or concerning an angel; and the speech is ευκτικον, not ϖροσευκτικον· 'by way of wish or option,' not 'by way of prayer or supplication.'"† But the true answer is this,—that by "the Angel" in that place we are not to understand *angelus Domini*, but *Angelus Dominus*; [not] "an angel of the Lord, but "the Angel that is the Lord." The Lord himself goes under that name in scripture: He is called "the Angel of the covenant," and "the counsel of God." (Mal. iii. 1; Isai. ix. 6; lxiii. 9.) The Lord was the Angel with whom Jacob before had wrestled; and He was the

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also a Judge, who will examine all things, so that nothing shall remain unpunished. Since, therefore, scarcely the just man is secure before him, how should the sinner come to him as his Advocate? On this account God has provided us with an advocatrix, who is mild and benign, in whom no asperity is found."—EDIT.

* HENRY FITZ-SIMONS "Of the Mass," book ii. part ii. chap. 3; SALMERON *in* 1 *Tim. ii.* † MONTAGUE in [his] "Treatise of the Invocation of Saints," p. 87.

Angel whom Jacob here invocated. He prayed *Him* to bless his nephews, to *whom* he had said a little before, "I will not let thee go, except thou bless me:" (Gen. xxxii. 26:) and that was not a created angel; but Jesus Christ, the Creator of angels.[*] The same Jesus is the Angel spoken of in Rev. viii. 3; who is said there to "stand at the altar, having a golden censer; and to have much incense given unto him, that he should offer it with the prayers of all saints upon the golden altar which was before the throne." This must be understood of our High Priest, the Lord Jesus Christ: it is he only that offereth or presenteth our prayers, with the incense of his merits, upon the golden altar, that is, upon himself, "unto God for a sweet-smelling savour."[†] (Eph. v. 2; Heb. iv. 14; ix. 14; xiii. 10, 15.)

But what they want in the scripture, they say they have in the writings of the ancient fathers, for the justifying of this practice. Bellarmine says, that "all the fathers, Greek and Latin, teach that the saints are to be invocated."[‡] Salmeron, Stapleton, and others,[§] speak the same language. "These kind of men," says bishop Usher, "have so inured their tongues to talk of 'the fathers' and 'all the fathers,' that they can hardly use any other form of speech; and having told such tales as these so often over, at last they persuade themselves they are true indeed." The same learned person, in his "Answer to a Challenge made by a Jesuit in Ireland," hath this passage: "However our Challenger," says he, "gives it out that prayer to saints was of great account amongst the fathers of the primitive church for the first four hundred years after Christ, yet for nine parts of that time I dare be bold to say that he is not able to produce as much as one testimony out of any father whereby it may appear that any account at all was made of it." Nay, he makes it evident they were all against it. They that are desirous to be farther informed in this matter, may do well to consult his quotations out of the ancient fathers, which he hath faithfully given his reader; and there he will find them in words at length. The like good service is done to my hand by others.[||] I could, if there were room for it, fill many pages with apposite testimonies and citations; but that would swell this discourse too much. Take two or three for a taste:—

Ignatius, who flourished about the year of our Lord 140, in his "Epistle to the Philadelphians," thus writes: "You virgins have none but Jesus Christ alone before your eyes in your prayers, and the Father of Jesus Christ."[¶] It seems that Christians in his time did not so much as look to or call upon the Virgin Mary herself. To the same purpose is that of ORIGEN: "We must pray to Him alone who is God above all things. To Him also we must pray who is the Word, the only Son of God, and the first-born of all creatures." * The writings of that father are full of evident testimonies against this practice; but I have promised brevity; only let me add this passage of his, that "we ought not to worship our fellow-worshippers, to pray to those that pray themselves." ATHANASIUS wrote as much as he about this matter; and his contending with the Arians gave him occasion for it. They maintained that Christ was a mere creature, and yet they prayed to him; and he on the contrary asserted that, if he were created, he must not be invocated. "To God alone," saith he, "it belongeth to be worshipped; and the angels themselves are not ignorant hereof: for although they excel in glory, yet they are creatures; and are none of those that are worshipped, but of those that worship the Lord." † And again: "Because Jesus Christ is not a creature, but is begotten of the very substance of the Father, and is by nature the Son of God; therefore is he worshipped."

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[*] *Vide* Athanasii *Orat. iv. cont. Arianos*, p. 260: "The patriarch Jacob joined none with God but Him only who is the Word; whom for this cause he called 'Angel,' because it is He alone who manifesteth the Father to us." Irenæus, Ambrose, Rupertus, Viegas, Haymo, &c., [are] of this mind.

[†] No created angel is sufficient for this,—to receive and offer up the prayers of all saints.

[‡] *Omnes patres Græci et Latini docent sanctos esse invocandos.*—Bellarminus *De Eccles. Triumph.* lib. i. cap. 6.

[§] Salmeron *in* 1 *Tim. ii.* disp. 7; Stapletoni *Fortr.* pars i. cap. 9; Johannis Azorii *Institutiones Morales*, tom. i. lib. ix. cap. 10.

[||] *Vide* Dallæi *Disput. advers. Latin. de Cultûs religiosi Objecto Traditionem*, lib. iii. et pp. 340—582; Petrum du Moulin *De Novitate Papismi*; Dr. Ferne's "Answer to Spencer," sect. ii. pp. 257—285; John Polyander's "Refutation of a Popish Epistle concerning the Invocation of Saints;" *Examen Concilii Tridentini per* Martinum Chemnitium; Juellum *Contra Hardingum*; Whitakerum *Contra Duræum, &c.*

[¶] Αἱ ϖαρθενοι μονον τον Χριστον ϖρο οφθαλμων εχετε, και τον αυτου Πατερα, εν ταις ευχαις.—Ignatii *Epist. vi.*

So much for Greek fathers: the Latin fathers were of the same mind. TERTULLIAN, who lived about the beginning of the third century,—he tells us that "such and such things he might not pray for from any other but from Him of whom he knew he should obtain them: because it is He who alone is able to give, and I am he for whom they must be obtained; being his servant, who observe Him alone." ‡ NOVATIANUS, whose "Book of the Trinity" is added to Tertullian's works,—he says, "If Christ be only a man, why is a man called upon in our prayers as a mediator, seeing that the invocation of a man is judged of no efficacy to salvation? Why also is hope reposed in him, seeing hope in man is accursed?" And again: "If Christ be only man, how is he present, being called upon, every where? seeing this is not the nature of man, but of God, that he can be present at every place." § AMBROSE, in his "Funeral Oration upon Theodosius the Emperor," hath this passage: "Thou alone, O Lord, art to be invocated; thou art to be entreated to make up the want of him in his sons." ‖ AUGUSTINE, in his "Confessions," thus prays unto God: "I confess and know [that] my soul is defiled; but who shall cleanse it? or to whom else should I cry, beside

* Μονῳ ϖροσευκτεον τῳ επι ϖασι Θεῳ· ϖροσευκτεον τε τῳ μονογενει και ϖρωτοτοκῳ ϖασης κτισεως Λογῳ Θεου.—Tom. viii. *Contra Celsum*, p. 395. *Vide, Eodem libro*, pp. 381, 384, 402, 416, 420; et tom. v. *Contra Celsum*, lib. viii.; *in Epist. ad Rom.* cap. 10.

† Του Θεου εστι μονου ϖροσκυνεισθαι· και τουτο ισασι και αυτοι αγγελοι, &c.—*In Orat. iii. cont. Arian. Vide Orat. iv.* Origen (*Cont. Celsum*, lib. viii. p. 432, 433) hath this passage, which, for the greater profit to some readers, I put into English: "If Celsus will have us to procure the good-will of any others after Him that is God over all, let him consider, that as when the body is moved the shadow thereof doth follow it, so in like manner, having God propitious to us who is over all, it followeth that we shall have all his friends, both angels and saints, loving to us; for they have a fellow-feeling with them that are thought fit to find favour with God. Neither are they only favourable unto such: but they work with them also that are willing to do service unto Him who is God over all, and are friendly to them, and pray and entreat with them; so as we boldly say, that when men who with resolution propose unto themselves the best things do pray unto God, many thousands of the sacred powers pray together with them unspoken to," ακλητοι συνευχονται. *Vide* CYRILLUM *in Joan. xvi.*

‡ *Hæc ab alio orare non possum, quàm a quo me scio consecuturum; quoniam et Ipse est qui solum præstat, &c.—Apologeticus*, cap. 30.

§ *Si homo tantummodò Christus, quomodò adest ubique invocatus? cùm hæc hominis natura non sit, sed Dei, ut adesse omni loco possit, &c.—De Trinitate*, cap. 14.

‖ *Tu solus, Domine, invocandus es; tu rogandus, ut eum in filiis repræsentes.*

thee?"[*] And again: "Whom should I find, that might reconcile me unto thee? Should I have gone to the angels? with what prayer? with what sacraments? Many, endeavouring to return unto thee, and not being able to do it by themselves, as I hear, have tried these things, and have fallen into the desire of curious visions, and were accounted worthy of delusions."[†] The same father asserts that "in the catholic church it is divinely and singularly delivered, that no creature is to be worshipped by the soul, but He only who is the Creator of all things."[‡] And again: "Jesus Christ is the Priest, who, being now entered within the veil, alone there of them that have been partakers of flesh, doth make intercession for us: in figure of which thing, amongst that first people and in that first temple, the priest only did enter into the Holy of holies, and all the people stood without."[§] Once more: "The worshipping," says he, "of men that are dead, should be no part of our religion; because, if they lived piously, they will not seek that kind of honour. They are to be honoured, therefore, for imitation; not to be adored for religion."[‖]

These are some of those many testimonies which are found in the writings of the ancients. I shall add but one more saying of him whom I last mentioned; and it is worth our notice. "The prayer," says he, "which is not made by Jesus Christ, not only cannot blot out sin, but itself also is sin."[¶] If any man shall say that there are some passages in Ambrose, Austin, and other writers near that age, that favour this opinion or practice of invocating saints; I answer that, if it be granted, we may gather this from it,—that mere human writings are no foundation of our faith, nor can any certainty be had from those who speak or write with such inconstancy.[**] Farther, it is confessed that, toward the end of the fourth century, this leaven diffused itself in the church. The occasion mainly (as some upon good grounds affirm) was this :—The Christians of those times did greatly reverence the memory of the martyrs ; and did often resort to their sepulchres, and there offered up their prayers unto that God for whose cause they laid down their lives. And because God was pleased to give gracious answers to those prayers, and to do many wonderful things for the honouring of that Christian profession which those worthies maintained unto the death ; therefore some began to imagine that all this was done at their suit and mediation : yea, some affirmed that the martyrs themselves appeared to divers that were relieved at the places of their memorials. He that would see more of the rise of this practice, let him consult Chemnitius in his judicious "Examination of the Council of Trent." The progress of it, together with the opposition [which] it met with in the church of God, is not unknown to those that have looked into the history of those times. Although, therefore, the Popish invocation of saints be ancient in respect of some of their other innovations, yet it is novel in itself, and in respect of true antiquity.

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[*] *Habet anima quæ offendant oculos tuos; sed quis mundabit eam? aut cui alteri præter te clamabo?—Confessionum* lib. i. cap. 5.

[†] *Quem invenirem qui me reconciliaret tibi? An eundum mihi fuit ad angelos? quâ prece? quibus sacramentis? Multi, conantes ad te redire, neque per seipsos valentes, sicut audio, tentaverunt hæc, et inciderunt in desiderium curiosarum visionum, et digni habiti sunt illusionibus.—Ibid.* lib. x. cap. 42.

[‡] *Divinè et singulariter in ecclesiâ catholicâ traditur, nullam creaturam colendam esse animæ, sed ipsum tantummodò rerum omnium Creatorem.—De Quantit. Animæ*, cap. 34.

[§] *Christus Sacerdos est qui, nunc ingressus in interiora veli, solus ibi ex his qui carnem gestaverant, interpellat pro nobis; in cujus rei figurâ in illo primo populo et in illo primo templo unus sacerdos intrabat in Sancta sanctorum, populus omnis foras stabat.—In Psalmum lxiv.*

[‖] *Non sit nobis religio cultus hominum mortuorum; quia, si piè vixerunt, tales non quærant honores, &c. Honorandi ergo sunt propter imitationem, non adorandi propter religionem.*—Augustinus *De verâ Religione*, cap. 55. *Qui supplicant mortuis rationem hominum non tenent.*—Lactantii *Instit. Divin.* lib. ii. cap. 18. "They who supplicate the dead, do not retain the reason of men."—Edit.

[¶] *Oratio quæ non fit per Christum, non solùm non potest delere peccatum, sed etiam ipsa fit peccatum.—In Psal. cviii.*

[**] "Besides, their writings are corrupted by the Romanists, and many spurious and supposititious sayings are fathered upon the fathers; of which I could give many instances, and some in this very case. The deifying and invocating of saints began to appear in the church somewhat early; the grounds whereof were most strange reports of wonders showed upon those who approached the shrines of martyrs, and prayed at their memories and sepulchres. Devils charmed, diseases cured, the blind saw, the lame walked, yea, the dead revived, &c.: which the doctors of those times avouched to be done by the power and prayers of the glorified martyrs, and by the notice they took of men's devotions at their sepulchres; though at first those devotions were directed to God alone, and such places only chosen for the stirring up of zeal and fervour. But whiles the world stood in admiration of these wonders, men were soon persuaded to call on those martyrs as patrons and mediators, by whose power with God, and notice of things done on earth, they thought that these signs and miracles appeared."—Mede's "Apostasy of the latter Times." *Circa* A. D. 370, *per Basilium, Nyssenum, Nazianzenum, invocatio sanctorum in publicos ecclesiæ conventus invehi cœpit. Hi primi fuerunt qui*

I shall conclude this head, when I have showed you that not only particular fathers, but whole councils, have condemned the practice in question. The council of Carthage [*] was against the invocation of saints ; and the council of Laodicea did censure the invocation of angels. In the thirty-fifth canon of that council, it was thus determined :—that "Christians ought not to leave the church of God, and go and call upon angels, and make meetings ; which are things forbidden. If any man, therefore, be found giving himself to this secret idolatry, let him be accursed ; because he hath forsaken the Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, and hath applied himself to idolatry." [†] Theodoret, in his "Exposition of the Epistle to the Colossians," doth twice mention this canon, and declare

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eam ex privatis et monachorum devotionibus in ecclesiam invexerunt. Cùm enim, in rhetorum scholis educati, eloquentiæ laudem affectarent, orationes panegyricas declamatoriis flosculis et rhetoricis apostrophis, et quæ præterea ad figuram ϖροσωποποιΐαν *pertinent, ita exornarunt, ut opinionem de comprecationibus et auxiliis sanctorum, quæ Origenis tempore apocrypha et privata erat, tanquam publicum dogma in immensum exaggerarent ; et ad compellationes eorum, quorum memoriam celebrabant, orationes converterent ; atque ita figuram orationis ad formam invocationis declinarent : cujus tamen exempla nec ex scripturâ, nec ex vetustiori et puriori ecclesiâ, habebant. Circa Augustini tempora materia illa invocationis sanctorum incidit in poetas, qui invocationes musarum, dæmonum, et heroum poeticâ imitatione et licentiâ ad martyres transtulerunt. Circa* A. D. 600, *addita et inserta erat Litaniæ a Gregorio Magno.—Vide plura in* CHEMNITII *Exam. Conc. Trid.* "About the year of our Lord 370, the invocation of saints began to be introduced into the public assemblies of the church by the instrumentality of Basil, Gregory Nyssen, and Gregory Nazianzen. These were the first to import it, from private and monastic devotions, into the church. For since they affected the praise of eloquence, trained as they had been in the schools of rhetoric, they so adorned their panegyrical orations with flowers of declamation and rhetorical apostrophes, and other ornaments which belong to the figure prosopopœia, that they immoderately exaggerated into a public doctrine the notion of prayers to the saints and assistance from them, which in the times of Origen was merely apocryphal and private ; and they converted their orations into personal addresses to the saints whose memory they celebrated ; and thus perverted this figure of speech to a form of invocation : of which custom, however, they derived examples neither from scripture nor from the church in its pristine purity. About the time of Augustine the subject of the invocation of saints fell into the hands of the poets, who, by poetic imitation and licence, transferred to the martyrs those invocations which had formerly been addressed to muses, gods, and heroes. About the year 600, it was added to, and inserted in, the Litany by Gregory the Great."—EDIT.

[*] *Concil. Carthag. III.*

[†] Ου δει Χριστιανους εγκαταλειπειν την εκκλησιαν του Θεου, και απιεναι, και αγγελους ονομαζειν, και συναξεις ϖοιειν· ἅπερ απηγορευται, &c.—*Conc. Laodic.* can. 35.

the sense of it. Upon Col. iii. 17, "The apostle," saith he, "commandeth to adorn our words and deeds with the commemoration of our Lord Christ; and to send up thanksgiving to God and the Father by him, and not by the angels. The synod of Laodicea, following also this rule, and desiring to heal that old disease," (namely, angel-worship,) "made a law that they should not pray unto angels, nor forsake our Lord Jesus Christ." [*] And on Col. ii. he adds, that "this vice continued long in Phrygia and Pisidia; (for which cause the synod assembled in Laodicea, the chief city of Phrygia, forbad them, by a law, to pray unto angels;) and even to this day, among them and their borderers, there are oratories of St. Michael to be seen." [†] Œcumenius, after him, hath much the same words upon the same place. [‡]

Seeing, then, [that] the scripture and the ancient fathers are no friends to this popish invocation now in question, I am the less concerned about those other reasons which they sometimes urge in behalf of it. Nevertheless I shall consider those that are most considerable, that seem to have the greatest force in them.

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[*] *Τουτῳ ἑπομενη τῳ νομῳ, και ἡ εν Λαοδικειᾳ συνοδος, και το ϖαλαιον εκεινο ϖαθος ϑεραπευσαι βουλομενη, ενομοθετησε μη ευχεσθαι αγγελοις, μηδε καταλειπειν τον Κυριον ἡμων Ιησουν Χριστον.—In Col. iii.* 17. *Consule eundem in cap. ii.* 23.

[†] *Εμεινε δε τουτο κατα Φρυγιαν το εθος, ὡς και εν Λαοδικειᾳ συνοδον κωλυσαι το ϖροσιεναι αγγελοις και ϖροσευχεσθαι, &c.*

[‡] Œcumenii ms. *in Col. ii. Vide notas ad* Origenis *Libros contra Celsum*, p. 483. Augustine calls those "heretics" that were inclined to the worship of angels. (*De Hæres.* cap. 39.) Epiphanius speaks of a sort of heretics called "Collyridians," from the *collyrides*, or "cakes," which they used to offer to the Virgin Mary. These he at large refutes; and says, that neither Elias nor John nor Thecla nor any of the saints is to be worshipped. And again: "God will not have the angels to be worshipped; much less, her that was born of Anna." And again: "Which of the prophets has permitted a man to be worshipped; that I may not say, a woman? The blessed Virgin is a choice vessel indeed, but yet a woman. Let Mary be in honour; but let the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost be worshipped." *Την Μαριαν μηδεις ϖροσκυνειτω*, "Let no man worship Mary." Again: *Μη φαγετω τις, &c.*: "Let none eat of this error touching holy Mary: for although the tree be beautiful, yet it is not for meat; and although Mary be most excellent and holy and to be honoured, yet she is not to be worshipped." Again: "She was indeed a virgin and honourable; and not given to us for adoration, but one who did herself worship Him who was born of her in the flesh."—Epiphanii *Hæres. lxxix.* p. 446—448. There also he exhorteth Christians to put on a manlike mind, and to beat down *γυναικων μανιαν τουτων*, "the madness of these women." For, it seems, in those days it was the women's heresy; though now it hath obtained amongst the Romanists, both males and females. Gregory Nyssen ("Against Eunomius," lib. v.) hath this excellent passage: "We are taught to understand, that whatsoever is created is a different thing from the Divine Nature; and that we are to worship and adore" *μονην την ακτιστον φυσιν*, "that nature *only* which is uncreated; whose character is this,—that it neither at any time began to be, nor ever shall cease to be." The Spanish Inquisitors, *anno* 1584, took care [that] the word "only" should be blotted out. Chrysostom, in his third homily on the first chapter to the Hebrews, hath this saying: "Why do you gape after angels? They are servants to the Son of God, and are sent to divers places for our sakes." And, in the eighteenth homily on the Epistle to the Romans, he says, "Unto whom shalt thou flee? whom wilt thou call upon to fight for and help thee? Shall it be to Abraham? But he will not hear thee. Shall it be to these virgins? But they also shall impart none of their oil unto thee. Shalt thou call upon thy father or thy grandfather? But none of them is able to release or relieve thee. These things considered, worship and pray to Him alone who hath the power to blot out thine obligation, and quench that flame." Again, in the ninth homily on the Epistle to the Colossians, he tells us that the devil, envying the honour we have,—to address ourselves to God immediately,—hath brought-in the service of angels. The ancients were generally of opinion, that the saints are not admitted into heaven and a clear sight of God, till the last day. This is confessed by Stapleton, *Defens. Eccl. Author. cont. Whitak.* lib. i. cap. 2. "Tertullian," says he, "Irenæus, Origen, Chrysostom, Theodoret, Œcumenius, Theophylact, Ambrose, Clemens Romanus, Bernard, &c., did not assent unto this sentence, which now is defined as a doctrine of faith,—that the souls of the righteous enjoy the sight of God before the day of judgment; but did deliver the contrary sentence thereunto." And if so, they could not be of opinion, by Bellarmine's own concessions, that men on earth should invocate them, as the Romanists now do. *Vide* Origenem *in Rom.* lib. ii. p. 472; Augustinum, tom. viii. *in Psal. xxxvi.*

ARGUMENT I.

They argue from the lawfulness of desiring the prayers of just men here on earth. "This is," they say, "our daily practice: nothing is more ordinary than to entreat the prayers one of another. The apostle writes to the Romans, Ephesians, Colossians, and desires to be assisted by their prayers. Now, if we may entreat the prayers and intercessions of just men on earth, much more, then, of just men made perfect in heaven."

ANSWER.

1. There is not the same reason for both; because the former is required and warranted by the word of God, and not the latter. Again: the living may be made acquainted with our desires and wants, and not the dead; we have no way of informing them, or communicating our minds to them: they that suppose it, cannot agree (as was said before) about the way and manner of it. Other reasons may be assigned why living Christians should pray one for another, which will not hold in this case. Hereby they are made sensible of each other's wants, sufferings, and infirmities; as also there is an increase of mutual and brotherly love, which is a necessary bond amongst Christians. But this is not all.

2. There is a vast disparity betwixt the Papists' praying to the saints in heaven, and the Protestants' desiring of the prayers of just men here on earth. This may easily be discerned by any that have not a mind to deceive or to be deceived. When we desire others to pray with or for us, we do not make them the object of prayer and religious invocation; nor do we reckon them as our mediators, but as our fellow-suitors. See this in an instance:—One man goes to his minister or godly neighbour, and tells him his condition; and then desires him that he would strive together with him earnestly in prayer to God for him, that he may be supplied in the things that he stands in need of. Another applies himself to one that is in heaven, (or, it may be, that he supposeth to be there,) and with great devotion he prostrates himself before him; (or, it may be, his image;) and then he prays, "O blessed St. Francis," or "St. Dominic," "look down upon thy poor supplicant: take pity on me, a miserable sinner. I commend my body and soul to thee. Assist me by thy merits; fill me with thy graces; bring me to everlasting happiness. Save me now and in the hour of death," &c. I would fain know whether the practice of these two be one and the same; nay, whether there be any proportion or likeness betwixt the action of the one and [that] of the other. Take the holiest man now living in the world; (and, if you believe the church of Rome, there be some that have holiness enough and to spare;) and let this man have some of that religious worship that is deferred to their female (not to say, their fictitious) saints; as, for instance, St. Katherine, St. Margaret, St. Bridget, St. Barbara, St. Ursula, or the like: that is to say, let a temple be built and an altar erected to him; let his image be set up, and the people

enjoined to fall down before it, burn incense to it, &c.; let vows and supplications be made to him, and that in several places and in the usual forms:—I say, Let this, or something like it, be done to the holiest man living; and, I am confident, the Papists, yea, the pope and all his cardinals, would with one mouth condemn it, and say it were blameworthy and abominable.

ARGUMENT II.

"This practice argues reverence and humility:[*] it is pride and arrogance to make our addresses to God immediately. Here we seek to the king by the mediation of his courtiers: much rather should we go to God by the intercession of those that are his favourites in heaven."

ANSWER.

This pretence or show of humility seems, by that text in Col. ii. 18, to have [had] a main hand in the first introducing of angel-worship. And of this opinion is an ancient writer; who says, "They advised of old the invocation of angels upon this pretence,—that the God of all things was invisible and inaccessible, and that it was fit we should procure his favour by the means or mediation of angels."[†] It was by this very argument that the Gentiles of old defended their demon-worship. This I have already hinted; and an ancient father doth plainly assert it, that "the Heathen idolaters, to cover the shame of their neglecting of God, were wont to use this miserable excuse,—that by these they might go to God, as by officers we go to the king."[‡]

But the same author proceeds to discover the vanity of this pretence: I shall give you his own words: "Go to," saith he, "is there any man so mad or unmindful of his salvation, as to give the king's honour to an officer? whereas, if any shall be found but to treat of such a matter, they are justly condemned as guilty of a great offence against the king. And yet these men think themselves not guilty, who give the honour of God's name to a creature, and, leaving the Lord, adore their fellow-servants, as though there were any thing more that could be reserved to God. For therefore do men go to the king by tribunes or officers, because the king is but a man, and knoweth not to whom he may commit the state of the commonwealth: but, to procure the favour of God, (from whom nothing is hid, and who knows the works of all men,) we need no spokesman, but a devout mind."[§]

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[*] *Precatio Dei per invocationem sanctorum arguit majorem humilitatem, sicut videre est in centurione.*—SALMERON *in* 1 *Tim. ii.* disput. vii. sect. ult.

[†] Προσηκει δια των αγγελων την ϑειαν ευμενειαν ϖραγματευεσθαι.—THEODORETUS *in Col. ii.*

[‡] *Solent tamen, pudorem passi neglecti Dei, miserâ uti excusatione, dicentes per istos posse ire ad Deum, sicut per comites pervenitur ad regem.*—AMBROSIUS *in Rom. i.*

[§] *Age, nunquid tam demens est aliquis, aut salutis suæ immemor, ut honorificentiam regis vindicet comiti? cùm de hac re si qui etiam tractare fuerint inventi, jure ut rei damnentur majestatis. Et isti se non putant reos qui honorem nominis Dei deferunt creaturæ, et, relicto Domino, conservos adorant, quasi sit aliquid plus quod servetur Deo. Nam et ideò ad regem per tribunos aut comites itur, quia homo utique est rex, et nescit quibus debeat rempublicam credere: ad Deum autem (quem utique nihil latet; omnium enim merita novit) suffragatore non opus est, sed mente devotâ.*—AMBROSIUS, *ibid.* "When," says Chrysostom, "thou hast need to sue unto men, thou art forced first to deal with door-keepers, and to entreat parasites and flatterers, and go a long way about:" επι δε του Θεου ουδεν τοιουτον εστιν, *&c.*, "but with God there is no such matter. Without an intercessor he is entreated; without money, without cost, he yieldeth to thy prayer. It sufficeth only that thou cry in

I shall conclude my answer to this plea of the Romanists by proposing one thing to their consideration:—Suppose [that] a king should grant to all his subjects, the poor as well as the rich, free access to him, promising a redress of all their grievances upon the only mediation of the prince his son; and the prince again should by open proclamation invite all freely to come to him, and proffer himself to be their mediator, promising he will not in anywise reject the meanest of them: would it be arrogance in any to accept of this offer? Nay, would it not be the highest presumption to take another course? to apply to the king by the mediation of this or the other courtier? The case is the same here.[*] But I hasten to the third and last argument.

ARGUMENT III.

The third argument is taken from the success of such prayers. This is insisted on by a late author; and he calls it "a convincing argument." "Certain it is," saith he, "that many and great miracles have been wrought by God upon addresses made to the saints; that those who call upon them are heard, and obtain what they desire."[†] He gives several instances; and, if the reader please, I will transcribe one of them. It is a story of what happened to one St. John Damascene, about the year 728. "He is known," saith he, "to have been a stout assertor of the veneration of holy images; and when the emperor Leo Isauricus raised a persecution" (so *he* calls it) "for that cause, he wrote divers learned

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thine heart, and bring tears with thee; and entering in straightways, thou mayest draw him unto thee."—*De Pœnitent.* serm. vii. tom. vi. p. 802, edit. Savil. And in another place: *'Ορα γυναικος φιλοσοφιαν, &c.*: "Mark," says he, "the philosophy," or "wisdom," "of the woman of Canaan. She entreateth not James, she beseecheth not John, neither doth she come to Peter; but brake the whole company of them, saying, 'I have no need of a mediator; but, taking repentance with me for a spokesman, I come to the Fountain itself. For this cause did he take flesh,—that I might take the boldness to speak to him. I have no need of a mediator: have thou mercy upon me.'"—*In Dimissionem Cananeæ*, tom. v. p. 195, edit. Savil. Again: in his fifth sermon on the eighth of Matthew, "God," saith he, "will not grant us so much of his grace at the request of them who pray for us, as when we ourselves pray unto him. In praying for ourselves we do more with God than when others pray for us. He put off the Canaanitish woman, when his disciples prayed for her; and heard her, when she herself prayed; and said, 'Be it unto thee as thou wilt.'"

[*] *Si rex constituerit certum intercessorem, non volet ad se causas per alios deferri. Ita cùm Christus sit constitutus Pontifex et Intercessor, cur quærimus alios?—Vide* AUGUSTINUM *De Civitate Dei*, lib. viii. "If a king has appointed a certain intercessor, he will not be willing that causes should be brought before himself by any others. So, when Christ is constituted Priest and Intercessor, why seek we others?"—EDIT. *Pharisaica superbia est vel nostra vel aliorum hominum merita Deo in oratione opponere.*—CHEMNITIUS. "It is pharisaical pride to bring before God in prayer either our own or other men's merits."—EDIT.

[†] "Catholics no Idolaters," p. 420, 424, 425. *Puella quædam obsessa adducta fuit ad capellam beatæ Virginis in antiquâ Oetingen; ubi cùm Litania cantaretur, et invocaretur misericordia, auxilium, et liberatio Dei Patris, Filii, et Spiritûs Sancti, diabolus nihil fuit motus. Cùm verò Lauret. Litania de B. Mariâ inchoaretur, tùm demum Satanas cœpit in obsessâ turbari, clamare, et furire. Mox verò Canisius præses, imagine B. Mariæ arreptâ, imposuit capiti puellæ obsessæ; et tùm diabolus cœpit exclamare, Ah mulier! quid me calcas, et caput meum conteris? &c.—Narratio* MARTINI HENGERII. "A certain girl that was possessed with the devil was brought to the chapel of the blessed Virgin in the old town of Oetingen; where, when the Litany was chanted, and the mercy, help, and liberating power of God the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, were invoked, the devil was not at all moved. But when the Litany of the blessed Mary of Loretto was commenced, then at length Satan began to be disturbed, to cry out, and to rage in her who was possessed. Presently, however, Canisius, the bishop, having snatched up the image of the blessed Mary, placed it upon the head of the possessed girl; and then the devil began to shout out, 'Ah, woman! why dost thou trample upon me, and bruise my head?'"—EDIT.

epistles, to confirm the faithful in the tradition of the church. He was then at Damascus, where the prince of the Saracens kept his court; and highly in the favour of that prince for his wisdom and learning. The emperor Leo, not knowing otherwise how to execute his fury against him, causes a letter to be forged, as from Damascene to him, and to be transcribed by one who could exactly imitate his hand; the contents whereof were to invite him to pass that way with his army, with promise to deliver the city into his hands. This letter the emperor, as out of friendship to an ally and detestation of the treachery, sent to the prince of the Saracens; who no sooner saw and read it, but in a brutish passion [he] commanded the right hand of Damascene (which, he supposed, had written it) to be cut off. *Dictum factum*, 'A word and a blow;' his hand was struck off, and hung up in the market-place till evening; when, upon petition that he might have leave to bury it, it was commanded to be given him. He takes the hand; and, instead of laying it in the ground, joins it to his arm; and, prostrating himself before an image of Our blessed Lady, which he kept in his oratory, humbly besought her intercession for the restoring of his hand, that he might employ it in setting forth her Son's praises and hers. This done, sleep seized on him; and he beheld the image of the blessed Virgin looking upon him with a pleasing aspect, and telling him that his hand was restored: which, when he awaked, he found to be true, and a small circle or mark only remaining in the place where it had been cut off, to testify the truth of the miracle." This is recorded, it seems, by John, patriarch of Jerusalem, in the Life of this St. John Damascene.

ANSWER.

Do the Papists indeed think that this (and such-like pretty stories) is a good foundation for the practice now in question? What, if a man should be in doubt of the truth of this, and other relations of this kind? We know of whom it is said that his "coming is after the working of Satan with all power and signs and lying wonders." (2 Thess. ii. 9.) If I might advise, the pope should put forth a Bull for the prohibiting, yea, for the burning, [of] all their legends and histories of feigned miracles. They do not gain, but lose greatly, in their reputation, by means thereof. Yea, what, if I should say, that the Christian religion suffers greatly in the world upon this very account? How have Jews and infidels been hardened in their unbelief of the gospel, and of the miracles that Christ and his apostles wrought for the confirmation of it; and all by reason of those fables and lying miracles that are obtruded upon the world by those of the church of Rome! Repent, O Rome, repent in time, of the wound that thou hast given to Christianity upon the score of these fables and forgeries!

It is worth our notice, and may serve as a farther answer to this plea, what Mr. Mede offers in his Treatise before cited,*—that "the Gentiles' demon-worship did enter into the world after the same manner; it was first insinuated, and afterwards established, by signs and wonders of the very self-same kind: so that the idolatry of saint-worship is in this respect also a true counterfeit of their idolatry of demons." He brings-in Chrysostom affirming that the demons of the Gentiles wrought miracles for the confirmation of Paganism and the Pagan idolatry: "They oftentimes by their skill cured diseases, and restored to health those that were sick. What!" says he, "should we partake therefore with them in their impiety? God forbid."[*] He cites Eusebius also to this purpose: "'When,' says he, 'those wicked spirits' (meaning those that were worshipped under the names of 'demons') 'saw mankind brought off to a deifying of the dead, they insinuated themselves, and helped forward their error, by causing motions in those statues which were consecrated to the honour of the deceased, as also by oracles and curing of diseases: by means of which, the superstitious and credulous people took them to be some heavenly powers, and gods indeed; sometimes to be the souls of their deified worthies. And thus,' saith he, 'the earth-neighbouring demons, which are the princes of the air, those spiritualities of wickedness and ringleaders of all evil, were on all hands accounted for great gods.' And farther he adds, that the memory of deceased worthies was celebrated with great service; the feature of whose bodies the dedicated images in every city seemed to represent; but their souls the wicked demons counterfeited, by working many wonders." Let me shut up this answer with the saying of a laborious and learned person;[†] his words are these: "If it be objected, that many have prayed to the saints, and particularly to the Virgin Mary, and have obtained their requests; and therefore such prayers are available: we answer, That is no good argument which is taken from the event: for so Livy writeth that Romulus prayed to Jupiter that he would stay the flight of the Romans, that he might keep off the Sabines; and it was effected. Pliny also reporteth that one Helpis, seeing a rampant lion come against him, prayed to Bacchus, and was delivered. Like as the praying to Heathen gods is not justified by the subsequent effects, no more is the invocating of saints," &c.

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* "The Apostasy of the latter Times."

Come we now to a conclusion. I desire, in the close of all, that these three particulars may be considered:—

1. *That this discourse doth not destroy that communion of saints which is the common belief of all Christians.*—It is levelled against the invocation, not against the communion, of saints. "Jerusalem" is sometimes put for the church militant on earth, and sometimes for the church triumphant in heaven, to show that both make but one city of

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[*] *Quærite si vera est Divinitas Christi: si est ea, quâ cognitâ, ad bonum quis reformetur, sequitur ut falsa renuncietur, compertâ imprimis illâ omni ratione, quæ, delitescens sub nominibus et imaginibus mortuorum, quibusdam signis et miraculis et oraculis, fidem divinitatis operatur.*—TERTULLIANI *Apol. ad Gent.* cap. 21, *in fine.* "Inform yourselves carefully therefore, whether the Divinity of Christ is not the true Divinity you ought to worship, and which, if once entertained, new-makes the old man, and forms him to every virtue; and consequently all divinities but Christ ought to be renounced as false; and those especially, in the first place, which lie lurking under the names and images of dead men, and, by lying signs and wonders and oracles, pass for gods, when, in truth, they are but devils."—REEVES'S Translation.

[†] WILLET in his *Synopsis Papismi*, p. 437. *Ex solis miraculis, sine testimoniis verbi Dei, non posse ullum dogma probari, nec hoc titulo debere recipi, ipsa scriptura disertè testatur, Deut. xiii.*—CHEMNITII *Examen.* "That no doctrine can be proved from miracles alone, without the testimonies of the word of God, or ought to be received on that ground, scripture itself plainly testifies. (Deut. xiii. 1—5.)"—EDIT. Cæcilius saith of the demons of the Heathens, *Dant cautelam periculi, morbis medelam, opem miseris, solatium calamitatibus, laboribus levamentum.*—MINUTIUS FELIX, p. 7. "They give warning of danger, remedy for diseases, help to the wretched, comfort in calamities, alleviation of sufferings."—EDIT.

God. The church below, and the church above, are two parts of one and the same catholic church; whence it is that those who are sanctified and called on earth, are said to be "come to the spirits of just men máde perfect" in heaven. So the apostle tells the Hebrews, that they are brought by the gospel into a blessed society,—with "God the Judge of all, with Jesus Christ the Mediator of the new covenant, with an innumerable company of angels, and with the spirits of just men made perfect." (Heb. xii. 22—24.) Both those that are already made perfect, and those that still abide in a state of imperfection, are "fellow-citizens," (as he elsewhere phraseth it,) and have mutual fellowship or communion one with another. They have mutual relation to one Father; and children of the same Father have mutual fellowship amongst themselves: they have mutual union with one Head; and members of the same body have mutual communion one with another: they have their animation by one and the same Spirit, as all the members are animated by one and the same soul; that Spirit which dwells in the saints on earth, doth bear them company into heaven.

If it be demanded, wherein this communion consisteth which is between the saints above and the saints below; I answer, It consists mainly in mutual affections and communications one to another. *The saints in heaven* rejoice at God's preservation of his church on earth; that so many of their brethren and fellow-servants are daily fitted for heaven and translated thither, whereby their blessed society is increased. The saints above may also pray and intercede for those below: for, though the Papists confound these two, (as they do other things,) to wit, the intercession and the invocation of saints; yet there is a wide difference betwixt them.* And there be who allow them to pray for us, who yet will not admit of our praying unto them: (see Rev. vi. 10:) but then they say that this intercession of theirs is for the church in general, and not for this or that member in particular, whose case or person, it is most likely, is not known to them. On the other side, *the saints on earth,*—they pray for the resurrection of the bodies of the saints in heaven; that in body, as well as in spirit, they may be perfected and glorified. Yea, this is one sense of that petition in the Lord's Prayer: "Thy kingdom come." They likewise praise God for the rest [which] they enjoy in heaven; that they are delivered from this valley of tears and trouble. They also groan, and that earnestly, to be glorified with them, and to be translated into their condition and company. Above all, they set them before them as their examples, walking in their godly steps; being followers of them, as they have been followers of that which is good. Though they do not invocate them, yet they study to imitate them; which is the highest honour they can put upon them. This is that which the apostle requires in the Epistle to the Hebrews, when he bids us to "be followers of them who through faith and patience inherit the promises." (Heb. vi. 12.)

2. *This discourse serves to excite Christians to be much in calling on Him in whom they believe, to be frequent in praying to God in the name of Jesus Christ.*—"Take," says James, "the prophets for an example of

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* "They are very different questions, Whether the saints pray for us, and, Whether we must pray to them. It is one thing to know what the saints do in heaven, and another thing to know what we must do on earth."—PETER DU MOULIN.

suffering affliction, and of patience." (James v. 10.) Take, I say, the Papists for an example of prayer, (such as it is,) and unwearied devotion. It was the advice of a good man to his friend, that he would spend as much time every day in prayer and meditating, as he did in eating and drinking. It were well if we spent as many hours every day in the service and worship of God, as some of them do in serving and worshipping the saints. We may receive instruction from oxen and asses and other brute creatures; and so we may from the blind Papists. "Go to the ant, thou sluggard;" (Prov. vi. 6;) and go to the Papist, thou slothful Christian. He hath his canonical and stated hours for his devotion: he is diligent in turning over his beads, in pattering over his Pater-nosters and Ave-Marias; and will admit of no avocation. How, then, art thou to be reproved, who neglectest prayer to God from day to day! How many prayerless families and persons are there in this nation!

Christ says, the Ninevites shall rise up in the judgment against the Jews,—and the Papists will rise up in the judgment against many Protestants,—and "condemn" them. (Matt. xii. 41.) The charge of Eliphaz against Job will lie more rightly against many an one in the midst of us: you will find it in Job xv. 4. He says there, "Thou castest off fear, and restrainest prayer before God." Some read the words thus: "Thou multipliest prayer." * "The word notes," as one observes, "the cutting or dividing a thing into small pieces or portions, which is indeed to multiply it; and it is as if he should have said, 'Thou dost mince thy prayers, and cut them out into many small shreds, as if thou didst hope to be heard for thy much speaking.'" Such were the devotions of the Pharisees of old; and such are the devotions of the Papists, their successors, to this day. Their collects and litanies are full of "vain repetitions," the same things over and over again. But take the words as they are in our translation: "Thou restrainest prayer before God;" and then they note either a total forbearing or a partial diminishing of the duty. Some do not pray at all; others pray but seldom: both come under this reproof of restraining prayer. Remember who commands you to "pray always" and to "pray without ceasing." Resolve, reader, whoever thou art, upon more frequency and fervency in this duty. Let an hour, or more, every day be set apart for secret prayer; and be sure, as Elias did, to "pray in prayer:" Προσευχῃ ϖροσευξατο. (James v. 17.) The Papists and others *say prayers*; but do thou *pray in prayer* to God. It is recorded of Luther, that he prayed every day three hours; *easque ad studia aptissimas*; "and that when he was most fit for such a service." † "Go thou, and do likewise."

Sex horas somno, totidem des legibus æquis;
Orabis quatuor, des epulisque duas:
Quod superest sacris ultrò largire camenis.‡

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* *Arguitur Job, quòd multiloquio vel battologiâ usus est.*—BOLD. *Vide* CARYL *in locum.* "Job is accused of having made use of much speaking or excessive loquacity."—EDIT.

† *Vide* VITUM THEODORUM *in Vitâ ejus.*

‡ Judge Cooke advised to four hours in a day for this exercise:
"Six hours to sleep, and six to equal laws,
Devote: spend four in prayer; in feasting, two:
Whate'er remains, on sacred song bestow."—EDIT.

King Alfred divided every day into three parts: he allowed eight hours to his devotion, eight to his employment, and eight to his sleep and refection.

3. *This discourse may have this farther fruit,—to beget a dislike, yea, a detestation, of Popery.*—One would wonder that a man in his right senses should ever become a Papist. Their opinions, many of them, are not only unscriptural, but irrational; a man must offer violence to his reason, if he complies with them. I might give many instances; consider these two:—the one is praying *for* the dead; the other is praying *to* the dead. We cannot help the dead by praying *for* them; nor can they hear us when we pray *unto* them. Yea, the Popish religion is not only ridiculous, but idolatrous. There is a five-fold idolatry which we charge upon the church of Rome:—(1.) The worshipping of the cross. (2.) The worshipping of images. (3.) The worshipping of relics. (4.) The worshipping of the elements in the eucharist. (5.) The worshipping of saints and angels. Well may she be called "the whore of Babylon;" yea, that "great whore," and "the mother of fornications and abominations of the earth!" (Rev. xvii. 1, 5.) The church of the Jews did not forsake the true God altogether; only she would worship him in calves and images: and how often, for this reason, is she called "a whore," and "an abominable harlot!" The church of Rome is a worse strumpet than ever she was: "a deep ditch" she is; may none amongst us be so far "abhorred of the Lord" as to fall into it! (Prov. xxii. 14.) Dearly beloved countrymen, "flee from idolatry:" (1 Cor. x. 14:) this [is] the "abominable thing that God hateth." (Jer. xliv. 4.) Popish idolatry is as bad or worse than Paganish. I shall conclude this sermon as the apostle John doth his First Epistle: "Little children, keep yourselves from idols. Amen." (1 John v. 21.)

SERMON XI. (XXIV.)

BY THE REV. EDWARD WEST, A. M.

OF CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD.

PURGATORY A GROUNDLESS AND DANGEROUS DOCTRINE.

But he himself shall be saved; yet so as by fire.—1 Corinthians iii. 15.

"This text," says Bellarmine, "is one of the most difficult, and yet most profitable, of the whole scripture, in that from hence the Catholics conclude two great points against heretics,—that of purgatory and venial sins." *

But as hard as the apostle's text is, this sort of Catholics, in drawing such profound notions from it, seem hard enough for the apostle and his text too; and I am much mistaken, if Paul would not have been alike puzzled to have understood them, as they are at a loss to spell out the meaning of him. It is not every one, nor, may be, any one, of that simple age [who] was aware of such a thing as purgatory or venial sin.

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* *De Purgatorio*, lib. i. cap. 5.

Austin, it seems, was of Bellarmine's mind, as in the same place he quotes him, that this was one of the hard sayings that Peter probably observed in Paul's writings, which we should take heed of wresting to our own destruction. Austin, belike, was wary; but others have ventured to bring it to the rack, and made it speak according to their mind, as reserved and close as it was: they will teach Paul to speak plain, plain Popery, ere they have done. And it is strange to consider how many hard texts even in this obscure matter they pretend to have for them; though, in our controversies with them, we must wholly confine to plain ones. But these magicians, in imitation, as it were, of Moses, that eminent man of God, are altogether for bringing water out of the rocks: if a place be hard in itself, they think it will be too hard for us; and, like a mill-stone, they cast it upon us, urging us to give an evident sense, or admit theirs; and while we are heaving to extricate ourselves, they hope for this advantage over us,—leisurely to retreat from us, and, before we overtake them again, to prepare fresh work of the like kind for us. But it is a dastardly enemy that declines the open field, and fights only from the hedges and holes of rocks; [so] that it is greater difficulty to follow than overcome them. To proceed:

A hard text this is confessed to be; whereon we crave liberty to suspect [that] they may be mistaken, and to suspend our faith till we have made examination.

But, however, a very profitable text it is, if it affords such doctrines as fore-mentioned, worth many thousands by the year, I will warrant you; for, however some dissemble the matter, on these suppositions it is, that Masses and indulgences go off at the rate they do. If souls went forthwith to heaven, they would not care a pin for them; if forthwith to hell, they would despair of benefit by them. But the opinion of purgatory makes them precious; especially since, as is said, that "souls there are defective in merit, and cannot further merit in that state themselves:" * they must needs, on this supposition, reckon themselves more beholden to them that will impart of their oil to them; and, in hope to partake of their spirituals, can do no less than leave them a good share of their temporals.

And, to make them the more willingly give down their milk, Aquinas tells them, that the priests' prayers, Masses, &c., profit them when dead, by virtue of what they did themselves while alive.† You may guess his meaning,—the priest should profit him when dead, as his purse had profited the priest when alive. And elsewhere he adds, that prayers are more effectual for us if we are particularly remembered, than if we are more generally recommended.‡ Well, it is but meet that the priest should be particularly remembered that particularly remembers us, and that something should be done to rub up his memory of us in particular when we are gone. If "gain be godliness," (1 Tim. vi. 5,) as some have supposed, certainly this doctrine of purgatory is a prime article of

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* BELLARMINUS *De Purgatorio*, lib. ii. cap. 2. † AQUINATIS *Suppl.* quæst. lxxi. art. 2. ‡ *Ibid.* art. 12.

religion; for all experience as well as reason teaches us, that it is a very profitable doctrine.

The saints in heaven are high and stout, they will give us nothing. The damned in hell are a poor or surly rout. The one does not need our prayers, the other does despise our prayers. We must threaten men with this prison of purgatory, or they will never pay their debts to us; but, rather than lie and rot there, we may easily conclude, [that] they will compound with us here.

But, for clearer procedure, it will be necessary to show,

I. *What the Papists do mean by purgatory.*

II. *Whether any such thing is probably meant in this text.*

III. *Whether the word of God does anywhere give ground for such a conceit, with that cogency especially as that we should receive it for an article of faith.*

IV. *I shall briefly consider (as they deserve) their supplementary arguments.*

V. *Show what ground there is from scripture to disbelieve any such thing.*

VI. *What evil consequences there are of the receipt of it.*

VII. And lastly. *I shall give you the genuine sense of the place, and improve it.*

I. *What do the Papists mean by their purgatory?*

PROTESTANTS' PURGATORY.

ANSWER. That there is a purgation of our souls preparatory to their immediate enjoyment of God, we freely grant to them, and that both in respect of guilt and filth; and many ways we assign whereby this is done. Eminently, by the blood and Spirit of Christ: hereby filthy wretches indeed are said to be cleansed. (1 Cor. vi. 9—11.) Christ was thought to have done this work effectually, what one way, and what another; and he reckoned so himself, as appears by his sitting down. (Heb. i. 3.) His coming therefore was foretold as with fire and water, that are the great cleansers amongst us. (Mal. iii. 2, 3.) Moreover, as instruments that are effectual through him, this purging work is ascribed sometimes and in some part to the word: "Purify them by thy truth: thy word is truth;" (John xv. 3; xvii. 17;) at other times and in another respect to faith: "Purifying their hearts by faith." (Acts xv. 9.) Sometimes to afflictions; whence is that comparison, "We went through fire and water;" (Psalm lxvi. 12;) so afflictions are called, as being frequently used for our purging and cleansing. Such a purgatory we Protestants allow of; and are free to tell, that the place of it is this world; and that the remainder of sin, which sticks to the best of us while alive, is concluded in death; whereby the body is incapacitated, and all its moral as well as vital actions terminated; and wherein the soul is perfected by the immediate vision of God and Christ, into whose image it is hereby changed, according to present experience, (2 Cor. iii. 18,) and after-hope: "We shall be like him; for we shall see him as he is." (1 John iii. 2.)

But this will not serve our adversaries' turn. Let us then hear and examine their notion of purgatory.

Bellarmine tells us in general, that "it is a certain place, wherein, as in a prison, souls are purged after this life that were not fully purged here, to the intent they may enter pure into heaven." *

Let us inquire of him a little more particularly,

1. *Where this place is.*

He tells us, that "the church has not defined it, and that there are eight several opinions about it." † Fancy, you see, is fruitful: here is even every one his tale. But such variety cannot but much please our company, yea, and the customers too; for if they like not one, they may take the other. But the generality of the Schoolmen will have it "in the bowels of the earth, on the borders of hell."‡ But, be it where it will, I hope I shall never come thither; and, as I suppose, they that thus inform us had not been there. But all things are within the ken of the sagacious Schoolmen.

2. *Who are to go thither?*.

Eight opinions also are reckoned up about this. Some thought, all men, good and bad; others, both men and devils; others, all and only Catholics. (Alas! poor heretics!) And so he goes on to the full number, charging one or more fathers with each of them. And yet all but the last were out, as he concludes in the close of that chapter.§ Whereby I understand, that the fathers are of no authority, except when they speak for one; and so we as well as they will be content to be determined by them.

But what at length is the true opinion?

That purgatory is only for them that die with venial sins, or that depart *cum reatu pœnæ, culpis jam remissis.*|| This is crabbed Latin; you will pardon me, if I cannot straight English it. I was almost stumbled before at venial sins; but my author helps me to understand what he means by them: "Such as are worthy only of a temporal punishment."¶ These are petty kind of sins. But that notion I pass over, as likely to be examined by a much better hand. That which does most puzzle me is this *reatus pœnæ*, this "guilt of punishment that remains when the fault is pardoned;" and this difficulty I think not easy to get over. For what is guilt without respect to a fault? And what place has punishment after pardon?

But this is the best account we are likely to have of what is to be purged in this purgatory,—some pitiful little sins, or such that were pardoned before. In effect, I perceive, that persons that go thither need only to be a little polished over. They are detained in that prison for some few farthings that Christ, when he paid their debts, left on the score; (alas for him, he was so poor!) and for this they and their friends must make a purse, and so they may go out. If they have good helpers, that will go pilgrimages, say Masses, or procure indulgences for them, they may go out so much the sooner; but if all lies upon themselves, they must tarry longer, and thank themselves that by their bounty they obliged nobody [whom they] left behind them to merit a speedy release for them. It is likely by this to go very hard with poor folks and churls. And, to fright persons into a readier compliance with them, the grievousness of the punishment is set before them: fire is the best that can be expected by them; and therein they may lie frying till the resurrection, in some thousand years scarcely making an expiation.

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* *De Purgatorio*, lib. ii. cap. 6. † Idem, *ibid.* ‡ *Ibid.* § *Ibid.* cap. 1·
|| *Ibid.* ¶ *Ibid.* lib. i. cap. 11.

And it is specially remarkable, that persons are not judged thither that the fumes of sin may be wasted, nor for any evil habits, that they may be amended; but purely that their lesser debts (that Christ, it seems, had forgot, or was not able to discharge) may by their personal punishment, and their living friends' piety and prayers, be fully paid.*

And thus much for their notion of purgatory, as to its place and purposes.

II. The second thing to be inquired into is, *whether it is this Popish purgatory that Paul means by "the fire" in our text.*

For my part, I can hardly think it is, in that I find Paul such a stranger in all his writings to their notion of it; venial sins, punishment after pardon, human satisfactions, by translation of one's works to another, (when indeed no one has half enough for himself,) prayers for the dead, and the like, which are perquisites of their purgatory, he, good man, seeming utterly unacquainted with.

But he talks of "fire;" and there is fire in their purgatory. What then? Are there not many notions of fire in scripture? Is not the word, the Spirit, afflictions, frequently set out by it? This they will not deny. There is no necessity then of interpreting this fire by that of purgatory; yea, there is a great probability of the contrary:—

1. In that it is certain, that the whole of Paul's discourse here is a metaphor; and it is likely that it is metaphorical fire that this metaphorical stubble and metaphorical builder are in danger of.

2. Whereas "fire" is twice used before, it is evident, that it is not there to be understood of purgatory-fire; and must be so confessed by themselves. And therefore it is unlikely, having other fire at hand, he should run to purgatory to fetch fire; unless he had been a disciple of Ignatius, that can never kindle fire enough. For instance: of "the fire" in verse 13 it is said, that "it shall try every man's work;" whereas Papists will yield, [that] purgatory is not for trial of men's works; they are tried and found slight before any one comes thither. Nor, again, is purgatory, according to them, for every one; the very good and the very bad come not thither: therefore this cannot be understood of purgatory-fire. Again: the fire which in the beginning of our text is said to burn some men's works, is the same with the fire that tried them; for therein some are expressly said to "abide," and others to "burn." Moreover, their purgatory-fire acts on persons, this on works; and such works as we cannot imagine how a material fire should touch, unless it can, as they say, *comedere secundas notiones* ["eat up second notions"]; for these works, as is clear by the context, are corrupt doctrines. And what reason is there in this last clause to alter the notion of fire? One would easily conceive, that the fire which the builder escaped was the same with that which burnt his works; for we hear of no other that he was in danger by. And if any fire here spoken of might be supposed to be understood metaphorically, much more this last, in that it is brought in with such signal notes of comparison: Οὕτω ὡς, "Yet so as by fire."

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* BELLARMINUS *De Purgatorio*, lib. ii. cap. 9.

You see, then, that this text, that looks fairest for their purpose of any in all the book of God, is so far from a cogency, that there is not so much as a probability, of its meaning any such thing. Hitherto then we must be excused from receiving this doctrine as an article of faith to be believed on pain of damnation, as Bellarmine urges it; * for we see no tolerable grounds to take it up for an opinion. There is such a deal of force to be used to these words to make them speak to the Popish purpose, that we may perceive them loath to own it; and, for my part, if they speak no plainer, they shall stand-by awhile, till we have examined other witnesses.

III. Let us inquire *whether the word of God does any where give ground for such a conceit, with that cogency especially as that we should receive it as an article of faith.*

The principal texts [which] they use, either directly or indirectly, as tending to this purpose, I shall briefly examine.

The first I am sure [that] they can think on (and that, you will say, is far-fetched) is Gen. iii. 24, where God is said to have placed "a flaming sword to keep the way of the tree of life." This flaming sword, say some of them, was a witness to sinners, that they must pass through purgatory into Paradise.

Answer. If we mind the scope of the words, that text rather seems to have signified, that by the old way of works there was no entrance into Paradise; for this sword is said to be "placed to keep the way of the tree of life, lest man by eating of it should live for ever;" and so makes rather against purgatory, that seems a part of an appurtenance of the old way of works. But a flaming sword seemed a good weapon, and they were willing to take it into their hands: and, indeed, their great argument for all their peculiar articles has been fire and sword.

But, to leave this sword in the cherubims' hand, let us make a leap to 2 Macc. xii., which is the alone place Bellarmine pitches upon in the Old Testament, as convincing in this matter. Of all others he speaks very slightly, however fathers have made use of them, as if they were such *quæ solùm probabiliter suadent;* † and hereabout I shall have no controversy with him; I think he has given them their full due.

The place, then, to be considered is 2 Macc. xii. 43—45, where Judas Maccabeus, as Bellarmine quotes him, ‡ is said to have "gathered twelve thousand drachms of silver, and sent them to Jerusalem, to be laid out in sacrifices for the dead;" and the gloss of the author he adds,—"That it is a pious and a wholesome thought to pray for the dead, that they may be loosed from their sins." Whence he infers, 1. That the dead may be loosed from their sins; and therefore there is a purgatory. 2. That prayers and sacrifices do profit the dead. Three other inferences he draws, the last of which is, that purgatory and prayers for the dead must needs be an article of faith.

This text is their Hercules's club, that knocks all dead. Other texts render it but probable,—this, it seems, makes it clear, and necessary to be believed,—that there is a purgatory.

Answer. To this we reply a great many things.

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* *De Purgatorio,* lib. i. cap. 15.

† *De Purg.* lib. i. cap. 3. "Which only persuade with probability."—Edit.

‡ *Ibid.*

1. As to the matter of fact that is recorded of Judas,—that he did raise a certain sum of money, (though not twelve thousand, but two thousand, drachms, as the Greek copy reads it,) and sent it to Jerusalem to buy sacrifices,—I will not dispute against it; he might do it, probably did it, and in his circumstances had good reason for it. But that he did it *pro mortuis*, or "for the relief of the dead," that is Bellarmine's forgery. The text says only, *pro peccato*, "for the sin;" namely, lest, being a notorious sin, the living should be plagued for it; and that this was his case appears by verse 42: "They prayed that the sin might be blotted out, and Judas exhorted the multitude to keep themselves" αναμαρτητους, "free from the sin, seeing the punishment of them that had committed it." And this is an interpretation of his fact that agrees to the letter of the text, and the analogy of faith.

2. As for the author's gloss,—what a piece of piety it is to pray for the dead,—we are not much concerned in it; for whoever was the author of it, whether Jason or his abbreviator, (as may seem, 2 Macc. ii. 23, &c.,) and however good a historian he was, we own him for no prophet. Nor did the church of the Jews ever look upon his writings as canonical, as Papists themselves confess: though Bellarmine says the Christian church did, he gives slender proof of it.* Austin indeed says, "It was received of the church not unprofitably, provided it was soberly read;" where he seems to caution against some dangerous passages in it, by which unwary readers might be prejudiced, as much as the more wise profited. But the author himself acquits us from any veneration of him, by his courting his readers' favour, ever and anon, and desiring their pardon, at least, if any thing had been said amiss; (2 Macc. ii. 26;) which are condescensions below the Spirit of God, or any author inspired by it.

3. If this author had been good, and the Jews there had prayed for the dead, the Papists' inference of purgatory, according to their own principles, is weak; for it seems also by their faith, that people may be prayed out of hell. Though this they will not grant for ordinary, lest it should spoil their purgatory; yet two instances they very confidently give of it, which speaks a possibility: one of Trajan, a bloody persecutor, upon the prayers of Gregory, of which, Damascene says, the whole east and west were witnesses; and the other of Falconilla, a Pagan woman, by the prayers of St. Thecla. And if there was need of any more such stuff, the scull of a certain gentile priest told Macarius, that its owner was delivered out of hell by his prayers. And here is as good authority as our adversaries will bring, by-and-by, for their purgatory. Though, I must confess, these instances, as going against the hair, do not over-cleverly go down; for though they hugely advance prayer, they quite raze purgatory. To make up therefore differences between the combatants on each party, Aquinas tells us,† (and he seems to moderate well, like an Angelical Doctor,) that "they were not finally sent to hell, but according to their present merit; and that probably they were first raised to life, and so repented, ere they were translated to heaven; and also that this was not by common law, but special privilege," an act as it were of Chancery. But, however it was, if one late penitent, though but one, is thought sufficient to prevent every one's despair, two such instances

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* BELLARMINUS *De Purgatorio*, lib. i. cap. 3.

† *Suppl.* quæst. lxxi. art. 5.

of damned persons recovered to grace are ground enough to encourage prayer for all the rest.

And if fathers would make these fantastic arguments authentic, it were easy to give many that speak probably, as if they half believed such a thing as the possibility of a deliverance from hell. Origen goes a great way beyond us. Let us hear what Austin says, that they would make their great man for purgatory. Aquinas denies not but that it was his saying, that suffrages did "profit the dead either for a full absolution, or more tolerable damnation;" [*] both which must refer to their state in hell. There is no proper damnation in purgatory, and remission is said to be granted before they go to purgatory; only an imaginary guilt remains there, that may be properly enough purged in an imaginary place, by an imaginary fire, such as (for aught we yet hear of purgatory) that seems to be.

And thus I conceive the force of this text is fully enervated, the fact being shown to have been misconstrued, the gloss not duly authorized, and the inference not firmly grounded.

We must now pass into the New Testament; and there the most likely text seems to be Matt. xii. 31, 32, where it is said of the "blasphemy against the Holy Ghost," that "it shall never be forgiven, neither in this world, nor in that which is to come:" hence conclude they, that some sins are forgiven in the other world; and therefore [there is] a purgatory.

Answer 1. I deny the consequence; for, according to their opinion, as you have fore-heard, purgatory is for persons whose sins are already forgiven.

2. The original is, Ουτε εν τουτῳ τῳ αιωνι, ουτε εν τῳ μελλοντι· "Neither in this age, nor in the age to come;" where the present age may signify the Judaic state, wherein grace was straiter; and the future, that of Christ's kingdom, wherein it was expected larger. Thus "age to come" is often taken, as probably, Heb. vi. 5; and, according to some readings, in Isai. ix. 6, Christ is called, instead of "everlasting Father," ὁ Πατηρ του μελλοντος αιωνος, "the Father of the age to come." But if this will not be admitted,

3. Let Matthew interpret himself by what he says in the former verse, where he tells them, without this exaggeration, that it "shall not be forgiven;" and, to omit fathers, let me only refer them to his brother Mark, in Mark iii. 29, where it is simply rendered, that "he hath never forgiveness, but is in danger of," or obnoxious to, "eternal damnation," ουκ εχει αφεσιν εις τον αιωνα. Both the former ages are here wrapped up in the one of eternity, as it were to correct the Popish nicety.

Another text [which] they make use of is Matt. v. 25, 26, where we are advised to "agree with our adversary quickly while in the way; lest the adversary deliver us to the judge, and the judge to the officer, and we be cast into prison; for we shall by no means come out thence, till we have paid the utmost farthing." Here also Papists do see venial sins in the "farthings," human satisfactions in the "pay," purgatory in the "prison." But that no such things can with any congruity be hence inferred, you may observe,

1. That it is questionable whether this is any parable, or looks any

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[*] *Suppl.* quæst. lxxi. art. 5.

further than the civil differences between us and our brother; which we should speedily take up among ourselves by the common rule of equity, and not suffer needlessly to come before the forensic judges where we may expect utmost severity. The context inclines to this, and so this text is expounded by Chrysostom, Theophylact, and Jerome.

2. If a parable, on that account, by the common rule of the Schools, it is not argumentative, especially in an article of faith.

3. Its scope must be intended, and not every particular word racked; and that seems to be only this,—that we should make our peace with God in this life, and as soon as we can, in that here we may expect mercy; whereas, if we put off matters till we come before God's tribunal, we shall be dealt with in all severity: God will not abate us an ace then, he will exact the utmost farthing; he will not then hear of remission, or composition;—that we are likely to go to eternal perdition: "the prison" is *hell;* and there is no relief from the "until;" for the impossibility of the condition makes that but a bare supposition, and it is all one with "never." As to which resolution of the matter, we have abettors, some of the most considerable of the Popish doctors: MALDONATUS *in locum;* TOLETUS *in Lucam xii.;* JANSENIUS, *Concord. Evang.*

A further text [which] Bellarmine lays great stress upon is 1 Cor. xv. 29: "What shall they do that are baptized for the dead, if the dead rise not at all? why are they then baptized for the dead?" This, we must confess, is a difficult place indeed, and has wrested many great wits. But Papists think, that, by way of requital, as it were, they may wrest it; and by "baptism" understand all their voluntary services for the dead, supposing hence that they may thereby profit the dead; and consequently, that there is a purgatory, wherein they are detained till by these means they are relieved.

ANSWER 1. Their notion of baptism is perfectly new-coined; for though afflictions, which in the Old Testament are frequently set out by "waters," are sometimes in the gospel couched under this name of "baptism," (Matt. xx. 22, 23,) yet prayers, alms, sacrifices, and such-like voluntary services, were never so expressed, nor with any pretence of reason can be thereby understood.

2. If this was granted, purgatory could not be hence inferred; for this baptism, whatever it was, referred to the resurrection of the body, as a typical representation of that, whereon it is made use of for confirmation of the faith of that; whereas purgatory, according to them, is only for the relief of the soul: [so] that were we wholly at a loss for the positive meaning of the text, or should we be out in our guess at it, they could reasonably take no advantage of it; for, to whatever it serves, it serves not to their purpose; the body and its resurrection, and not the soul and its purgation, being concerned in it, as by the context clearly appears.

But, however, to take occasion to explain that very puzzling text,

1. Some refer it to a corrupt custom, taken up by the Corinthians and Marcionites, of baptizing a living person instead of his friend who was dead; which Paul makes use of to their conviction, without his own approbation. Let this have what weight it will with others, I must profess, it little sways with me.

2. Others think [that] this baptism refers to the washings that were used about the dead, which showed hope of their resurrection; otherwise why should they make such ado about the bodies of them? (Of this custom we hear something in Acts ix. 37.) But then we must take baptism here in the middle voice, and read the text, "Why do they baptize, or use washings about, the dead?" Let this notion go as far as it will, I know no hurt in it.

3. According to others, "baptism" may be here taken for sufferings; and so this clause may be much the same with what follows in the next verse: "Why stand we in jeopardy?" "Why do we thus expose our bodies, if they shall never be restored to life?"

4. Let me add a fourth notion, that takes "baptism" in a literal sense, and supposes an ordinary figure of one number for another, where there is speech of the dead; and that the meaning is, "If the dead rise not, what shall become of us and our baptism, that are baptized into Jesus who is dead? for 'if the dead rise not,'" as he there says, (verse 16,) "'Christ is not risen,' and consequently our gospel and hope are vain." And thus, by a small dispensation with grammar, which the apostle does not exactly tie himself to, we have a plain and safe meaning of this difficult text. However, in regard of its difficulty, I should judge it very improper to make it the basis of any new uncouth article; I would rather use it for confirmation of one that was otherwise sufficiently bottomed, and would keep to the apostle's scope in the application of it, till I had its fuller and surer interpretation; and that certainly is, to confirm us, from something in use among us, of the future resurrection.

The last text I shall mention, that is of any probability, is 1 Peter iii. 19, where Christ is said by the Spirit to have gone "and preached to the spirits in prison, that were sometime disobedient in the days of Noah." This "prison," they dream, is purgatory; and it seems that there is preaching in it too: but to what purpose, if there be no repenting or changing of estate, as every where Papists confess there is not in purgatory? And, I suppose, while the scripture speaks of the so great wickedness of the world before the flood, they will not think that the men of that age went generally to purgatory; and therefore Christ might have had but few auditors, if he had gone thither to have preached to them.

The plain meaning of that text is, that Christ by his Spirit in Noah did once preach unto that generation, whose spirits are now in hold as criminals for their then disobedience: of which preaching of Noah, and the strivings of this Spirit, we hear in 2 Peter ii. 5; Gen. vi. 3. But to suppose Christ's personal going into those dark regions to preach the gospel to spirits so long departed, is a ridiculous fable, and destructive even of their own notion of purgatory; that reckons the present life the way, the race, and that hereafter is no opportunity to obtain grace, but satisfy justice.

Such shifts, then, *they* are put to, *that*, right or wrong, will take upon them to defend a bad cause; and yet as little as these scriptures [which] I have quoted make for them, and as much as in truth they make against them, they are their chief weapons. If I should mention several others, I could propose no other design than to shame them; but, it may be, they will say, Do that, if I can. I shall, however, forbear, in that it may be a harder task than I am aware; for some folks have whores' foreheads, and will not be ashamed.

IV. *Let us now briefly consider their supplementary arguments;* which ordinarily are from these heads:- 1. *Reasons.* 2. *Fathers.* 3. *Councils.* 4. *Consent of nations.* 5. *Revelations.*

REASONS.

1. Let us hear their strong *reasons* for a purgatory. And the first I find to be this:—

REASON I. In that some sins are venial, and only worthy of a temporal punishment, and it is possible [that] a man may depart out of this life only with these; therefore it is necessary that they should be purged and expiated in another.

REASON II. When sinners are reconciled to God, the whole temporal punishment is not always remitted with the sin: and a man may die before he has discharged it; and therefore in the other world he must make it up. And hereon a purgatory seems necessary.

And these are all the reasons [which] Bellarmine gives us.* But add what I shall consider under the following distinct heads, and by this you will see upon what lame legs this great doctrine stands. For,

(1.) We utterly deny any sin to be in this sense venial, having learned out of the scriptures, that "the wages of sin," one as well as another, "is death." (Rom. vi. 23.)

(2.) Though we allow of fatherly chastisements that God lays on his people here for others' example and their own amendment, as a fruit of love rather than justice, (Rev. iii. 19,) we understand nothing of a proper punishment by way of personal satisfaction that is required of us when God has pardoned us; having learned, that God does "abundantly pardon" where he pardons; (Isai. lv. 7;) and having confidence that Christ has fully satisfied where he has undertaken to satisfy, "by one sacrifice perfecting for ever them that are sanctified;" (Heb. x. 14;) and that "there is no condemnation to them that are in Christ." (Rom. viii. 1.) And we reckon it absurd that we should be loosed in respect of our greater sins by the sufferings of another, and held for our slighter peccadillos to make satisfaction in our own persons. We cannot conceive why Christ, that paid the pounds, should grudge the pence; [that] after he has paid our debt, he should suffer us to lie for fees. If there was a meetness [that] we should smart for any of our sins, one would expect it rather for our great ones; but the goodness that passes over them will not disparage itself to take notice of little things; but we assure ourselves [that] where it sets on forgiveness, it will make clear work, "forgiving iniquity, transgression, and sin," that all glory may be to God. (Exod. xxxiv. 7.)

(3.) We suppose [that] the wise providence of God does so far subserve his covenant, that no surprisal shall happen to them interested in it, to cut them short of the full benefit of it; and that God will continue them in this life, till he has fitted them for a better: otherwise David was out in his notion of God's covenant, that reckoned it "ordered in all things, and sure;" (2 Sam. xxiii. 5;) and we are abused in what we hear of his exact and accurate providence. (Matt. x. 29, 30.) If this be all Bellarmine's reason for a purgatory,—to catch those of God's people that shall drop out of his providential hand, that they may not quite fall into hell, —he may content himself [that] God is not so careless of his own matters or people as he would make him. His fruit drops not off the tree of its own accord, that there should be danger of its falling before it was ripe; but he gathers it in convenient season, so that there is no need of a purgatory, wherein it should lie mellowing.

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* BELLARMINUS *De Purg.* lib. i. cap. 11.

You see, by what we have replied in these three particulars, how straitened they are for reasons, that they must extenuate the desert of sin, lessen the merit of Christ, and reflect on the wise providence of God, to have any show of one. And I must profess, had I hesitated at the doctrine of purgatory before, such reasons as these for it would have confirmed me in the disbelief of it. It is time to desert that faith where I cannot be a believer without being also a blasphemer.

FATHERS.

2. Their second argument is from *fathers;* as to which I briefly reply, that, upon examination, I find some false fathers imposed, others falsely quoted, others falsely applied to what they never intended; as was easy to give instances, were they not from other hands so abundantly ministered. And further I find, (as is said of a certain people,) that they sell powder to friend and foe; whereby a great noise is made, and a great smoke is raised, in which a man may soon lose his religion: but I pity the poor man that is to seek it among them.

And herein I acknowledge God very good to his church, discouraging her by this human uncertainty from pinning her faith on man, and directing her to his infallible word, on which alone she can safely and reasonably settle. And such an observation, I conceive, put the spouse on that particular inquisition after Christ himself: "Tell me, O thou whom my soul loveth, where thou feedest, where thou makest thy flock to rest at noon: for why should I be as one that turneth aside" (or "sitteth veiled," after the manner of harlots) "by the flocks of thy companions?" (Canticles i. 7.) That church that would keep itself chaste must be aware of wanton shepherds, how it sits down by them, or dallies with them, and keep close to Christ, that it may be delivered from them: and that church or society of men is a strumpet, that draws a veil over its own eyes, not caring to distinguish between Christ and his companions; that listens to every one's voice, and receives every one's embrace. Christ's "sheep know his voice, and follow him. And a stranger they will not follow, but will flee from him: for they know not the voice of strangers." (John x. 4, 5.) And a stranger he is, and a strange voice he has, that speaks not according to what is written; and so he should be looked on by you. (Gal. i. 6—9.)

I speak not this to disparage the true fathers; but I fear, as by the body of Moses (if he could have found it, or Michael would have delivered it, Deut. xxxiv. 6; Jude 9) the devil had a design of imposing upon Israel, so, under the name of divers upright and eminent fathers, the Deceiver of the Nations and his prophets have obtruded upon the world many gross superstitions and corrupt doctrines. Whereof it is but needful [that] we should take caution; especially if there appears to us the ghost of an ancient father, long dead, and hid from former ages, and raised by we know not what enchantments of later impostors, speaking things dissonant to the analogy of faith; as is the case in respect of divers of those fathers [whom] the Papists urge us with, as Dionysius, Clemens, Ephrem, &c. But universally it is a good rule, to "beware of men," (Matt. x. 17,) and have your eye to the word of God, which is able to instruct you to "every good work." (2 Tim. iii. 17.)

COUNCILS.

3. They pretend also *councils* in the case.

To which pretence I reply, that we find none of antiquity or universality to move us in the matter; nor, for aught [that] appears, was it ever industriously handled till the council of Florence, not much upward of two hundred years [since], as Bellarmine himself seems to grant:* on occasion of pope John XXII. being impeached of heresy, as believing the sleep of all souls till the general resurrection, he plainly tells us, that he believed so, while it was lawful for him so to do without danger of heresy; for the church had not then defined what in that case was to be believed. And consequently the division of our dead saints into those in heaven, and [those] in purgatory, even according to him, was not determined in any antecedent council; and we are not moved by an article of faith that is so novel. Our Creed was completed one thousand six hundred years since, whereas it seems this great article of purgatory is not of three hundred years' standing; for before then we might safely have believed all souls quiet enough. And the truth of it is, this opinion did prevail, as an opinion, among several of the ancients, and was probably the true foundation of those footsteps of superstition that we find among them in reference to the dead; yet though this foundation by the Popish church itself is razed, the Popish purgatory, upon the superstructure of straw that the ancients laid thereon, is principally founded, as in all their treatises of that subject may be observed.

CONSENT OF NATIONS.

4. The fourth argument is from general *consent of nations;* and here Bellarmine reckons up the Hebrews, the Mahometans, and the Heathens.†

I had expected [that] he would have brought in the Greeks also; and it may be supposed he took that for granted, in regard he had quoted so many of the Greek fathers in the former chapter, that, for aught I perceive, spake good Greek, if that would end a controversy: or, "However," say our neoterics, "the Greeks differed in this point heretofore, they agreed to it in the council of Florence; where the Greek emperor Palæologus, and Joseph, the patriarch of Constantinople, with divers Greek bishops, were present, and gave their consent in the disputed point of purgatory."

In answer to this, I reply only two things; for I am loath to lose the Greeks, I must confess, being so considerable a body of Christians:—

(1.) That Bellarmine does yield the Greeks to be suspected, at least, of heresy in this business, and the Armenians also, and brings in

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* BELLARMINUS *De Rom. Pont.* lib. iv. cap. 14.

† *De Purg.* lib. iv. cap. 11.

Aquinas as of his mind; and yet further feeds his suspicion, from the proceeding of the very council of Florence;* whence later writers would persuade us of their being right for the business.

(2.) Whatever was done by the Greek bishops in that synod, the rest of the Greek churches disowned when they came home, and interdicted them all Christian burial for their pains. And a fatal council this is noted every way to have been to the Greeks;† for in it the patriarch dies; presently after, the emperor; and, within fourteen years after, Constantinople is taken by the Turks, the emperor's brother slain, the Greek empire dissolved, the Christians of those parts enslaved, and given thereby to find their purgatory in this world.

As to their pretension to the Hebrews as being for purgatory, they have showed their proof, in 2 Macc. xii. 43—45; and it is needless further to disprove them.

For the Heathen, especially the poets, I think we may grant several of them as abettors, and I suppose fathers, of this profound notion.

As to the Mahometans also I will not much dispute; nor wonder if I find purgatory in their Alcoran, since Sergius the monk was one of the authors of it.

And, on re-collection of the whole, this specious argument of consent of nations results in the sweet harmony of Turks, Papists, and heathen poets; and likely enough, if we would trace them, they agree in more points than this. And herein let them glory on, while we comfort ourselves in our redemption "from our vain conversation received by tradition from our fathers." (1 Peter i. 18.)

APPARITIONS.

5. The fifth and last argument is from *apparitions;* and here I might tell you abundance of pretty stories, were it worth the while. But as to these, I must frankly say, that if they had been true, (whereas the generality of them smell of fiction,) and if there had been ten where we hear only of one, it would have made this doctrine more suspicious. It seems hereby the interest of hell to promote such fancies. These phantasms, ghosts, or what else you will call them, were never, as I find, allowed preachers, nor do any of the monks record that they showed them their orders; and it is observable [that] they came with different stories, some describing a Popish purgatory, and others, as it were a Turkish paradise: but God has directed us to "Moses and the prophets," (Luke xvi. 29,) and upbraided inquiring "for the living of the dead." (Isai. viii. 19.) So that I look on all of this nature as diabolical delusion, and the heeding of such things as a great declension from God, and the very precipice unto all superstition. And now let Papists further brag, that they have not only Turks and Heathens, but even hell itself, of their mind.

SCRIPTURE-GROUNDS TO BELIEVE NO PURGATORY.

But we have followed them too far in their fopperies, let us briefly inquire,

V. *What ground there is from scripture to disbelieve any such thing as purgatory.*

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* *Ibid.* lib. i. cap. 2.

† SIMPSON.

1. The scriptures mention only a two-fold state of persons departed this life,—placing some in heaven, and others in hell; and accordingly allure the good by the hopes of one, and fright the bad with the threats of the other; never setting before us for encouragement or discouragement any third state after this life: "He that believeth and is baptized, shall be saved; and he that believeth not shall be damned." (Mark xvi. 16.) And lest sophisters should except, that he says not he shall presently be saved, but by the intermediation of purgatory, we find it elsewhere, even in words of the present, expressed: "He that believeth on the Son hath everlasting life;" and, on the contrary, "the wrath of God" is said "to abide on him" that doth not. (John iii. 36.)

2. The scripture makes only a two-fold division of saints, in respect of place, dividing the whole family into them on earth, and them in heaven. (Eph. iii. 15.) Therefore none that are under his fatherly love and care can well be supposed elsewhere.

3. The saints, that undoubtedly knew the mind of God, have not only been assured themselves, but have assured one another, that on their bodily death they should go forthwith to bliss; whence is that, "To me to die is gain;" "I desire to depart, and to be with Christ." (Phil. i. 21, 23.) And again: "We are confident, I say, and willing rather to be absent from the body, and present with the Lord." (2 Cor. v. 8.) So the converted thief expected, and was assured, when he had no time to make personal satisfaction, as the Papists require: "This day shalt thou be with me in Paradise," (Luke xxiii. 43,) not purgatory: there, to be sure, Christ is not; and where he is, there, you may all along observe, they expect to be, and that immediately. Lazarus is no sooner dead, but he is seen in Abraham's bosom, which surely was a place of rest. And in general, they are pronounced "blessed that die in the Lord," as "resting from their labours." (Rev. xiv. 13.) And lest this should be restrained to martyrs, and the former to eminent saints, (such as the thief, for instance,) we hear it, that good men, without exception, are taken hence in pity, that they may be freed from present evil, and go to rest after their hard labours; (Isai. lvii. 1, 2;) which certainly implies not their being cast into purgatory-fire, if it be so fierce especially as it is painted.

4. The scripture speaks of Christ as having fully satisfied, and of believers as being entirely justified, and thereon at peace with God, and as rejoicing in hope of the glory of God, looking on all the afflictions that remain as flea-bitings, little momentary things; which they would not certainly have spoke so contemptibly of, if they had thought [that] they might have lain some thousand years in purgatory-flames. No; they reckoned only of "the sufferings of the present time," (Rom. viii. 18,) not dreaming of any afterwards; but on their "justification by faith," concluded of their "peace with God." And again: they are spoken of "joying in God through their Lord Jesus Christ, by whom they had NOW received the atonement." (Rom. v. 1, 11.) They did certainly expect that God had no after-reckoning for them; their smiling look on God spoke evidently [that] they thought not of further severities from him.

5. The scripture speaks of God as thoroughly pardoning upon our

repenting: "All his transgressions that he hath committed, they shall not be mentioned unto him." (Ezek. xviii. 22.) "I will be merciful to their unrighteousness, and their sins and their iniquities will I remember no more:" (Heb. viii. 12:) whereas he would remember them with a witness, if he should throw them into that dark prison till they had made in their own persons an expiation by such sufferings as are not to be paralleled on earth.

6. The scripture speaks expressly of this life as our way and only working-time, and that in "the night" of death "no man can work;" (John ix. 4;) and moreover, "that every man shall receive according to what he hath done in the body:" (2 Cor. v. 10:) "he," and not another; "done," and not suffered; "in the body," while soul and body were together, and not what the soul should do apart. And, indeed, what is done out of the body is not the act of the man, and so can tend neither to his good nor hurt; and consequently, what the soul is supposed to suffer in purgatory can no ways be imagined expiatory for what was done in the body; as Papists themselves in effect grant, in denying that *there* is any merit, and thereby yield their purgatory a fantastical and insignificant thing.

7. And lastly. If there was such a distress incident to the souls of believers after death, no doubt but God would have appointed something for their relief; but no sacrifice do we find under the law that refers to the dead, nor any one office appointed or performed by any ancient saint under that dispensation that can probably be applied to such a purpose; whereas every minute case was respected, and from all uncleanness care was taken [that] we might be purged; but the dead God seems willing should be deserted, not only by his passing them over, but charging us, as it were, to make as little ado as may be about them. We defile ourselves by touching of them, and are discharged those penances that natural superstition had engaged the nations in in reference to them: "Ye shall not cut yourselves, nor make any baldness between your eyes for the dead;" (Deut. xiv. 1;) and to the same purpose more fully, in Lev. xix. 27, 28. This care we find taken to prevent much ceremony, such especially as carried a show of severity, and seemed likeliest, according to the Popish notion, to have profited the dead; but nothing in its stead does appear instituted for their relief; which silence speaks, that persons removed into the other world are either happy above our help, or miserable beyond it. The seventh day under the law was the day that perfected their cleansing, and what was not clean then, we hear not when it should be clean; (Num. xix. 12;) by which probably was typified, that the time of life was the time of hope, and what was neglected in that term was not to be repaired unto eternity.

Thus much for scriptural arguments against this doctrine of purgatory.

CAVIL.

But I foresee a shrewd cavil, which yet I am ashamed to concern myself about, it has so little in it; but on the same account I might have let all alone. Let us then hear it. Why,

We have brought never a positive scripture, that says, "There is no such place as purgatory;" and a huge outcry is on such occasions taken up against our negative way of arguing against a doctrine that they positively profess.*

ANSWER 1. This old father had said something, if he had told us [that] they had positively proved it. But positive profession without proof, methinks, should not privilege any one from another's as positive negation, if I may so phrase it. And truly on their part it lies to have given us positive and express scripture for purgatory, that would impose it on us as a positive article of faith to be believed on pain of damnation; which how they have quitted themselves in, may be observed in the obscure and impertinent allegations before instanced in.

2. It seems abundantly sufficient for a suspension of faith, (which is our case,) that we see, and are able to show, that there is no foundation for it; which is that I think he calls our "negative way of arguing."

3. It seems absurd to provoke to positive express scripture against every particular chimera that may come into men's heads a thousand years after the scriptures were written; for so, if any man should assert, (especially if many should agree to it,) that Mahomet is a true prophet, or that the moon was a mill-stone, or whatever else can be supposed more unlikely, I am bound to subscribe to it, except I can bring particular, positive, express scripture against it. It has always been the prudence of lawgivers to direct their particular laws against faults in being, lest in forbidding all that might be, they might teach some that never else would have been: God has walked in the same wisdom [which] he infused into them; and it has sufficed him particularly to condemn what was particularly practised against faith and good manners, leaving general rules for the trial of after-emergencies. Yet,

4. In the scriptures [which] we have quoted, there is that positively asserted that gives us good foundation positively to conclude that there is no such place as purgatory. For if Christ has fully satisfied, and God fully pardoned, and given hopes to his people, that on their departure hence they shall be immediately glorified, (all which has been fully by positive scriptures proved,) we may positively conclude, that other satisfactions are not required, the saints shall not be so severely punished, nor their expectations at that rate delayed, as in the doctrine of purgatory is asserted. And thus we have done with our Doctor Positive.

EVIL CONSEQUENCES OF THE DOCTRINE OF PURGATORY.

VI. *What evil consequences are there of this doctrine of purgatory, where it is received, and whereon it should not be received?*

I have fore-hinted some, which I shall briefly recapitulate, and add a few others.

1. Hereby the freeness of God's grace is disparaged, and he is represented a hard master to them that fear him, contrary to the notion [which] he has every where given them of himself, and his design of insinuating into the good opinion of them, as one mainly tender over them. God would make them believe, that "he was afflicted in all their afflictions," (Isai. lxiii. 9,) and angry with them that laid a hard blow, or continued a heavy hand, upon them, though it was but for seventy years; (Zech. i. 15;) but in this doctrine of purgatory he is represented as of a far

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* E. W. "Protestants without Principles," p. 459.

other temper; and that when men have done their worst with them, they shall not escape so, but he will have his pennyworths out of them; and a thousand years' exquisite torments shall not suffice some of them; which is to dash the good opinion [which] his saints, on his Son's report, had conceived of him.

2. Hereby the fulness of Christ's satisfaction is denied, and faith in him much discouraged. What confidence indeed can be put in him, if he should leave us thus in the lurch, and force us to seek other friends, when we have most need of him?

3. Hereby the horrid nature of sin is lessened, in that any thing that we can suffer in a little time, or our friends can do over and above their own duty, is reputed a just satisfaction for it, or any the least remainders of it.

4. Hereon human works and helps are over-advanced, and many a piece of superstition and will-worship introduced, and a pack of deceitful priests diverted from their proper work with the living, and vainly occupied about the dead, that have "no more a portion for ever in any thing that is done under the sun." (Eccles. ix. 6.)

5. Hence bad men are less careful to prepare for death, since a great part of their business may be done by other hands when they are gone.

6. Hereon good men are even afraid to die; for it seems a terrible thing to enter into this purgatory, where especially their coming out depends so much on man's sincerity, whom it is hard to trust when one is gone, and his reward is come. They that know the difficulty of believing in Christ, must needs be more straitened to place any comfortable confidence in a priest's prayers and Masses, that, if he be faithful while he live, lives not for ever to make intercession or make up his satisfaction for him.

GENERAL CONCLUSION.

From all which I conclude,

That the doctrine of purgatory and prayers for the dead, as if thereby their afflicted, tormented souls could be relieved, is a corruption of lamentable consequence to the church, and a pernicious snare to souls.

USE.

But since there is no such thing as a purgatory after this life,

1. Let us purge and prepare ourselves as much as we can in this life, making use of Christ's blood, Spirit, and word to that purpose, and freely submitting to and complying with present afflictions in their design this way; considering that Christ "gave himself for us, that he might redeem us from all iniquity, and purify unto himself a peculiar people, zealous of good works." (Titus ii. 14.) Let the fire of holy zeal burn in your breasts, since the fire of an after-purgatory is not likely to kindle on your persons.

2. Let this cut off all vain hopes after death from them that have neglected salvation-work in life; considering that there is no relief for them hereafter, but to hell God will immediately send them: "The wicked shall be turned into hell, and all the nations that forget God."

(Psalm ix. 17.) "Consider this, ye that forget God," and unpreparedly expose yourselves to his hand; for he will "tear you in pieces, and there shall be none to deliver you;" (Psalm l. 22;) or, yet further to speak to you in the Psalmist's words: "They that trust in their wealth, and boast themselves in the multitude of their riches; none of them can by any means redeem his brother, nor give to God a ransom for him: for the redemption of their soul is precious, and it ceaseth for ever." (Psalm xlix. 6—8.)

3. Let this chase away needless fears from good people at the point of death; for when they have drunk that cup, they shall taste no more bitter to all eternity; sorrow and sighing shall flee away, and everlasting joy shall be upon their heads.

4. Let what has been said commend the Protestant doctrine (in denying purgatory) as an useful, wholesome doctrine while we live, and alike comfortable to them that have lived well, and learned to rely on Christ, when they come to die.

VII. Lastly. *Let me give the genuine sense of this place, and improve it;* and this will force a more particular respect to the context.

1. The "builders" are generally understood, in a way of eminency at least, of the doctors of the church; though I will not contend, if any shall comprehend also their disciples that shall build their faith upon the doctrine which they have delivered.

2. The foundation that is built on by both builders is supposed the same,—"the Lord Jesus Christ;" such as own him are, as to the main, Christian. They on all hands are yielded to broach "damnable doctrines" indeed, that "deny the Lord that bought them." (2 Peter ii. 1.)

3. As to the materials that are superstructed on this foundation, though some of our adversaries are contentious about them, and will, against all sense, suppose by "gold and silver" to be meant *good works,* and by "hay and stubble," *venial sins,* which is a perversion of the very scope of the text; yet hereabout we are pretty generally agreed, that, at least properly and firstly, the apostle speaks of doctrines, and by "gold, silver, and precious stones," are meant a superstructure suitable to and worthy of the foundation,—"like precious faith," (2 Peter i. 1,) that in the whole building there may be a proportion; and by "wood, hay, and stubble," (as A Lapide phrases it,*) we understand *doctrina incerta, frivola, pomposa, phalerata, curiosa, inutilis,* "an uncertain, frivolous, pompous doctrine, that has more show than substance," that is of a base, earthy, rotten, mouldering, perishing nature, that is a blemish to the foundation, and destroys the uniformity of Christian religion, and makes a mere Nebuchadnezzar's image of it,—part gold, and part clay, that can never cement or hold long together. And by these last builders, or rather daubers, I understand eminently the Popish doctors. Christ, they seem content, should lie for the foundation; though some will tell them [that] it is but a nominal Christ that they lay there neither; for the stress of their building is laid on other things, while they make use of his name; and we must be beholden to ourselves and I know not what saints for our salvation, though he bears the title of "our Saviour."

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* *In locum.*

Yet grant it, that they make Christ their foundation, what incongruity is there between that and their superstruction! To instance:

Christ is King. (Psalm ii. 6.)—This they pretend to own;—a golden foundation; but they must reign; this in effect they infer;—a wooden, dirty, dungy superstruction. If you ask wherein they do so? I answer,

(1.) *In dispensing with Christ's laws.*—Which they do at pleasure.

(2.) *In making new laws, equally obliging conscience under pain of damnation.*—This they have done with that arrogance, that we may find ten of theirs to one of Christ's, as will appear by comparing their voluminous decretals, with his gospels, and his servants' epistles.

(3.) And lastly. *In taking upon them to authorize, as it were, and enforce his laws,* as if they had their binding power not so much from Christ's institution, as the pope's declaration.—Nor in this can they pretend substitution, unless they could show us his commission, walked by his directions, or expressed more subjection. That scripture, in regard of the pope's arrogance, both in respect of Christ and his people, may well be applied (as undoubtedly it belongs) to him, that, "as God, he sitteth in the temple of God, showing himself that he is God." (2 Thess. ii. 4.)

Again: *Christ is Prophet.*—A good foundation; but we must ultimately hear and heed the pope;—a strawy superstruction, and a perfect degrading of Christ by implication. See whether we bring against them a wrongful accusation: "Things are not to be believed because Christ said them, but because the church of Rome avouches them." The very scriptures themselves, and every particular article of faith, according to them, have their credibility, not from any character that Christ has put upon them, or seal that he has set to them; but as the church votes them, so we must believe of them. This is more notorious than that we should need to bring-in particular authors of theirs. And what is the meaning of this, but, while they give Christ the name, to usurp to themselves the office of instructing and enlightening the world? It may be no heresy to disbelieve what Christ has said, as was fore-noted in the instance of pope John XXII.; but he that suspends faith to any thing, or dares think contrary to what the pope, forsooth, and his council have instamped with their authority,—he is an intolerable heretic, and fit only for hell.

Once more: They will not stand with us about *Christ's being Priest,* wherein they seem to own the foundation; but straight join with him such a fry of their *sacrificuli* ["priestlets"], as if they much doubted his sufficiency. Hence also we are taught by them to multiply sacrifices as well as priests, as if he had not "by that one" [which] he offered "for ever perfected them that believe;" (Heb. x. 14;) we are put on personal satisfactions, directed to others' intercessions, all ways are devised to affront him in this office, while they pretend to own him.

And by what in these particulars has been instanced, is evidenced what it is to rear a strawy superstruction on this golden foundation, wherein the Papists of all men are notoriously guilty.

4. By "the day that shall declare every man's work," the Papists will have meant, as in their translation is read, "the day of the Lord;" by

which some of them understand the day of the general judgment; though others will admit a more particular judgment, and with good reason: for if good and bad works were not declared till the day of the universal judgment, and the fiery tribulation of that day, the fire of purgatory would go quite out; for there would be no place for that. But it is confessed on all hands, that the generality of Greek copies read only "the day," not "the day of the Lord;" and that it is not εκεινη ἡ ἡμερα ["that day"], as that great day is wont to be expressed, but only ἡ ἡμερα ["the day"]. Therefore hereby I am inclined to understand some brighter season of the gospel; and called "day," in respect of its light, to distinguish it from the former times, which were a kind of night, wherein those mists had arisen that the light and heat of this day should scatter and chase; according as was foretold, that this "wicked one should be revealed, and that the Lord should consume him with the spirit of his mouth, and destroy him with the brightness of his coming;" (2 Thess. ii. 8;) which word, we find, has been regarded, and that "wicked one" and his works (however by the advantage of former darkness he and they were concealed) have begun to be revealed, consumed, and we hope, as the day grows brighter, to see [them] utterly destroyed. For as the day grows in light, we may expect it to increase in heat, [so] that it shall be tormenting, through its violent scorching, to them that for their evil and odious works have always affected darkness and shade. (Rev. xvi. 8, 9.)

5. We are hereby led further into the understanding of "the fire" after mentioned, as a concomitant of this "day," wherein every man's work, that is, words and faith, should be tried, all adulterate works consumed, and such-like workers damaged and greatly endangered. And this fire I understand partly of the word of God, which I find so expressed: "Is not my word like as a fire?" (Jer. xxiii. 29,) and so acting: "His word was in my heart as a burning fire shut up in my bones." (Jer. xx. 9.) Partly I understand it of the Spirit, that shall blow up this word, and actuate it unto a greater vigour, making it to burn fiercer, as bellows do enrage our ordinary fire; to which there seems an allusion in Isai. xxx. 33: "The breath of the Lord, like a stream of brimstone, doth kindle it:" and in regard of the inflammations that are made in the heart by the Spirit's enforcing the word, it may be called "a spirit of burning." (Isai. iv. 4.) And yet further: I conceive, great and grievous tribulations may be a third ingredient of this fire, and all to make it yet fiercer and fiercer, that it may be effective for the various purposes for which it is sent,—probation, purgation, or consumption, according to the pliableness or obstinacy of the objects it meets with. When this fire shall be kindled, and at this rate quickened, true and false doctrine shall be distinguished, the one cleared, and the other condemned; and so each man's works manifested.

This premised, what remains is easily explained.

6. *His* work may be said to "abide," *whose* doctrine shall be approved, and he shall receive a reward: *present*, in the further satisfaction of mind he shall receive by the Spirit's confirmation and consolation of him, as to what he has preached, professed, or believed; and *future*, in the peculiar glory he may expect, as having found grace to be faithful in all times.

This John exhorts "the elect lady" to look to, that both he and she might "receive a full reward." (2 John 8.)

7. *His* works are said to be "burnt," *that* yields to the burning light of that day, that submits to the convictions of the Spirit, and quits his former errors. So Christ is said to come to "destroy the works of the devil," by the manifestation of himself; (1 John iii. 8;) that is, to burn them, as here, with the brightness of his coming: and so the sons of Levi were purified, by his burning up their dross, and leaving them thereby a pure mass. (Mal. iii. 2, 3.) It is, I am sure, no uncouth notion we give you, when we interpret this burning of their works, by a purification that shall pass upon the builders, in their separation and consumption, through the Spirit's efficacious and clear conviction. But,

8. How is the builder hereon said to "suffer loss?" It may seem his gain.

Answer. Yea, and it will prove so, as losses often do; even as the mariner accounts it, when by the loss of his lumber he saves his treasure, by the loss of his goods he saves his ship, by the loss of his ship he saves his life: but, whatever he does gain, loss still he is reckoned to sustain. So in the present case, he that on the Spirit's conviction quits his former errors, gets the knowledge of the truth, gets favour with God; which are far better things than what he has parted with. Yet, inasmuch as these things might have been easier and cheaper had than, it may be, he comes by them, and in that by a kind of force, as in a fire or shipwreck, to save himself he parts with them, they may bear the name of a loss; as Paul reckons the parting with his righteousness, though it was in order to the winning of Christ: "But what things were gain to me, those I counted loss for Christ. Yea doubtless, and I count all things but loss, for the excellency of the knowledge of Christ Jesus my Lord: for whom I have suffered the loss of all things, and do count them but dung, that I may win Christ." (Phil. iii. 7, 8.)

And, in the present case, whenever these refuse-works are burnt, we may reckon up some loss; as, may be, the loss of time, the loss of labour, the loss of reputation, the loss of preferment, the loss of life: so some have found in quitting their corrupt opinions; but the promise is, "He that loseth his life for my sake shall find it." (Matt. x. 39.)

9. From hence naturally results the interpretation of our text: "But he himself shall be saved, yet so as by fire;" that is, by yielding to these convictions, and quitting his false opinions; even as when a man's house is on fire, if he leaves his goods, leaps out of the window, and hastes away, he may save his own person, with the loss of the rest; but if he obstinately resist the fire, in zeal to save his substance, he may perish himself. In like manner, if, when this spiritual fire does fall from heaven upon our spiritual hay and stubble, we suffer it to prey thereupon, and content ourselves to escape with our own lives, giving up these idols of our hearts, and inclining ourselves to embrace God's revealed truths, we may save our souls with some little scorching. But if we go about to quench this fire, and suppress its light, with resolution to save this pitiful stuff; we may possibly preserve that, but more than hazard the everlasting burning of our own souls by it: "For the wrath of God is revealed from heaven against all ungodliness and unrighteousness of men, who

hold the truth in unrighteousness;" (Rom. i. 18;) and "to them that are contentious, and do not obey the truth, but obey unrighteousness, indignation and wrath, tribulation and anguish" will God repay "upon every soul of them." (Rom. ii. 8, 9.)

And this, I suppose, is the genuine meaning of the place.

Objection. But our adversaries will be asking, What pope, what council says so; by what authority will we enforce their receiving of this sense?

Answer. To which I answer in two particulars :—

1. I note [that] the commentaries of popes and councils, however good they be at it, are very rare things, and come not to every one's hands. One may guess them choice jewels, that they keep them so close: though, they are a spiteful sort of folks, if they only know the mind of God, that they so rarely apply themselves to open the word of God.

2. I suppose [that] there is authority in the text sufficient to bow our minds to read it with meekness, and without prejudice; and, being confident of this, I am less solicitous for the authority of the comment. For, in our giving the sense of scripture, we pretend not to have dominion over any one's faith, that we should come with serjeants and bailiffs to arrest any one's consent without his due conviction to it; but it suffices us to propose with fidelity what, on our best search and most serious prayer, seems likeliest to be the mind of God, and "commend ourselves" and sense "to every man's conscience in the sight of God." (2 Cor. iv. 2.) And he that hath an eye to see, let him see; but he that will flutter out all the light that is brought to him, because it is not set on a candlestick that likes him, let him lie in darkness, if he affects it; but let him think of the blackness of darkness that may be reserved for him, as a just punishment of his despite of light. (Jude 6.) This has been thought a meet recompence for such error.*

IMPROVEMENT.

Briefly, then, as I promised, to *improve* this genuine sense,

1. *By way of exposition of Protestants' charity, wherein Papists much glory.*—Even we, say they, hold that they may be saved. We do; but observe in what cases.

(1.) *In case of invincible ignorance.*—And thus we hope well of many a devout soul that died in their communion in the night of Popery, and had not means or opportunities to know better. Their walking in all known duty, and repenting even of unknown iniquity, might commend them to God's infinite mercy; but still this is only our charity, a reliance on which, except we had better judgments than they think we have, makes not for their safety.

(2.) *In case of their reformation in compliance with after-conviction.*—And thus we have like hope of Turks and Pagans. And this, I am apt to think, is almost generally expected, since the day of gospel-light has begun to dawn; and much more as it grows brighter and brighter, and its beams dart hotter and hotter upon their consciences. Let the learned of them especially look to it; for however it go with the simpler sort, that are so of necessity, they will hardly escape, persons and works too; but if they abide together, now the day of the Lord is begun, and his fire gone forth, they are likely to be burnt up, and perish together. And it is not our charity, nor, may be, God's mercy, that will relieve them, while Christ's merit, in despite of all the convictions of his Spirit, is thus slighted by them.

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* Soc. *De Dyp. et Mundo.*

2. *By way of call to ingenuous Papists, to close with this way that is discovered for their salvation, by quitting their strawy and wooden superstructions, and giving up all their vain inventions to their first conviction.*—I would not have them prevent it, nor delay upon it; it is dangerous abiding in Babylon when it is day, retaining the works of darkness when it is light; when you do hear God's call, (and hearken for it,) "Come out of her, that ye be not partakers of her sins, and that ye receive not of her plagues;" (Rev. xviii. 4;) or, to apply what was said to Lot: "Escape for thy life; look not behind thee, neither stay thou in all the plain; escape to the mountains, lest thou be consumed." (Gen. xix. 17.)

3. *By way of caution to unwary Protestants, that, may be, hold the foundation.*—Look also to the superstruction; take heed of strange and uncouth opinions; and when you have imbibed them, be not over-tenacious of them; but give them up straight to conviction. And stand not on the loss of reputation. The quitting [of] them may be the only means of thy salvation; for though there may seem no great evil in thy opinion, thy obstinacy in adhering to it, when sufficient light is given to see the folly of it, may in continuance become the sin against the Holy Ghost, that will never be forgiven. (Matt. xii. 31, 32.)

CONCLUSION.

To conclude: I read of "many that had used curious arts, which brought their books together, and burned them before all men: and they counted the price of them, and found it fifty thousand pieces of silver. So mightily grew the word of God, and prevailed." (Acts xix. 19, 20.) A remarkable instance, indeed, of the power of the word,—that scholars should be wrought on to burn their books, their books of curious arts, that got them probably their credit, their books of such a value! And the truth on it is, to accommodate our present case hereto, men's own notions and fancies are dear to them, when no outward advantage follows them:

Qui velit ingenio cedere rarus erit; *

but much more when their interests are twisted with them. Yet, methinks, their souls should be much more precious; and, for their sakes, I beseech all concerned in the former charge of foolish builders, that they "cast away their idols of silver and of gold, to the bats and to the moles." (Isai. ii. 20.) And I beseech God, in the behalf of Rome, and all that partake with it in its unmeet and unworthy superstructions, though on the common foundation, that, on the warm application of the word, they may separate from their works; lest, as the fire grows hotter, they be consumed with them. A blessed bonfire it would be, to see their works all burning; and therein blessed, as it would tend to their souls' saving. But O! my heart misgives me. If God's word so far prevail for their conviction, what means that crackling noise [which] I hear, of fire and brimstone, prepared for their destruction? (Rev. xvii. 16; xviii. 8.)

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* "A man who will yield in his favourite opinions, is rarely indeed to be met with."—Edit.

Cease frighting one another with your purgatory-flames, that are but imaginary; and fly [from] the fire of God's wrath, kindled at his jealousy, that is likely to prey upon you unto all eternity.

SERMON XII. (VIII.)

BY THE REV. WILLIAM JENKIN, A. M.

NO SIN IS IN ITS OWN NATURE VENIAL; BUT EVERY SIN IS DEADLY, AND DESERVES ETERNAL DAMNATION.

NO SIN VENIAL.

The wages of sin is death.—Romans vi. 23.

It was a censure more true than smart, which a late learned pen publicly, in this expression, pronounced against Popery: *Romana religio, in quantum differt a nostrâ, est mera impostura:*[*] "The now Roman religion, as it differs from ours, is a mere cheat, juggle, or" kind of "religious legerdemain." And herein the imposture of that religion eminently appears, in that, under the varnish of Christian, most of it seems calculated only for hooking-in of worldly gain, and promoting of secular advantage. What bishop Senhouse (the Cambridge Chrysostom of his time) saith in his sermon upon Acts xix. 28, concerning Demetrius and his fellow-craftsmen,—their crying of "Great is the Diana of the Ephesians;" "The shrines of Diana causing their shrieks for Diana, and their great gain by her raising up their great cry for her, showed there was *dolus in idolo*, 'deceit in their contention for the idol,'"—may as truly be said of the Romish Demetrius, the pope and the Popish priests,—their eager outcry in the defence of the points of Popery; it being not Christ but mammon, not piety but money, not God but gold, that engageth them in their advancing of their doctrines and devotions. As St. Ambrose spake of Benjamin's sack, (Gen. xliv. 12, 13,) *Sacco soluto apparuit argentum*, "When the sack was loosed, the silver appeared;" resolve the most of their theology into that whereof it is constituted, and silver (gain, I mean) will be found to be the chief element of its constitution. Of this their own writers are fittest witnesses, whom I have cited in their own words for [the] proving of this my accusation. Æneas Silvius, afterwards pope, informs us, that "the Roman court gives nothing without silver. It sells," saith he, "the imposition of hands, the gifts of the Holy Ghost; nor is pardon of sin given to any but such as are well-moneyed."[†] A poet of their own saith, that "with them temples, priests, altars, prayers, yea, heaven, and God himself, are all set to sale for money;" [*] and that "Rome gives trifles and takes gold."[†] Another relates, that *Romana permutatio auri cum plumbo*, "the Roman change, of lead for gold," was grown into a proverb.[‡] "Only money reigns at Rome," thus speaks another, "and makes that lawful for the rich which is unlawful for the poor."[§] And, as he goes on, "Lay down but money and then that which was forbidden before as a heinous wickedness, shall now be dispensed with, and made no sin; but without money there is no dispensation." And, as my author Claudius Espencæus mournfully proceeds, "The vice [which] they esteem greatest is, to want money; and to have nothing, is the greatest piece of barbarity among them." And, as that plain-dealing Papist adds, "To heighten their abomination, they allow their very clergymen to dwell with whores and harlots, and to beget bastards, for a certain tax; which they do not only receive of the adulterous, but even of the continent and innocent persons; alleging for this, that even these might have taken whores also, if they had pleased." I blush to translate what he adds; namely, that "bastards, thieves, adulterers, perjured persons, are not only absolved for money, but admitted to all dignities and spiritual benefices; and for money, dispensations are granted for murders, though of presbyters, fathers, mothers, brothers, sisters, yea, of wives, nay, for witchcraft, incest with the nearest of kin; and," which is most amazing, "for uncleanness," *contra naturam cum brutis*, "for the" (not-to-be-named) "sin of bestiality."[||] And Rivet tells us, in his Castigation of Petra Sancta, the Jesuit, that there came to his hands a book, written by one Tossanus Denys, printed 1500, at Paris, *cum privilegio;* where, in folio 38, are taxed, at a certain rate, "all absolutions in the court of Rome for murdering of brethren and sisters, fathers, mothers, wives, and for the carnal knowledge of a man's sister or mother," *pro eo qui sororem, matrem carnaliter cognovit.* (In his thirty-seventh page of his *Jesuita Vapulans.)*

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[*] DR. PRIDEAUX'S *Lectiones*.

[†] *Nihil est quod absque argento Romana curia dedat. Ipsa manuum impositio et Spiritûs Sancti dona venduntur: nec peccatorum venia nisi nummatis impenditur.*—ÆNEAS SILVIUS, *Epist. lvi.*

Chemnitius, in his *Examen* concerning the point of indulgences, gives us a copy of verses written over the altar in a Popish cathedral; of which verses, when I read them in Chemnitius, I could hardly say whether they more proved my foregoing accusation of, or provoked my just indignation against, Popery, that master-piece of painted atheism. All the verses of that pitiful piece of poetry are too many to set down, some of them are these:—

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[*] ———— *Venalia nobis*
Templa, sacerdotes, altaria, sacra, coronæ,
Ignis, thura, preces: cœlum est venale, Deusque.—BAPTISTA MANTUANUS, lib. iii.

[†] *Si quid Roma dabit nugas dabit; accipit aurum,*
Verba dat. Heu! Romæ nunc sola pecunia regnat.—Idem, *Eclog.* 5 et 9.

[‡] *In proverbium jamdudum abiit Romana permutatio, plumbi videlicet cum auro.*—DUARENUS, *De Sac. Ec. Min.* lib. i. cap. 6.

[§] *Regina rerum pecunia divitibus licitum facit quod in pauperibus est illicitum.*—CLAUDIUS ESPENCÆUS, digr. ii. *ad cap. i. Epist. ad Titum.*

[||] *Si spes refulserit nummi, quod interdictum fuit priùs, jam liberè fit et impunè. Quod vetatur, numeratâ pecuniâ, dispensatur; quasi nullum sit peccatum majus quàm nummis carere: ut ille apud* HORATIUM: Credidit ingens pauperiem vitium; *(Serm.* lib. ii. sat. iii. 91;) *et ut alter:* Nunc sit barbaries grandis habere nihil. (Lib. iii.) *Taxa non excipit presbytericidas, parricidas, matricidas, incestos, denique contra naturam cum brutis, &c.*—Idem, *in Tit.* pp. (mihi) 478, 479. *Si nihil numeraveris, indispensatus manes.* —*Clericos cum pellicibus cohabitare, liberosque procreare, sinunt; accepto ab eis quotannis certo censu, atque adeò alicubi a continentibus: Habeant, aiunt, si velint.*—Idem.

Ut tibi sit pœnæ venia, sit aperta crumena.
Hìc datur exponi paradisus venditioni.
Hìc si largè des, in cœlo sit tua sedes;
Pro solo nummo gaudebis in æthere summo.

The sum whereof, and the rest, is but this: "Lay down your money, and doubt not of getting up to glory." The Romish Jeroboam (I mean, the pope) sets up the two calves of his golden faith and worship to preserve to himself his carnal kingdom; of which faith and worship, the greatest part is purely subservient to the pope's either coffer or kitchen, and of which kingdom, more truly than of war, money may be said to be the soul and sinews. If their doctrines may be witnesses to prove so clear an accusation, I might produce a far greater number than is needful to make up an ordinary jury, by mentioning those of auricular confession, pilgrimages, penance, images, prayers for the dead, indulgences, purgatory, sacrifice of the mass, merits, holiness of places, breaking faith with heretics, the pope's superiority over princes, dispensation with oaths, and this before us, of venial sin. All these arrows, if they were not levelled at the mark of gain, yet, sure I am, they most exactly hit and centre in it: strange they should meet so unitedly, if shot at rovers! If you consult the generality of their doctrines, most of the questions in the Popish catechism may easily be reduced to this one: "What shall we get for our paunches and purses?" A catechism not composed by Peter, the pope's pretended predecessor; (who, though he said, "Silver and gold have I none," Acts iii. 6, yet also said, "Thy money perish with thee," Acts viii. 20;) but by Judas, his bag-bearing pattern, in that question of his for betraying of Christ: *Quid dabitis?* "What will you give me?" It was ingeniously spoken by a late poet, when he thus versified:

An Petrus Romæ fuerit sub judice lis est:
Simonem Romæ nemo fuisse negat:
"We are not sure that Peter ever sat
In Rome; but Simon did; we 're sure of *that.*"

Simon,—that Simon who bartered and chaffered for the Spirit with money, is constant resident at Rome; where, some hundreds of years, in many thousands of bargains, he hath been as successful in selling to fools, as ever was his predecessor unsuccessful in his attempt to buy of the apostles. Among all their doctrines of this earthen and muddy complexion, we shall this day more particularly produce this of venial sin; principally both set-up, and shored-up, that the pretended punishment of those in purgatory may be bought off by money; and that without any beholdingness to the blood of Christ, provided the purse will but bleed freely, as drawn by Romish priests, the common purse-leeches or religious cut-purses of the Christian world. And from hence it was, that sins, by Papists called "pardonable," have been rather termed "saleable,"—*venalia,* not *venialia,*—with a very small and venial alteration of the word "venial."

I wonder not therefore that Bellarmine, in his first chapter of venial sin, thus sets out: "We teach," saith Bellarmine, "by common consent, that there are some sins which, of their own nature, do not render a man guilty of eternal death, but only of temporal punishment."[*] To which expression of his, orthodox Ames thus replies: *Nos unanimi consensu negamus illud quod Bellarminus affirmat communi consensu doceri:*[†] "We" Protestants "deny, with an unanimous consent, that which Bellarmine affirms is taught" among them "with common consent." My work this day is, to declare my concurrence with our Protestant divines, in their denial and detesting [of] the blasphemous doctrine of venial sin. Only I cannot but mention, as an encouraging entrance into this approaching employment, the wariness of Bellarmine's expression, in these words: *Communi consensu docemus,* "We teach by *common* consent:" for he could not say, as Dr. Ames, his answerer, "We teach our doctrine herein with *unanimous* consent." For, as Medina, an eminent Papist, confesseth, "the Popish doctors are infinitely at odds, and disagree among themselves, in finding out how a venial and a mortal sin differ."[‡] It is true, the black regiment, or rather the forlorn adventurers, of the Antichristian army strike home, and speak out for their general the pope and his cause in this point. Bellarmine tells us, that "some sins are so far from deserving eternal punishment, that God cannot punish them eternally without injustice." Gregory de Valentia saith, that "venial sin may be remitted without any infusion of grace." Sonnius, (the Papist, I mean,) that "they deserve pardon." Alphonsus a Castro, that *peccatum veniale non valet privare gratiâ,* "sin venial cannot deprive of grace." And that wretched Andradius, the worst of the crew, with his more devout brother, Bonaventure, asserts, that "for venial sins we do not so much as need repentance." The provincial council of Mentz dictate, that "many depart this life free from mortal sins; and for lighter sins they shall never be damned:" and that "it can hardly be understood how God should be just, should he punish any for venial sins with eternal punishment."[§] And that *concilium Senonense* declares, that "he who dies involved in venial sins," (among which it particularly mentions "idle words," of which, Christ saith, we must give an account, and by which we shall be condemned, Matt. xii. 36, 37,) "though he be unfit for heaven, yet neither is it fit he should go to hell, as being a partaker of grace; but [he] is to be purged by the fire of purgatory, out of which he is to be delivered by the prayers of the living;"[||] and that "whosoever thinks otherwise, is guilty of the Lutheran, Wiclevian [Wickliffian], and Waldensian heretical pravity."

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[*] *Nos docemus communi consensu, peccata quædam, ex naturâ suâ, hominem non reddere mortis æternæ reum, sed tantùm supplicii temporalis.*—BELLARMINUS *De Peccat. Venial.* cap. 1.

[†] AMESII *Bellarminus Enervatus,* lib. ii. cap. 1.

[‡] *Quâ ratione distinguatur peccatum veniale à mortali, non una est sententia doctorum, sed variant in infinitum doctores.*—MEDINA *in Primam Secundæ,* quæst. lxxxviii. art. 1.

[§] *Cùm multi ex hâc vitâ migrent, a lethalibus quidem criminibus immunes, levioribus tamen alius alio magis implicatus; quorum tamen nemo, sive ob plura sive pauciora hæc delicta quotidiana, damnationem æternam sustinebit: non facilè modus inveniri posset quomodò Deus, qui est in omnibus et erga omnes justissimus, non injustus videretur, si non post hanc vitam, per temporales et non æternas pœnas, omnium compensatio expectaretur.*—BINII *Conc.* tom. ix. cap. 46, p. (mihi) 322.

[||] *Cùm peccati tantùm venialis reus repentè nonnunquam intereat, de omni verbo etiam otioso rationem redditurus; nec illi pateat aditus ad cœlestem Hierusalem, in quam nihil intrat co-inquinatum; nec item Gehennæ subjaceat, quippe qui gratiæ sit particeps, ac pœnæ tantùm temporalis debitor: fit ut primùm purgetur ex iis quæ gessit in corpore, salvus tandem aliquando futurus, sic tamen quasi per ignem.*—Idem, *ibid.* p. (mihi) 198.

As for that council (if we may so call the conventicle) of Trent, it requires that "all bishops should take care that prayers, and the sacrifices of the Mass, should be devoutly offered for the dead, and accurately performed, to free them from the punishment of venial sin." * The same Trent-assembly clearly discovers that they hold that it is not necessary to confess venial sins. It is true, therefore, as I said, that those bored slaves (Exod. xxi. 6) of the pope thus tearingly express themselves in the asserting of venial sin. But yet it was honestly said by Bellarmine, however, that this doctrine of the veniality of sin is taught in the Antichristian synagogue only with a "common," not an unanimous, "consent." For the learnedest of the Papists, as Vega, Altissiodorensis, Almain, Azorius, Durand, Fisher, [bishop] of Rochester, (who lost his head for his maintaining the pope's headship,) but especially Gerson, chancellor of Paris, liberally assert that all sin is mortiferous or deadly; and that none is venial, or deserving of pardon: to all which I add, that, for the first seven hundred years after Christ, the doctrine of venial sin was never taught by any father or doctor, or maintained in any council. Nor can Bellarmine, after his strictest search into the fathers, nor could he, nor dares he, name one of them that ever used the very name or word of "venial sin."

THE MAIN POINT.

This being premised as an encouragement to our conflict, namely, that the best soldiers of the enemies' army are come over to our side, (a sign of their ensuing overthrow,) you may take up the truth of this doctrine concerning venial sin either in an affirmative or negative proposition, which you please. If in an affirmative, receive it thus: *Every sin is of its own nature mortiferous and deadly, deserving eternal punishment.* If in a negative, take it thus: *No sin deserves pardon;* or thus: *No sin is exempted from deserving eternal death;* or, as it is usually expressed, *No sin is venial in its own nature.* In the discussing this great truth, I shall (God willing) discourse by way of, I. *Explication.* II. *Confirmation.* III. *Application.*

PART I. EXPLICATION.

I. In *the Explication* I shall proceed by way of,

(I.) *Concession,* or granting what is not to be denied;

(II.) By way of *negation,* or denial of what is not to be granted; that by both the question may be cleared, by being freed from the fogs of Popish objections.

FIRST BRANCH OF THE EXPLICATION.

(I.) For the first way of explication, namely, of *concession,* I grant,

THE FIRST CONCESSION.

1. *All private offences of man against man have a pardon from man due to them.*—And that it is so, the scriptures fully discover, (Eph. iv. 32; Col. iii. 13; Rom. xii., &c.,) in requiring mutual forgiveness. It is well expressed by Chamier: "There is no sin of any against us but is

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* *Curent episcopi ut fidelium vivorum suffragia, Missarum scilicet sacrificia, orationes, eleemosynæ, aliaque pietatis opera quæ pro fidelibus defunctis fieri consueverunt, piè et devotè fiant.*—BINIUS, *Conc. Trid.* tom. ix. sess. xxv. p. (mihi) 419; *et* sess. xiv. can. 7, p. (mihi) 389.

venial." [*] But how weak is Bellarmine's argument from hence, to prove that venial sins do not hinder God from loving us! "If all offences," saith he, "dissolve the love of God, by the same reason should they dissolve love and friendship between man and man: But this they do not: Therefore," &c. [†]

I answer, The consequence is not only false, but blasphemous; for the favour of God, and the reasons for which that is preserved or dissolved, are not to be paralleled with the friendship of man, and the reasons for which this is either maintained or destroyed. "Nor are the offices of man to man to be equalized with the duties of man to God; and so neither the offences." [‡] To make this plain, I argue,

(1.) *From Popish principles.* (2.) *From undeniable reason.*

(1.) *From Popish principles.* For,

(i.) Do they not constantly declare, that though a man, be he never so high,—he neither doth nor should inflict great punishments upon his inferiors for light and small offences; yet that God inflicts grievous torments upon his children for the least, even venial, sins, even the torments of purgatory, not less than those of hell, but only in duration, (if you will believe Bellarmine,) the least whereof, as Aquinas tells us, is greater than the greatest in this life?

(ii.) Do not the Papists grant that there are many kinds of offences which do not destroy human friendship, nor ought, which yet exclude from God's love? [§] As when a man, out of a good intention of helping or benefiting his friend, proves hurtful or offensive to him,—this excludes not a man from his friend's favour; but when a man, out of a zealous intention to please God, doth offend him, (as Paul did, who thought he did God good service in persecuting the church,) he doth, with Paul, in that case, sin mortally, and deserve exclusion from the favour of God.

(2.) I argue *from undeniable reason*, the sum whereof is this: Man offended by man hath causes to continue still his love to man, which God offended hath not.

(i.) Man, by the bond of a precept, is bound to forgive man; but God is not capable of such a bond.

(ii.) Man offended is a finite creature; and therefore offences against him are comparatively small and inconsiderable: but offences against God are against an infinite Majesty; and therefore infinite.

(iii.) Offences against man are mutual,—the offended to-day may be the offender to-morrow; but God never can wrong his creature, no, though he hurts it: "What iniquity have your fathers found in me?" (Jer. ii. 5.)

(iv.) Man offended may be, and perhaps hath been, benefited by the man offending; but to God no good of ours can extend.

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[*] *Nullum est peccatum cujusquam in nos non veniale.*—CHAMIERI *Panstrat., de Pec. ven.* p. (mihi) 182.

[†] *Eâdem ratione concludere possit Bellarminus Deum teneri peccata hominibus remittere, quia homines inimicos suos diligere debent, et injurias ipsis quoad vindictam condonare.*—AMESII *Bellar. Ener. De ven. Pec.* p. 11. "By the same mode of reasoning, Bellarmine may conclude that God is bound to grant remission to sinners, because men are commanded to love their enemies, and not to avenge the injuries which they inflict, but to forgive them."—EDIT.

[‡] *Non est æquum, hominum in homines officia æquari officiis hominum in Deum; itaque neque peccata. Ac proinde nullum est peccatum cujusquam in nos non veniale, at hominum in Deum nullum veniale; multa certè mortalia, ipsis fatentibus Papistis.*—CHAMIERI *Panstrat. de Pec. ven.*

[§] Idem, *ibid.*

(v.) A man offended oft warns not the offender that he should not offend or wrong him; but God hath a thousand times admonished, exhorted, entreated, threatened, against offending of him.

THE SECOND CONCESSION.

2. I grant, *though all sins deserve eternal punishment, and though no sins are venial, yet that all sins are not equal, nor do they deserve equal punishment.*—The Papists would willingly fasten this stoical dotage upon us, of holding the equality of sin, (as did the Jovinianists of old,) in requital for our maintaining the damnableness of all sin; but what they say herein of us is a mere slandering of us. This calumny Duræus, in his eighth book against our famous Whitaker, *(quantum nomen !* [*]*)* hath cast upon learned Calvin,—that "he held all sins were equal, because he held all were mortal." [†] The like also saith Gautierus, in his Chronological Table of the fourth age; where, speaking of the Jovinianists, their making all sins equal, he impudently tells us, "Calvin's doctrine is conformable to those who held all sins equal, because it makes them all mortal." [‡] But blessed Calvin both purgeth himself from the calumny, and confutes the argument on which it is grounded, in the third book of his "Institutions," cap. iv., by this invincible answer: *Scio,* saith he, *quàm iniquè doctrinam nostram calumnientur, &c.:* "I know how unjustly the Papists calumniate our doctrine: they say [that], by our making all sins mortal and damnable, we set up the paradox of the Stoics of the equality of sins. But," saith he, "the very doctrine of the Papists themselves will fully clear us. For I demand of them, Do they not acknowledge that among those sins [which] they call 'mortal' there is an inequality, and that one mortal sin is greater than another? And therefore they cannot charge me with making all sins equal, because I hold they are all mortal." [§] How is, then, the doctrine of equality of sins more to be fathered upon Calvin than upon the Papists themselves?

It is our constant doctrine, that sins and their punishments are unequal, though all sins are mortal. We teach, Though all sins deserve eternal punishment, yet not the same degree of eternal punishment; but some a lesser degree than others. Though all sins deserve a punishment extensively infinite, yet not intensively equal. We agree to that old expression of *Aliis mitiùs ardent nonnulli;* "The flames of hell shall be less torturing to some than to others:" for some it will be more tolerable at the day of judgment than for others: some are beaten with more, others with fewer, stripes. (Luke xii. 47, 48.) As among the Jews there were several degrees of capital punishment for several offences, so are there in hell several degrees of punishment suited to the degrees of sin. Of which truth the words of Christ are a clear proof; (Matt. v. 22;) which tell us of the punishment inflicted by "the judgment," which was the *consessus singularum civitatum*, "the assembly belonging to every city," consisting of three-and-twenty; by whom the punishment inflicted was, according to the best writers, killing with the sword. In the same scripture next we read of the punishment inflicted by "the council," or sanhedrim, consisting of seventy elders, for greater offences; which punishment was stoning. And, lastly, there is mentioned the punishment of γεεννα ϖυρος, called "hell-fire," which was by the old idolaters exercised upon their infants, who were sacrificed in the valley of Hinnom: Christ, by the similitude of these earthly punishments, which passed one another in sharpness and severity, setting forth the degrees of punishments in the place of the damned.[*]

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[*] "How great a name!"—EDIT.

[†] *In eo Calvinus peccata paria facit, quòd omnia mortalia et æternis digna suppliciis censuerit.*—DURÆUS *Contra Whitakerum,* lib. viii.

[‡] *Non parùm conformis est doctrina Calvini nolentis audire peccata venialia, sed omnia definientis mortalia.*—GAUTIERI *Tab. Chron. sect. 4ti.*

[§] *Scio quàm iniquè doctrinam hanc nostram calumnientur. Dicunt enim paradoxum esse Stoicorum de peccatorum æqualitate. Sed suo ipsorum ore, nullo negotio, convincentur. Quæro enim, Annon inter ea ipsa peccata quæ mortalia fatentur, aliud alio majus agnoscant? Non igitur protinus sequitur paria esse peccata, quæ simul mortalia sunt.*—CALVINI *Instit.* lib. iii. cap. iv. sect. 13.

This will yet be clearer, if we duly consider the case to which Christ is speaking, concerning which we may thus understand Christ expressing himself: "Heretofore men have been deterred from murdering others, because the law commands that murderers should be cut off by the sword: but I would have you take heed of anger, because that is to be punished in the next world as severely as murder is punished in this. But if any to his anger shall add evil-speaking, he shall be punished with a greater punishment; as stoning is a greater than that by the sword. And if his evil-speaking be very grievous and heinous, he shall suffer more exquisite torments, such as those sustained who were burnt in the valley of Hinnom." See Grotius on the place. And hereby Bellarmine's cavil is answered; who, to prove that all sins are not mortal, and deserving eternal punishment in hell, argues thus: "Here are" saith he, "two temporal punishments less than that of hell-fire; and because *he* is only guilty of hell-fire, *who* breaks out into such an outrageous anger as to call his brother 'fool,' therefore the other degrees of anger are venial sins, as being only threatened with temporal punishments." But this erroneous sophister perverts the true sense of this text, not considering that the true import thereof is this,—that all the three degrees of anger here mentioned by our Saviour are *totidem homicidia*, "so many murders," as Pareus speaks; and that the three degrees of punishment expressed here, are three degrees *unius specie pœnæ*, of "one punishment in kind and nature," which is, eternal punishment in hell; and that a less degree of torment in hell is understood by "the judgment" than by the word "council," and a less by "council" than by "hell-fire;" and that all the three degrees of punishment here expressed by Christ, equally intend the punishment of the damned in hell, though not in equality of punishment to be inflicted on the offenders.[†] Thus Irenæus of old interpreted this text. "Not only," saith he, "is he guilty of killing to damnation who kills his brother, but even he who is angry with him without a cause."[‡] So St. Austin, *De Verbo Domini: Omnes cruciabuntur; sed magis ille, minùs ille*: "All shall be tormented; though some more, some less." Thus also Barradius and Maldonat, Bellarmine's fellow-Jesuits, (though not greater sophisters, yet better expositors, than Bellarmine,) interpret this text; ingenuously confessing, that by "judgment" and "council," as well as by "hell-fire," the eternal death of the soul is to be understood, though with a gradual difference of the punishment.*

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[*] Κρισις *est consessus* 23 *virûm singularum civitatum; summus autem ille synhedrion vocatur.* Κρισεως *pœna usitatissima erat gladius. Cùm autem supra lapidationem nulla pœna in usu Judaico esset, quæsivit Christus aliunde nomen horrendi cruciatûs, qui et gladium et lapidationem excederet, scilicet, gehennæ ignis.*—GROTIUS *in locum.*

[†] *Tres iracundiæ species totidem facit homicidii species; et per hoc lethales omnes coram Deo, licet impariter.*—DAVENANTIUS, PAREUS *Contra Bellarm. de Amiss. Grat.* p. 90, 91.

[‡] *Non solùm qui occidit, reus est occisionis ad damnationem; sed qui irascitur sine causâ fratri suo.*—IRENÆUS, lib. ii. cap. 46.

THE THIRD CONCESSION.

3. My third concession is this: *Though no sin be venial, but every sin deserves eternal death; yet no sin of its own nature necessarily and infallibly damns, but the sin against the Holy Ghost.*—All other sins may possibly be pardoned: (Matt. xii. 31:) every sin that admits of repentance is pardonable. All sins are remissible, *secluso finalis impœnitentiæ respectu,* "which are not followed with final impenitence," as is that against the Holy Ghost. Other sins make a man liable to death; this, pertinaciously opposite to the terms of life. This is that sin unto death mentioned in 1 John v. 16, 17. And hereby the argument of Baily, the Jesuit, for venial sin, is obviated; who from this scripture, which mentions "a sin not unto death," and "a sin that is unto death," argues, that some sins are of their own nature venial, and not deserving death, though other sins are mortal, and do deserve death. It is true, St. John distinguisheth between "a sin not unto death," and "a sin unto death;" but by both expressions he intends sins mortiferous in their own nature, and such as deserve eternal death. By the "sin not unto death," he understands a sin notwithstanding which a man may avoid eternal death, and may be pardoned, though it deserves eternal death; and by "a sin unto death," he intends a sin which whosoever commits can never be pardoned, and therefore can never escape eternal death; and hence he would not have such a sinner as commits it prayed for. And that by the "sin not unto death" he doth not mean a venial sin that deserves not death, is plain from this very text, where the apostle saith, that life shall be given for them that have not sinned unto death, by the prayers of the faithful. But I desire to know why life should be given for him that sins not unto death, if his sins were venial, and did not at all deserve death. Certainly, the sin which the apostle calls "a sin not unto death," had meritoriously taken away the life of the soul, and so cannot be accounted venial, but in some kind mortal; and it is as plain from the text, that, by the "sin which is unto death," the apostle means not a sin which is mortal, or only deserving death, as distinguished from venial sin; because the apostle forbids the praying for him that commits that sin which is unto death.

Now if the apostle forbids praying for him whose sin is mortal, as only deserving death, then it would unavoidably follow that none should be prayed for that commit mortal sins, or sins deserving death, but only they who commit venial sins; which is contrary to Christ's both precept and example, who both commands us to pray for persecutors,

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* *Tres hi gradus supplicii pœnam significant gehennalem.*—BARRADIUS, lib. vii. cap. 17. *Per concilium, capitalem pœnam intelligit; per civilem capitis pœnam, sempiternam animæ mortem intelligit. Christus et eum qui irascitur, et eum qui fratrem suum levem et eum qui stultum appellat, eâdem inferni pœnâ, non eâdem pœnæ gravitate, dignum docet.*—MALDONATUS *in Matt. v.* 22.

(and no Papist can deny that persecution is a mortal sin,) and did himself, as also did after him that blessed martyr Stephen, pray for his persecutors. And so clearly true is this, that Bartholomæus Petrus, a Papist, and professor of Douay, in his Continuation of Estius's Comment on the Epistles, on 1 John v. 16, ingenuously confesseth,—that "by 'a sin not unto death' is to be understood, a sin from which a man may arise by repentance; and that by 'a sin unto death' we are to understand, a sin from which a man can never arise by repentance." And that a mortal sin may be said to be not unto death, he illustrates by the speech of Christ concerning Lazarus's sickness: "'This sickness,' saith Christ, 'is not unto death;' (John xi. 4;) namely, because Lazarus was to be recalled to life: and so 'a sin not unto death' is a sin from which, and from death by which, a man may be recalled;" [*] as "a sin unto death" is a sin from which, and from death by which, a man cannot be recalled. Thus also Lorinus and Justinian, both Jesuits, expound this place of John, expressly and fully.[†]

THE FOURTH CONCESSION.

4. My fourth concession is this: *Though no sin be venial in its own nature, and deserving of pardon, yet this hinders not but that sin is venial by an extrinsic cause; namely, the grace and mercy of God in Christ.*—Though "venial sins," as the Papists call them, in themselves are mortal; yet mortal sins, through grace, are venial. All the sins of the elect, and of those in the state of grace, are, though in themselves damnable, yet pardoned through grace, and not damning. "There is no condemnation to them," saith the apostle, "that are in Christ Jesus." (Rom. viii. 1.) Though the least sin makes us guilty of damnation, if God should deal with us strictly, and *secundùm legis rigorem,* "according to the rigour of the law;" yet the greatest cannot effect this guiltiness of damnation, where mercy through Christ is conferred upon the most unworthy. Sins in themselves unworthy of pardon, are venial to the guilty, *ex benignitate Judicis,* "by the goodness of the Judge," and remissible to the debtor, *ex liberalitate Creditoris,* "by the bounty of the Creditor." [‡] Though *ex peccati naturâ* ["from the nature of sin"] every sin excludes from salvation, yet *ex misericordiâ Dei* ["from the mercy of God"] no sin doth so. Though

[*] *Peccatum non ad mortem dicitur apostolo, quod est mortale quidem, sed agitur ejus pœnitentia. Videbitur hoc mirum alicui, quòd peccatum quoddam mortale dicatur non ad mortem esse. Sed meminisse debet quod Salvator (Joan. xi.) dicebat: Infirmitas hæc non est ad mortem; cùm tamen Lazarus ex eâ infirmitate mortuus fuerit: sic in proposito peccatum mortale, cujus vera pœnitentia agitur, non est ad mortem.*—BARTHOLOMÆUS PETRUS *in 1 Johan. v.* 16.

[†] *Comparatio hæc inter peccata aptius fit, intelligendo de peccato, non veniali, sed mortali.*—LORINUS *in loc.* "The comparison here drawn between sins is rendered more apt by understanding it, not of venial, but of mortal, sin."—EDIT. *Peccatum non ad mortem non potest peccatum significare veniale: cùm enim dicat Johannes, oranti pro peccato non ad mortem dandam esse vitam, planè indicat hoc peccatum non ad mortem spiritualem vitam adimere; quòd si spirituali vitâ destituitur qui peccat non ad mortem, mortifero scelere obstringatur, necesse est.*—JUSTINIANUS *in loc.* "'A sin not unto death' cannot signify a venial sin: for when John says that life shall be given to him who prays for the sin not unto death, he plainly indicates that this sin not unto death destroys spiritual life; but if he who sins not unto death is destitute of spiritual life, he must necessarily be guilty of deadly wickedness."—EDIT.

[‡] *Venialia dicuntur peccata ab eventu; non quòd per se veniâ digna sunt. Sunt venialia reis ex benignitate Judicis, remissibilia debitori ex Creditoris liberalitate.*—RIVETUS, tract. iv. quæst. 13.

sin be not exempted from desert of punishment, *quia vindicari non debet;* yet it is exempted, *quia Deus vindicare nolit:* though not "because it ought not to be punished;" yet "because God," through Christ, "will not punish it."

And hence it follows, (1.) That as all the sins of reprobates are deadly, not only *ex merito,* "because of their merit," but also *ex eventu,* and "in the event;" because no sin is venial in itself, but only by God's mercy: so likewise, (2.) That the reason why the sins of the regenerate exclude them not from the favour of God, is not from their own nature, but merely from God's mercy, all sins deserving that exclusion. Yea, hence it follows, (3.) That though damnation be actually inflicted upon some for their sins, (namely, unbelievers,) yet remission and salvation may be bestowed upon others, notwithstanding they have committed those very sins for which others are damned. To unbelievers, whoredom is damning, and excludes them from the kingdom of God; (Eph. v. 5;) and yet David's adultery excluded not him from that kingdom. The murdering of Christ was imputed to Judas and Pilate; and yet not to those who slew Christ with "wicked hands," whom Peter wills to "repent, and be baptized, for the remission of sins." (Acts ii. 23, 38.) God pardoned David's adultery with Bathsheba; but might not Antony's with Cleopatra. Lot's incest was, Herod's might not be, forgiven. Solomon's idolatry was, and Jeroboam's might not be, remitted. Yea, hence I fear not to assert, that greater sins may be pardoned to some, when smaller may damn others: an idle word may destroy one, when murder and adultery may not another.

And this fully answers Bellarmine's argument for the veniality of sin. It is this: "If all sins be mortal of their own nature, and only venial to believers because of their faith; then all sins should be mortal to unbelievers, and venial to believers. But this," saith he, "is false,—that all sins of unbelievers should be mortal, and all sins of believers venial; for if they be venial to believers, then much more are they so to unbelievers." But why so, O cardinal? "Because," saith he, "the sins of believers are more grievous and heinous than the sins of unbelievers, as being committed against more light and love." Now this argument is easily answered by my fourth concession. It is not false that sins, though smaller *in genere peccati,* "in the kind of sin," should be mortal to unbelievers, and greater sins venial to believers; for as they are mortal to both of their own nature, so by accident, through the mercy of God, pardoning to believers both their smaller and greater sins, their sins become venial in the event; which accident being deficient to unbelievers in their sinning, *nequaquam eorum peccata facit venialia, sed ut sunt sinit mortalia;* "it makes not their sins venial, but leaves them, as they are in themselves, mortal;" as learned Pareus, in answer to Bellarmine.* "We grant," as Gerhard expresseth it, "that the pardoned sins of believers are more heinous than those of unbelievers; but hence it cannot be inferred, that some sins of unbelievers are venial. For that the sins of believers are venial, it is not from the nature of their sins, but from the mere grace of God, pardoning and not imputing their sins; and therefore to all unbelievers their sins remain such as they are of their own nature, that is, mortal, or mortiferous." *

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* *Fideles graviùs peccantes, venialiter peccant: ergo multò magis venialiter peccant infideles, leviùs, peccantes.—Sic* BELLARMINUS. *Respondet* PAREUS: *Antecedens falsum est intellectum per se; verum est ex accidenti, propter misericordiam Dei veniâ delentis, non levia tantùm, sed omnia, peccata fidelium resipiscentium; quod accidens cùm in peccatis infidelium deficiat, nequaquam ea venalia facit, sed mortalia sinit, ut sunt suâ naturâ omnia eorum peccata.*—PAREUS *Contra Bell. de Amiss. Grat.* cap. 11.

This also stops the mouth of that desperate or despairing Papist, Coton, who thus argues: "To hold that all sins deserve eternal punishment, and that none can live without sin, is the ready way to drive men to the precipice of despair, especially when dying." He should have said, "It is the ready way to drive the priests, those silly quacks, into despair of purging the purse with the pill of purgatory." But the answer is easy. This argument only becomes those *quibus Dei misericordia est ignota*, as Chamier speaks, "who are strangers to the mercy of God in Christ," and will not trust to it for salvation. It is not the smallness of sin, but the greatness of Christ, that saves us. This pitiful Papist draws a damnable conclusion from a divine principle. The principle is, "No sin is venial;" "Therefore," saith he, "despair;" but "Therefore," say we, "believe; go out to Christ for free remission through his blood, whereby all sin, mortal in its nature, is venial to the believer." And let me tell thee, O thou blind Papist, though thou sinnest much in making sin small, yet thou sinnest more in making my Saviour so.

I shall conclude this fourth concession with manifesting the consent herein of the learnedest of the Papists with our Protestant divines. Aquinas saith, "Eternity of punishment is due to every sin of the unregenerate," *ratione conditionis subjecti*, "in respect of the state of him that commits it, who wants that grace whereby sin is only remitted." † And Cajetan, upon those words of Aquinas, tells us, that "grace is the only fountain whence floweth remission of sin; and nothing maketh sin venial or remissible, but to be in grace; and that nothing maketh sin irremissible and not venial, but the being out of a state of grace; and that which maketh sin venial or not venial is, the state of the subject wherein it is found." For if we respect the nature of sin as it is in itself, it will remain (without grace) eternally in stain and guilt, and so will subject the sinner to eternal punishment, and is mortal. So that "remissibility or irremissibility of sins must not be considered according to the sins themselves, but according to the subject's being or not being in the state of grace." ‡ Fisher, bishop of Rochester, though a

* *Certum est renatos, per peccata mortalia contra conscientiam commissa, graviùs Deum offendere quàm infideles, quibus tantum cognitionis lumen, ac tantus beneficiorum divinorum cumulus, non obtigit. Sed ex eo nondum inferri potest, quædam peccata infidelium esse suâ naturâ venialia: quòd enim in renatis quædam sint venialia, id non est a naturâ peccatorum, sed ex solâ Dei miserentis et peccata non imputantis gratiâ; ergo in non-renatis et infidelibus, omnia omninò peccata sunt et manent talia, qualia sunt ex naturâ suâ, hoc est, mortalia.*—GERHARDI *Loci Communes, de Pec. act.* p. 306.

† *Peccato non debetur pœna æterna ratione suæ gravitatis, sed ratione conditionis subjecti, scilicet hominis, qui sine gratiâ invenitur, per quam solùm sit remissio pœnæ.*—AQUINAS, *Prima Secundæ*, quæst. lxxxvii. art. v. ad 1, p. (mihi) 275.

‡ *Sola gratia est principium remissionis pœnæ. Remissibilitas et irremissibilitas tam culpæ quàm pœnæ attenduntur penès statum subjecti, scilicet, esse in gratiâ vel non: statui gratiæ convenit remissibilitas positivè; statui verò culpæ extra gratiam convenit irremissibilitas positivè.*—CAJETANUS *in locum prædictum*, p. (mihi) 275.

most bitter adversary to Luther, yet, concerning the veniality of sin, he thus speaks to Luther: "In this, that sin is venial by the mercy of God, I am, Luther, wholly of thy mind."[*] Azorius confesseth, that "the remission of venial sin is a free and supernatural benefit, and afforded to none that are not in a state of grace."[†]

Thus far are our concessions concerning the veniality of sin, or our granting what is not to be denied; which was the first part of my explication.

SECOND BRANCH OF THE EXPLICATION.

(II.) I come now to the second branch of explication, which is to be by way of *negation*, or denial of what is not to be granted.

That which I peremptorily deny is this,—*that any sins are exempted from deserving eternal punishment, upon the account of any imaginary or imaginable smallness or levity of sin.*

It is ingeniously expressed by learned Rivet, in his *Catholicus Orthodoxus*, against Baily, the Jesuit, upon this occasion, that "there are some who" *de alieno corio sunt liberales*, "cut large thongs out of a hide that is none of their own,"—that, he means, of God's mercy; who measure God's judgment according to their own rule; and, "like foolish debtors, will be judges of their own cause against their Creditor." "That guilty malefactor," saith he gravely, "is unwise, who extenuates his fault before his judge, to whom his whole cause is known: nor is it less imprudent to diminish our sins before that God who can both" *convincere et cogere*, "convince us of our debts, and compel us to make satisfaction."[‡] Bellarmine, then, and his complices, are none of the wisest or honestest, who dictate to us, that some sins are so light and little, that they deserve no eternal punishment, but are venial:

1. Some *in genere suo*, "in their kind" of sin; as when the will is carried out to that which contains in itself a kind of inordination indeed, but yet such as is not contrary either to the love of God or our neighbour; as an officious lie, or an idle word: and that,

2. Some sins are venial *ex imperfectione operis*, "by the imperfection of the work:" and these, saith Bellarmine, are of two sorts:—[§]

(1.) Some are venial *ex surreptione*, "by their unexpected stealth and creeping" into the soul; and these are sudden motions of lusts, anger, revenge, &c., which get into the mind before reason can deliberate whether they are to be admitted or no; and so they are not *perfectè voluntaria*, "have not the full consent of the will."

(2.) Other sins are venial "by the imperfection of the matter," *ex parvitate materiæ*, which are committed in a light and small matter; as the stealing of a halfpenny, which neither hurts our neighbour nor destroys love.

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[*] *Quòd peccatum veniale solùm ex misericordiâ Dei veniale sit, hoc ego tecum, Luthere, sentio.—Contrà Lutherum*, art. 32.

[†] *Venialis remissio peccati gratuitum et supernaturale est beneficium Dei: nemini extra gratiam Dei constituto peccatum veniale dimittitur.*—AZORIUS, lib. iv. cap. 10. *Nisi quia est ab homine justo, Dei gratiâ et charitate prædito, commissum, perpetuò puniretur.*—Idem, lib. iii. cap. 9. "It would be eternally punished, were it not committed by a just man, endued with the grace and love of God."—EDIT.

[‡] *Agnoscimus quorundam deliria, qui, quod dicitur, de alieno corio sunt liberales; stultitiam debitorum, qui, adversùs Creditorem suum, judicium proferunt in propriâ causâ. Certè reus qui coram judice suo culpam extenuat, cùm res tota judici perspecta est, imprudenter valdè se gerit; nec minus stultè facit, qui debitum suum vel negat vel minuit apud eum qui convincere potest et cogere.*—RIVETI *Sum. Controv.* tract. iv. quæst. 13.

[§] *Vide* BELLARMINUM *De Amiss. Grat.* lib. i. cap. 3.

Against these we oppose, that there is no sin but deserves eternal punishment *per propriam naturam et intrinsecam rationem,* "by its own proper and intrinsical nature." As the least drop of water is water as truly as the whole sea, so the least sin is as truly sin as the greatest; and the least sin, according to the rigour of the law, deserves an everlasting penalty. The imperfection of sin as to degree takes not away from it either the reason of sin, or the merit of penalty, as Medina, Azorius, Durand, and others confess.* Azorius tells us, from Durand, Vega, Cajetan, that the law of God forbids venial sins; even all sin, both great and small: and that the arguments of the Protestants prove that venial sin is against the law of God.† To which I add, that it implies a gross contradiction, to say that the least sin should be said to be a sin, and yet to be venial, and deserve pardon. For if it deserves pardon, then also freedom from punishment; and if freedom from punishment, then it hath no guilt; and if it have no guilt, then it is no sin. Most true is that speech of Altenstaig, in his *Lexicon Theologicum: Nullum peccatum habet rationem ad merendam veniam; imò, potiùs demeretur:* ‡ "Sin, as sin, cannot deserve to be pardoned; but it deserves not to be pardoned." Nor can Bellarmine with his sophistry prove, that the small sins before mentioned are in their nature venial. It is little less than blasphemy what he dictates concerning a sin venial *ex genere suo,* ["from its nature,"] as an idle word, an officious lie, &c.,—that it is not against a perfect and a rigorous law; that the law which forbids it is not perfectly a law, and hath not perfectly *rationem legis* ["the form or substance of a law"]. But this is false, to say no worse: for that law truly binds the conscience to perform it; and therefore it is truly a law. And that it truly binds the conscience, is clear, both because it is made by Him who hath *jus leges condendi,* "a right of making laws," and also because it hath a sanction, a threat, namely, the giving an account, and condemnation also. (Matt. xii. 36, 37.) And when Bellarmine argues that sins which he calls venial *ex surreptione,* "by stealth into the soul unawares," are not perfectly voluntary, and therefore are venial:

1. It is acutely observed by the learned Chamier, that "a sin may be by surreption or inconsiderateness, and yet it may be voluntary also; surreption not being properly opposed to voluntariness, but to election; when, upon weighing of circumstances, a thing is chosen. For it often falls out, that the will is carried to a thing, though by a sudden and inconsiderate motion: as Peter denied Christ with his will, though suddenly and inconsiderately; and yet thereby Peter committed a mortal sin." § And "though a sin of surreption be not voluntary in

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* *Vide* MEDINAM *in Primam Secundæ,* quæst. lxxxviii. art. 1; AZORIUM, lib. iv. cap. 8; DURANDUM, quæst. vi.

† *Dicendum est, ut docuerunt Durandus, Cajetanus, et Vega, Veniale peccatum est quidem contra legem Dei, quia reverà lex Dei prohibet et gravia et levia; id quod adversariorum argumenta comprobarunt.*—AZORII *Instit. Moral.* lib. iv. cap. 8.

‡ ALTENSTAIG, *sub tit.* Peccatum.

§ *Surreptionem existimamus opponi, non voluntati, sed τῃ ϖροαιρεσει, id est, electioni; cùm, omnibus cognitis pensitatisque circumstantiis, unum eligitur denique. Nam sæpe accidit ut motu subitaneo et inconsiderato voluntas ipsa ad aliquid feratur: ut voluntate Petrus negavit, sed subitaneâ; et peccavit* the highest degree, yet is it with a true and proper consent," as Ames speaks.[*]

2. But, besides, the nature of sin, its *formale*, or "that wherein it consists," is not its voluntariness, but its transgression of the law. The law of the Creator, not the will of the creature, is the rule of right and wrong. Voluntariness aggravates, but involuntariness excuseth not, sin.

3. It is excellently observed by the learned Davenant, "That may be said to be voluntary, not only which is committed with an express and actual willingness; but that which is not hindered by the will, when it is bound to hinder it: but the will is bound to command its reason, that it should be wakeful and watchful, to suppress all the motions of inordinate concupiscence."[†]

4. Further: Doth not the law prohibit and condemn all affections and motions, whether deliberate, or by surreption and indeliberate?

5. And hence it was that holy Paul, complaining of the sin that dwelt in him, (Rom. vii. 17,) was afflicted, not only for the deliberate motions of sin, but also for those that were indeliberate and involuntary: and would he have mourned under them, if they had not been sinful?

6. To conclude this: Doth not the surreption and indeliberate stealing of depraved motions into the soul, proceed *a pravitate damnabili*, "from a damnable and depraved principle" of nature? Must it not then be sinful and depraved also?

And when Bellarmine argues for the veniality of sin from the *parvitas materiæ*, "the smallness and slightness of the matter" in which sin is committed,—as the stealing of a halfpenny, or a penny,—I wish he had remembered, that, according to this doctrine, if Bellarmine should steal a penny from his poor neighbour ten thousand several times, he should not yet, after all, commit a mortal sin; since if the stealing of one penny be but a venial sin, ten thousand venial sins cannot make up or amount to one mortal sin.[‡] Besides, the smallness of the matter in which a sin is committed is so far from extenuating, that it often aggravates, the sin committed: as it is a greater sin to murder a man for sixpence, than for a hundred pounds; to deny my starving friend a penny-loaf, than twenty seams of wheat. And thus divines commonly aggravate Adam's sin, by his breaking the command of God in so small a matter as was the forbidden fruit. And whereas Bellarmine tells us that the stealing of a halfpenny or a penny is not against the law, because, saith he, *lex non disertè prohibet furtum oboli*, "the law doth not expressly mention any prohibition of stealing a halfpenny or a penny:" what, if I should ask cardinal Robert whether the law any where expressly forbids the stealing of a thousand pounds? and whether the stealing of such a sum is therefore not against the law, because the law

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tamen etiam mortaliter. Itaque et hæc quoque quæ per surreptionem fiunt, voluntaria sunt, ideòque et peccata verè; inquam, peccata.—CHAMIERUS, lib. vi. cap. 10.

[*] *Est voluntarium, non quidem in summo gradu, sed vero et proprio consensu.*—AMESII *Bellarm. Enerv. de Pec. ven.* p. (mihi) 16.

[†] *Voluntarium reputatur, non modò quod expressâ et actuali voluntate committitur; sed quod ab ipsâ voluntate non impeditur, quandò tenetur impedire. Tenetur autem voluntas imperure rationi, ut pervigil sit in comprimendis omnibus inordinatæ concupiscentiæ motibus.*—DAVENANTII *Determ.* quæst. xxxi. p. (mihi) 145.

[‡] *Vide* PETRUM MOLINÆUM *in Thesibus Sedanensibus.*

expressly forbids it not? Doth not the general prohibition of theft contain under it all the kinds of theft? Doth not this command, "Thou shalt not steal," forbid the stealing of any thing that is another's, whether the thing be great or small, even as the law forbidding adultery forbids that sin with any woman, noble or ignoble, rich or poor, bond or free? In the overthrow of Jericho, it was not expressly forbidden to steal a Babylonish garment, or two hundred shekels of silver, or a wedge of gold; and yet because of the general prohibition, Achan died for stealing that garment, the two hundred shekels of silver, and the wedge of gold. (Joshua vi. 19; vii. 21.)

Besides, that which violates one *apex* or "tittle" of the law, breaks the law, and offends God. How deeply holy Austin was humbled for stealing of an apple, though stolen when he was a child, appears by his "Confessions." Surely, in Bellarmine's divinity, Adam's taking but an apple, and that from his wife, was but a venial fault. In military discipline, a soldier is hanged for stealing of a trifle, or of what is of a very inconsiderable value. The stealing of the least thing is against a great both command and Commander. And whereas Bellarmine argues, that the stealing of so small a thing as a halfpenny hurts not our neighbour, and therefore it is venial and not forbidden; it is answered: The law forbids not only the hurting of our neighbour in forbidding to steal, but it forbids the violation of justice too. The law forbids inward lust; but how doth inward lust hurt our neighbour? God in his commands respects his own purity, as well as our neighbour's utility.

Further: it is evident that the veniality of a sin committed against our neighbour cannot be gathered from its not hurting him;[*] for in many cases even Bellarmine will grant, that a sin against our neighbour is damnable, though it hurt not our neighbour at all; yea, though it prove very profitable and advantageous to him. Take an instance in this true story:—A worthy physician, some years since, had a female patient under cure, to whom her lewd husband first gave the foul disease, and soon after he gave her also a draught of rank poison to kill her; but the poison, meeting with the distemper, by its violent operation, overcame the disease, and cured the woman. According to Bellarmine's divinity, he should not, by giving her the poison, have sinned mortally, because he was not only, by his murderous endeavours, not hurtful, but very beneficial, to his wife.[†]

Still I follow Bellarmine, urging this argument, that the stealing so small a thing opposeth not charity to man, or love to God. I answer: Though a small theft do not *expectorare* or *expugnare charitatem*, as Dr. Davenant expresseth it, "destroys not love and charity;" yet it doth *pugnare cum illâ perfectâ charitate*, "oppose that perfect love and charity which the law requireth;" "and it ariseth from that inordinate lust which the law forbids, and which is contrary both to the law and love which the law requireth."[‡] I add: "Herein lies the great mistake of Bellarmine in this point, in that he judgeth of the nature of mortal sin by the extinction of charity; whereas it consists in any swerving or declination from the law of God and charity."[*] And when Bellarmine argues, that *præcepta de minimis non sunt propriè præcepta,* "commands concerning the least things are not properly commands;" beside that full answer I have formerly given, as to proving [that] those commands are most truly commands, I cannot but here subjoin that smart expression of Gerhard, who tells Bellarmine thus arguing, "Satan himself was deficient in this piece of Bellarmine's sophistry;" and that "Satan could not more speciously have covered his temptation to the eating [of] the forbidden fruit, than by saying, 'Tush! this is but a little command, about a trifle,—an apple; and, indeed, it is properly no command at all.'"[†] And truly I should say, that Bellarmine might have taught Satan in this point, were it not that I look upon him in this, and in the greatest part of his polemics, as taught, even to a high degree of proficiency, by that schoolmaster both of himself and his blackest society; I mean, that of the Jesuits.

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[*] Joseph's brethren sinned mortally in selling their brother, though by that selling him he was highly advanced.

[†] *Vide Theses Sedanenses, de Pec. ven.*

[‡] *Neque illud rectè dicitur, hujusmodi peccata non pugnare cum charitate. Reverà non expectorant aut expugnant charitatem hominis renati: sed pugnant tamen cum illâ perfectâ charitate quam lex imperat, et oriuntur ab illâ inordinatâ concupiscentiâ quæ est charitati et legi divinæ contraria.*—DAVENANTIUS *ubi supra.*

As wild and weak is that argument which Bellarmine grounds on that of Luke xii. 59: "Thou shalt not depart thence till thou hast paid the last mite." "Lo! here," saith Bellarmine, "'the last mite' can intend nothing but some small, venial sin, to be expiated in the prison of purgatory." But this bold sophister perverts this text, and plays too saucily with a most serious and severe scripture. For, by "the last mite" or "farthing" we must not understand sins, but the punishments due to sins, and the *minutissimas partes pœnarum,* "the smallest parts of punishment in hell." Thus the learnedest of even Popish expositors expound that place: as Brugensis and Jansenius, who make, and that truly, the meaning thereof to be this: "Thou shalt, in the suffering of eternal punishment," *pœnas luere extremas, quantas exhibet extremus justitiæ rigor:*[‡] "Thou shalt undergo the extremity and rigour of punishment from justice." So that "the prison" there mentioned (verse 58) is not meant of purgatory, but "of hell," as Tertullian expressly saith, and "utter darkness," as Augustine;[§] and the payment of "the last mite" or "farthing," as Augustine expounds it, imports as much as, *Nihil relinquetur impunitum,* "'No part of the punishment shall be abated;' but the wicked shall be there punished," as he expresseth it, *usque ad fæcem,* "to the drinking the last drop and dregs of the cup of God's wrath."

It is but a wretched shift of Bellarmine, when he tells us that his venial or lesser sins are not *contra,* but only *præter, legem,* not "against," but only "beside, the law;" by which distinction, this blasphemous sophister not only falls foul upon Andrew de Vega, and other Papists,—whom he very roundly reproves for granting that venial sins are properly against the law,[*] telling them, that, upon that principle, they can never maintain the possibility of a perfect impletion of the law, because, as he saith, they can never get off cleverly from that scripture, "He that offends in one point is guilty of all,"[†] (James ii. 10,)—but, which is worse, he audaciously wounds the purity and perfection of the divine law, to shelter his venial sins. Further, as that learned Baronius observes:[‡] were these venial, small sins of Bellarmine only beside, and not against, the law, we ought not to call them "sins," but "indifferent actions," and so account them lawful; for that which is forbidden by no law is lawful. And further: if this doctrine were true, he that abstains from venial sins should do a work not of precept, but of counsel only, and so of super-erogation; the Papists teaching that every good work not commanded by God, is a work of super-erogation. But how absurd would this be,—to say, that by abstaining from a sin, a man doth a work of super-erogation.

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[*] *In eo labuntur adversarii, quòd peccati naturam mortiferam ex solâ extinctione charitatis dijudicant; cùm illa in quâlibet declinatione a charitate et lege divinâ se exerat.*—DAVENANTIUS *ubi supra.*

[†] *Serpentina diaboli primævos homines decipientis calliditas non poterat speciosiori schemate pingi atque velari, quàm quòd primordialis illa lex, de non comedendo arboris vetitæ fructu, sit præceptum de re minimâ, ac proinde non perfectè et in rigore præceptum, cujus transgressio magnoperè a Deo curetur.*—GERHARDI *Loci Communes, de Pec. act.* cap. 19, *propè finem.*

[‡] *Ei qui non dederit operam, ut redeat in gratiam cum læso a se fratre, contingit, ut, carceri inferni traditus, sine aliquâ debiti remissione, exactum jus experiatur.*—JANSENIUS *in Matt. v.* 26. *Sensus est: Summo tecum jure agetur: non liberaberis, donec pœnas lueris extremas, tantas quantas exiget extremus justitiæ rigor.*—BRUGENSIS *in Matt. v* 26.

[§] *De Sermone Domini in Monte,* lib. i.

I shall only add that censure passed upon Bellarmine by Dr. Featley, who saith, that here Bellarmine, for saying some sins are not against but only beside the law, may well be accounted to be beside himself. And as for Coton, that proud Papist, who tells us "there is no proportion between eternal death and an idle word," and therefore "an idle word is not to be so severely punished:" I answer, that as the great and righteous Judge of sin and sinners is fitter to judge of the proportion between the least sin and eternal punishment than any weak and guilty malefactor; so the will of God, forbidding any sin under an eternal penalty, is a sufficient reason of that penalty, and makes the punishment proportionable to the demerit of the sin. I shall only chastise the intolerable insolence of this Popeling by asking him one question; and it is but this: What proportion is there between eternal death, and the eating a morsel of flesh in Lent, or a woman's spinning a yard of thread on a holy day? If you Papists forbid these under pain of damnation, (as you do,) and that merely because the church appoints it so, ye blind hypocrites, may not divine prohibition be allowed to make a proportion between a sin and eternal punishment, as well as that which is human, yea, diabolical? In the latter of which expressions, I am not too severe, as long as we hold 1 Tim. iv. 1—3 to be canonical.

The sum of all is but this: The smallness of sin alters not the nature thereof. Its nature stands in this,—that it is against the law. If it be not prohibited, it is no sin; if it be, it is damnable, be it greater or smaller. I conclude this whole first part of my discourse, its explicatory part, with that holy and excellent advice of St. Austin, lib. ii. *Contra Donatum: Non afferamus stateras dolosas, &c.:*[§] "Let us not bring deceitful balances, to weigh in them what we will, and how we will, according to our own pleasure, saying, 'This is heavy; this is light:' but let us fetch a divine balance out of the holy scriptures, and in them let us weigh our sins; or rather let us judge of them as they are there weighed."

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[*] *De Justif.* lib. iv. cap. 14.

[†] *Videndum est illis quid respondeant apostolo Jacobo, dicenti,* Quicunque totam legem servaverit, offendat autem in uno, factus est omnium reus.—BELLARMINUS *De Justif.* lib. iv. cap. 14.

[‡] BARONIUS *De Peccat. venial.* p. 98.

[§] *Non afferamus stateras dolosas ubi appendamus quod volumus et quomodò volumus pro arbitrio nostro; dicentes, Hoc grave, hoc leve est: sed afferamus divinam stateram de scripturis sanctis, et in illâ appendamus peccata; vel potiùs a Domino appensa recognoscamus.* —*Contra Donat.* lib. ii. cap. 6.

PART II. CONFIRMATION.

II. I have said what I intended as to the explication of this great truth,—the denial of venial sin, both as to concession and negation: I proceed now to the second branch of my discourse about this point; and that is, the *confirmation* of it.

And my first, and more immediately scriptural, argument shall be this:—

ARGUMENT I. *No fault is venial in itself that deserves eternal death: But every sin deserves eternal death: Therefore no sin in itself is venial.*

The first proposition, or major, is granted by the Papists, who tell us that the nature of sin's veniality stands in its not deserving eternal death; and therefore no sin is venial that deserves eternal death.

The minor, or second proposition, namely, that "every sin deserves eternal death," I shall clearly prove *by scriptures* and *reason*.

1. *By scriptures.*—And I shall name three. The first is that which I named for my text: "The wages of sin is death." (Rom. vi. 23.) The second is, "The soul that sinneth shall die." (Ezek. xviii. 4.) The third is that of Deut. xxvii. 26: "Cursed be he that confirmeth not all the words of this law to do them."

To these scriptures Bellarmine answers, but very miserably.

To that of Rom. vi. 23, "The wages of sin is death," Bellarmine answers, that "when Paul saith, 'The wages of sin is death,' it is only meant of mortal sin, and thus is he to be understood: 'The wages of mortal sin is death.'" But I answer, [that] with as good reason, in all the places of scripture wherein we are dehorted from sin, he may cast this shameful gloss upon them, and say, that we are in them dehorted not from all sin, but only from mortal sin. As when the scripture saith, "Eschew evil," (1 Peter iii. 11,) Bellarmine may add this gloss, and say, "We are not forbidden to shun all evil, but only mortal evil." And so when Paul saith, "Abstain from all appearance of evil;" (1 Thess. v. 22;) that is, as Bellarmine expounds it, "Abstain from all appearance of mortal evil." And, "Abhor that which is evil;" (Rom. xii. 9;) that is, mortal evil. Yea, when we pray to be delivered from evil, (Matt. vi. 13,) that, with Bellarmine's comment, is only mortal evil, not all sin.

But, further: I would ask any Papist only these two easy questions:

QUESTION I. What is the meaning of these words, "The wages of sin is death?" (Rom. vi. 23.) The Papist will answer, "By these words, the apostle means that sin deserves death." Let Benedict Justinian, the Jesuit, upon Rom. vi. 23, speak for all; who gives it thus: "By the desert of sin eternal punishments are inflicted." *

QUEST. II. I demand, What is the meaning of this word "mortal," when Bellarmine thus expounds this text: "The wages of mortal sin is death?" All the Papists, with Bellarmine, readily answer, that the meaning of "a mortal sin," is a sin that deserves death. Now, reader, be pleased to add to the apostle's proposition, "The wages of sin is death," that is, "Sin deserves death," Bellarmine's exposition: "'The wages of' mortal 'sin is death,'" that is, of a sin that deserves death; and Paul's proposition will be turned into a gross tautology, and be made to speak thus: "Sin deserveth death that deserveth death;" a wretched depravation of the sacred text, whereby they show that, rather than they will renounce a gross error, they will make the divinely-inspired apostle to speak gross nonsense. Besides, it is evident that in this sixth chapter to the Romans the apostle dehorts the converted Romans from all sin; particularly in verse 2: "Shall we continue in sin? God forbid. How shall we that are dead to sin live any longer therein?" Now will any dare so wretchedly to interpret Paul, as to say that the Christians are here dehorted only from some sins, and not from all? If any would offer so to expound the apostle, I would instantly stop his mouth by two arguments taken from the context, wherein the apostle dissuades from sin,

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* *Sempiterni cruciatus peccati merito redduntur.*—BENEDICTUS JUSTINIANUS *in Rom. vi.* p. 191.

(1.) *By a reason taken from being "baptized into the death of Christ."* (Verse 3.)—Now when we are so baptized, is not all sin washed away and destroyed? And,

(2.) The apostle useth another reason to dissuade from continuing in sin; and that is, *the consideration of their former yielding themselves to sin.*—Whence he argues, they ought now as much to serve righteousness, as formerly they had served sin. (Verse 19.) Whence it will follow, that as they had formerly served not only greater but smaller sins, so now they ought to cast off the latter as well as the former, even all sin whatsoever.

Now if Paul by these two arguments dehorts from all sin, why should he not then do so by this next argument, namely, the issue of sin: "The wages of sin is death?"

As to that place of Ezek. xviii. 4, "The soul that sinneth, it shall die," Bellarmine answers [that] the prophet only intends that threat against mortal sins, grievous and heinous abominations, not against smaller sins which he calls "venial." But he abuseth the scripture; for the prophet, there setting down the standing rule of divine justice, that none should die but for his own sins, makes no exception of lesser sins from being within the compass of that commination; not saying, "The soul that grievously sins," but, "The soul that sins, shall die." *Universè dictum est,* "It is universally expressed," as Pareus notes. But, to put all out of doubt, that lesser as well as greater sins are threatened to be punished with death by the prophet, it is plain from verse 31 of that chapter, where the prophet plainly declares his meaning to be of sin in general, without any restriction: "Cast away from you," saith he, "all your transgressions; and make you a new heart: for why will ye die?" All sins, therefore, which opposed "a new heart," are they commanded to cast away, and are here clearly discovered to be deadly.

To that place of Deut. xxvii. 26, "Cursed be he that confirmeth not all the words of this law to do them," Bellarmine still gives the old answer. "By 'the words of this law,'" saith he, "are not meant the words of the whole law, as if God had threatened a curse against all sins in general; but only of mortal sins, some grosser sins of murder, incest, idolatry," &c. But this is a cursed gloss put upon a divine curse; for the words here used, "the words of this law," are the same with those of verse 8, where the very same expression, "the words of this law," intends "the words of the whole law;" and evident it is that here all those sins are intended which are opposed to legal righteousness: "Do this, and live:" but such are all sins in general. But the apostle, whom I ever took for a better expositor of scripture than either Bellarmine or the pope, leaves no place for dispute in this matter; who, in Gal. iii. 10, citing this very place of Deuteronomy, denounceth the curse, not against those that commit some gross sins against some part of the law, but against those "that continue not in all things that are written in the book of the law;" that is, those that commit any sin whatever.

Thus I have made good by scripture this proposition, namely, "Every sin deserves eternal death."

2. I shall now proceed to prove it *by two reasons,* the first where of is this:—

Reason i. *Every transgression of the law deserves eternal death: Every sin is a transgression of the law: Therefore every sin deserves eternal death.*

The second proposition, or minor, that "every sin is the transgression of the law," is contained in the express words of scripture, where sin is called "the transgression of the law;" (1 John iii. 4;) from which every sin is a swerving, and thence hath its both nature and name also: and it is granted by the learnedest among the Papists, that all sins, even venial, are against the law; so Durand, Gerson, Vega, Azorius, Cajetan, with others. And Augustine's old definition of sin, that it is *dictum, factum, concupitum contra legem,* that "sin is that which is either said, done, or desired against the law," falls in with them, or rather they with it. And therefore Bellarmine's distinction of some sins that are only *præter,* "beside," and not *contra,* "against," the law, is grossly false; for if all sins are forbidden by, all sins are contrary to, the law.

The major, or first proposition, that "every transgression of the law deserves eternal death," is most certain. But I prove it thus:—

Whatever deserves the curse of the law, deserves eternal death: But every transgression of the law deserves the curse of the law: Therefore every transgression of the law deserves eternal death.

The major, or first proposition, cannot be denied, unless we will hold that the curse of the law only contains temporal evils; which is horridly false: for if that were true, then Christ hath not delivered us from eternal death by delivering us "from the curse of the law." (Gal. iii. 13.)

The minor, or second proposition, that "every transgression of the law deserves the curse of the law," I prove from that clear and full scripture: "Cursed is every one that continueth not in all things that are written in the book of the law to do them." (Gal. iii. 10.) According to the rigour of the law, the least breach thereof makes us cursed; and this was the law's unsupportable burden,—that when we were bound to do "all things in the law," and were unable to do them, we were yet cursed for not doing them.

Reason ii. My second reason to prove that "every sin deserves eternal death" is this:—

That which deserves an infinite punishment deserves eternal death: But every sin deserves an infinite punishment: Therefore every sin deserves eternal death.

The major, or first proposition, is denied by none, there being no infinity of punishment mentioned or imagined but in that called in scripture "eternal death."

The minor, or second proposition, that "every sin deserves an infinite punishment," I thus prove :—

If Christ laid down an infinite price to redeem us from every sin, then every sin deserves an infinite punishment: But Christ laid down an infinite price to redeem us from every sin : Therefore every sin deserves an infinite punishment.

The consequence is evident, that "if Christ laid down an infinite price for every sin, then every sin deserves an infinite punishment;" because it had been an unjust exacting of punishment upon Christ, had there been required of him the laying down of an infinite price for a finite evil, that required only a finite punishment to be inflicted for it.

The minor, or second proposition, namely, that "Christ laid down an infinite price to redeem us from every sin," is undeniable by those that will neither deny scriptures nor catechisms. For that Christ redeemed us by an infinite price, hath not only the consent, but it is the ground of the comfort, of all Christians: *Infinitas personæ facit infinitatem pretii :* "An infinite person made the price of infinite value." And that Christ laid down this infinite price for all sins, is with the like consent and comfort embraced by all that believe the scriptures aright, which abound in texts that express it. "He shall redeem Israel from all his iniquities." (Psalm cxxx. 8.) "The blood of Christ cleanseth from all sin." (1 John i. 7.) "He gave himself, that he might redeem us from all iniquity." (Titus ii. 14.) Hence it was a prayer of faith, "Take away all iniquity." (Hosea xiv. 2.) And, "The Lord hath laid upon him the iniquity of us all;" (Isai. liii. 6;) and, "The Lamb of God that taketh away the sin of the world;" (John i. 29;) and, "He shall save his people from their sins;" (Matt. i. 21;) from every sin, and every sin perfectly.

ARGUMENT II. My second argument to prove that no sin is venial, is this :—

Whatsoever is contrary to the loving of God with the whole heart, is not venial, but mortiferous : But every sin is contrary to the loving of God with our whole heart : Therefore every sin is mortal, and so not venial.

The first proposition, or major, is undeniable; because he that loves not God with his whole heart, sins against the express words of the command in Matt. xxii. 37. And the loving God "with all the heart" is called "the great command," and is preferred before the love of our neighbour by Christ, in verses 38, 39. Since therefore there are many commands of love to our neighbour which cannot be violated but we must needs sin mortally, as the Papists grant, it will evidently follow, that a transgression of the command of loving God "with all the heart" must needs be a mortal sin.

The second proposition, or minor, that "every sin opposeth the loving of God with all the heart," and that whoever sins, loves not God with all the heart, is as true as the former.

Bellarmine therefore dares not here answer by denying this truth absolutely, but by a lame and lamentable distinction: he answers here, that to love God "with all the heart" may be taken two ways :—

1. *Non prælatione.*—To love God so entirely and perfectly as that "nothing is preferred before" God's love. And this love of God, saith Bellarmine, is both the meaning of the command, and such alone also which venial sins do not oppose.

2. *Non admissione.*—To love God so perfectly as that a man is so wholly taken up with the love of God, that "no" sinful and vicious thought at any time can "creep or steal into" a person's heart. But, saith Bellarmine, such a love of God as this is not commanded in this life; and this love of God, he confesseth, is opposed by venial sins. For answer to this impious distinction of Bellarmine: It is both most false and frivolous.

1. As he tells us that it is not necessary to the love of God "with all the soul," that all vicious thoughts be hindered from admission into a man. For this is clearly opposed not only by St. Austin of old, but by others, even Papists, of late. St. Austin tells us, that "to love God with all the soul, is to confer all the life, thoughts, and understanding upon him from whom we have them all; and to suffer no part of the life to give way to be willing to enjoy any thing else; but whatsoever else comes into the mind to be loved, is to be carried thither." * Victor expresseth it thus: "A man should burn with so hot a love to God, that nothing should creep into any faculty of the soul that either diminisheth love to God, or carries it anywhither else." † Anselm excellently thus, on Matt. xxii: "In the understanding, no place is to be left for error; in the will, nothing is to be willed contrary to God; in the whole memory, nothing is to be remembered whereby we may the less think of him." ‡ Aquinas thus also: "A man must so love God, if 'with all the heart,' as to subject himself to him and follow the rule of his commandments in all things; for whatsoever is contrary to his law, is contrary to his love." §

Alvarez expressly opposeth Bellarmine in these words: "To love God, is to admit nothing into the heart contrary to God." || Theophylact most fully: "To love God 'with all the heart,' is to cleave to him with all the parts and faculties of the soul; to give ourselves wholly to God; and to subject the nutritive, sensitive, and rational faculty to his love." ¶ Now according to these explications of the love of God, the least sins (which Papists call "venial") are contrary to it; for in them there is not a pleasing of God in all things, not a forsaking of all things contrary

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* *Diliges Deum ex toto corde, et ex totâ animâ, et ex totâ mente; id est, Omnes cogitationes, omnem vitam, et omnem intellectum in Illum conferes, a quo habes ea ipsa quæ confers. Quùm autem ait toto corde, totâ animâ, totâ mente, nullam vitæ nostræ partem reliquit, quæ vacare debet, et quasi locum dare, ut aliâ re velit frui; sed quicquid aliud diligendum venerit in animum, illuc rapiatur quò totius dilectionis impetus currit.*—AUGUSTINUS *De Doctr. Christ.* lib. i. cap. 22.

† *Hominem tanto Dei amore flagrare debere commonstrat, ut nihil prorsus in ullam animæ facultatem irrepere sinat, quod suam erga Deum dilectionem diminuat, aut aliò transferat.*—VICTOR *in Marc. xii.*

‡ *In intellectu nullam relinquas errori locum; in voluntate nihil velis illi contrarium, in memoriâ tuâ nihil reminiscens quo minùs de illo sentias.*—ANSELMUS *in Matt. xxii.*

§ *Est de ratione charitatis, quòd homo sic diligat Deum, ut velit se in omnibus ei subjicere, et regulam præceptorum ejus in omnibus sequi; quicquid enim contrariatur præceptis ejus, contrariatur charitati.*—THOMÆ *Secunda Secundæ*, quæst. xxiv. art. 12.

|| *Diligere Deum est nihil in corde divinæ dilectioni contrarium admittere.*—ALVAREZ *De Aux. Div. Grat.* lib. vi. disp. li. sect. 4.

¶ Αγαπᾳν τον Θεον ὁλοψυχως, τουτο εστι το δια ϖαντων των της ψυχης μερων και δυναμεων αυτῳ ϖροσεχειν, ὡστε ὁλους ἑαυτους οφειλομεν διδοναι τῳ Θεῳ, και ὑποταττειν και την ϑρεπτικην και την αισθητικην και διανοητικην ἡμων δυναμιν τῃ αγαπῃ του Θεου.—THEOPHYLACTUS *in Matt. xxii.*

to his will; yea, in these venial sins, there is an admission of a contrary and unlawful love of the creature into the heart, and not a total subjecting thereof to God.

2. But, secondly, in every venial sin, there is the preferring of something before God, and therefore a manifest transgressing of the law of loving God. As to a formal and explicit preferring the creature before God, so as to account the creature a more excellent good than God is, this all those do not that live in the grossest and most mortal wickednesses, as the Papists acknowledge; for men may live even in the heinous sin of persecution, and yet think thereby they serve and set up God. But as to a virtual and interpretative preferring the creature before God, this men do in the least sin; they carrying themselves so, as if the creature were to be preferred before God; they fearing not, for the love of the creature, to offend God, and, injuriously to his justice, to break his commandments. And how may a man be said to show by his carriage more respect to the creature than to God, if not by breaking the commands of God, and contemning his will, for the creature? To shun the dint of this answer, the Papists are forced to this wretched shift; which is to answer, that he who sins venially, prefers not the creature before God, because he knows that venial sins will not dissolve that knot of love and friendship between God and him. But what a pitiful excuse is this for venial sin! since, as Baronius well observes, *(De Pec. ven.* p. 106,) they who commit venial sins, thinking these sins will not dissolve the favour of God, either think such sins are so light and slight that they deserve not the dissolution of God's favour; or they think, though they do deserve that dissolution, yet that God will deal so graciously with them, as that for such sins he will not exclude them from his favour. If they think that they do not deserve the dissolution of God's favour, they grossly err, yea, grievously sin against God, by judging their sins to be light and little, and by a bold fixing of limits to God's justice; as if God could not justly punish their sins with that penalty which he tells us they deserve. But if they think that their sins do deserve the dissolving of God's favour, and that it is merely from the grace of God that they who commit them are not excluded from it, then it follows that they, for the love of the creature offending God by these sins, prefer the creature before God and his favour: for whosoever for any creature dares do that which may justly exclude him from God's favour, doth prefer the creature before the favour of God. Nor doth their knowledge that these sins do not exclude them from the favour of God, when yet they will commit them, extenuate or excuse their contempt of God's favour, of which they are guilty; but, contrarily, it aggravates that contempt; since though they know it is by God's grace and favour that their smaller sins do not exclude them from his love and mercy, yet they abuse the clemency and goodness of God to a licentiousness in sin, which is almost the highest contempt of divine favour imaginable.

ARGUMENT III. My third argument, to prove that no sin is venial, or deserving to be pardoned, shall be drawn from *the nature of pardon.* Whence I thus argue:—

An opinion that overthrows the nature of God's pardoning of sin is impious and erroneous: But this opinion, that some sins are venial, and *deserve to be pardoned, doth thus overthrow the nature of God's pardoning of sin: Therefore this opinion is impious and erroneous.*

The major, or first proposition, is evident.

The minor, or second proposition, I prove thus:—If pardoning of sin designs an act of free grace and favour in pardoning, which God, according to strict justice, might not have done; and if the doctrine of sin's veniality and deserving to be pardoned makes pardoning an act of justice, so that God cannot but in justice do it; then the opinion of sin's veniality overthrows the doctrine of divine pardon: But the pardoning of sin designs an act of free grace and favour, which God might not have done unless he had pleased; and the doctrine of sin's veniality makes the pardoning of sin an act of justice which God cannot but do: Therefore the Popish doctrine of venial sin overthrows the doctrine of divine pardon.

The major, or first proposition, is evident, and will be granted by all.

The minor, or second, I prove thus, in both its parts:—

As to its first part: it is most manifest that pardon designs an act of free grace and favour. It is needless to multiply scriptures (which to do were most easy) in so clear a point: "Forgiveness of sin according to his grace." (Eph. i. 7.) "According to the multitude of thy tender mercies, blot out my transgressions." (Psalm li. 1.) "I obtained mercy,"* saith pardoned Paul. (1 Tim. i. 13.)

For the second part of the minor, that "the doctrine of the Papists about the veniality of sin makes the pardoning of sin an act of justice, which God cannot but do if he will do justly," is no slander cast upon the Papists in this point: I pray, let them be judged in this case by their own confessions. The council of Mentz professeth, as we heard, that they cannot understand how God should be just, if he punish any for venial sins with eternal punishment.† Sonnius (the Papist, I mean) tells us, that venial sin is *veniâ dignum*,—"Venial sin is worthy of pardon." And Bellarmine, that "they hold with a general consent, that venial sins make not a man guilty of eternal death;" and he asserts, with intolerable blasphemy, that "God should be unjust, if he punished venial sins eternally; justice requiring a forbearance to punish that offence which deserves not punishment."‡ From all which it follows, that divine pardon is so far from being an act of free grace, in the account of a Papist, that when he recites his Pater-noster, if his devotions agree with his doctrines, he may rather say, "Lord, pay us," than, "Forgive us our debts."

ARGUMENT IV. My fourth argument shall be taken from *Christ's rejecting of this pharisaical depravation of the law of God,—that some commands of the law, and some sins against those commands, are so small and slight, that God will not require a perfect fulfilling of the law as to lesser and smaller commands, nor the necessary avoiding of such sins as are against those smaller commands.*—The words of Christ are these: "Till heaven and earth pass, one jot or one tittle shall in no wise pass from the law, till all be fulfilled." (Matt. v. 18.) The Lord Christ by these words, wherein he shows it is impossible that any thing in the law, though accounted never so small, should pass from it, but all must be fulfilled with a perfect satisfaction, opposeth the Pharisees; who—taking it for granted, that there was necessarily required to righteousness and life a perfect fulfilling of the law; and yet finding that it was impossible to keep the *minutissima legis* ["the least commands of the law"]; as, to abstain from all sinful inward motions in the mind and heart, from "every idle word," &c.; to have such a perfect conformity to the law, that there should be no lusting contrary to it—coined this distinction, that some of the commands of the law were small, and some great; and though none could in those little commands against sinful motions of the heart perfectly satisfy the law, yet if he kept the great commandments of the law concerning outward acts and works of the law, he should be just before God; since those commands of little things were but little commands, and therefore would not condemn a man for transgressing of them, provided that he performed the external works commanded in those great commands. Now "Christ vehemently denies that there are any commands of the law so small and minute as that God would not much regard them; or of which, in the stablishing [of] the righteousness of the law before God, a man should give no account for the breaking of them, but God would account him righteous, whether he observed them or no. And therefore, to show the necessity of fulfilling the law in the most perfect and exact manner, Christ assures, [that] there should not pass from the law 'one jot or tittle' thereof that should not be fulfilled."[*] Not a "jot," the least letter, not a "tittle," the least point, but was so highly accounted of by God, that before they should pass away without being fulfilled, "heaven and earth should pass away." So that there was required to the fulfilling of the law, that all things in it, even to the least *apex* or "tittle," should be fulfilled. To which doctrine of Christ agrees that of Moses and Paul, (Deut. xxvii. 26; Gal. iii. 10,) who denounced a curse not only against those who continued not in the great things, but in "all things, written in the law;" and of James, who saith, "Whosoever shall keep the whole law, and yet offend in one point, he is guilty of all." (James ii. 10.) And this "one" is here to be taken for *any one:* as, Luke xv. 4: "If he have a hundred sheep, and lose one," that is, *any one:* so, Matt. x. 42: "Whosoever shall give a cup of cold water to one," that is, to *any one,* "of the least" believers, &c. So that *unum,* "one," is equivalent to *quodlibet;* as here, "*One* jot or tittle of the law," that is, "*Any one* jot or tittle of the law, shall not pass away," but must "be fulfilled."

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* *Misericordiâ donatus sum.*—BEZA. "I have been endowed with mercy."—EDIT.

† BINIUS, tom. ix. cap. 46.

‡ *Injustum est punire peccata venialia pœnâ æternâ.*—*De Amiss. Grat.* lib. i. cap. 14.

ARGUMENT V. My fifth argument is taken from *that* macula, *or "stain," or "filth," that every sin, even the least and lightest, leaves behind it.*—This stain, left behind the commission of every sin, is by several considered several ways: either as an habitual aversion from God;

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[*] *Christus fortissimè negat esse quædam mandata in lege ita minuta, quæ Deus non multùm curat; quorum etiam, quamvis non impleantur, non sit habenda ratio in statuendâ justitiâ legis coram Deo. Ut itaque perfectissimam legis impletionem necessariam esse Christus ostendat, ne unum quidem literæ apicem cadere pronuntiat, quod non sit necesse impleri.* —CHEMNITII *Harm.* cap. li. p. 337 (mihi). *Cujus præstantissima commentaria in hunc locum opto ut inspiciant lectores et perlegant.* "Whose most excellent comments upon this passage I wish my readers to peruse and read through."—EDIT.

or as an habitual disconformity to the law of God; or as the impairing of inherent grace, (the beauty of the soul,) and the weakening of its acts; or as a greater habitude and inclination to sin. In regard of some or all of these left upon the soul after the commission of any sin, it is said, that sin defiles and pollutes; (Matt. xv. 11, 18; Rev. xxii. 11;) and that every sin is a "spot," (Eph. v. 27,) and "filthiness." (2 Cor. vii. 1; James i. 21; Ezek. xxiv. 13; xxxvi. 25.) And when a man repents of sin, and hath sin pardoned to him, he is said to be "washed" and "cleansed." (1 Cor. vi. 11; 2 Cor. vii. 1; Ezek. xxxvi. 25, 33.) And because we are said to be "cleansed from all sin," (1 John i. 7,) therefore all sins, even such as Papists call "venial," leave a spot and stain upon the sinner, even as Vasquez, the Jesuit, confesseth.[*] Now since there is this stain and [which] defilement befalls us after every sin, there follows an exclusion for all sin from the kingdom of heaven, into which no unclean thing shall enter; (Rev. xxi. 27;) and that exclusion, Bellarmine tells us, is proper to mortal sins:[†] and indeed that which excludes from heaven, must needs deserve eternal death, and so be mortal. And that this exclusion is not to all, perpetual, it is not from the nature of sin, nor from the cleansing virtue of any purgatory-fire; but merely of God in Christ pardoning and purifying.

ARGUMENT VI. My sixth argument is taken from *the power of God justly to forbid the least sin under the pain of an eternal penalty.*—Now if God can justly prohibit the least sins under an eternal penalty, then may he justly punish those sins prohibited with that eternal penalty. And that God may prohibit the least sin under an eternal penalty, is evident, not only because the will of God forbidding any sin under an eternal penalty is a sufficient reason of that penalty, and makes the punishment proportionable to the demerit of the sin; but because God hath actually prohibited, under pain of eternal punishment, things in themselves lawful and indifferent; (as abstinence from several kinds of meats, blood, &c.;) and, therefore, surely he may forbid all sin under that penalty. Yea, God, in the covenant of works made with Adam, actually prohibited all sin under the penalty of eternal death; which is evident, because if God promised eternal life to Adam upon condition of perfect obedience, certainly the commission of the least sin would have made Adam liable to eternal death: for, He that performs not the condition prescribed in the covenant cannot obtain the reward; but, contrarily, deserves the punishment appointed against those who violate the covenant: But if Adam had committed the least sin, he had not performed the condition prescribed in the covenant, which was perfect obedience: Therefore he had deserved the penalty appointed against the violaters of the covenant. And if the covenant of works bound not Adam to avoid every sin for the escaping of eternal death, then it bound him (as the covenant of grace binds us) to repent of sin for the escaping of eternal death; there being no remission of any sin, or avoiding of eternal punishment for it, without repentance. But under the covenant of works there was no obligation to repentance for sin. For if there had been any obligation to repentance for sin, there must have been a promise of pardon upon repentance; but that is false, because the promise of pardon belongs only to the covenant of grace, pardon being only bestowed through Christ.

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[*] *Negari non potest hominem verè manere pollutum ex peccato veniali quod semel commisit, donec ab eo justificetur: nam qui a peccato veniali justificatur, verè dicitur ab eo emundari.*—VASQUEZ *in Primam Secundæ*, disp. cxxxix. cap. 4. "It cannot be denied that a man remains truly polluted with a venial sin which he has once committed, until he is justified from it: for he who is justified from a venial sin, is truly said to be cleansed from it."—EDIT.

[†] *De Amiss. Grat.* lib. i. cap. 5.

ARGUMENT VII. Seventhly. I argue from *the typical remission of sins in the Old Testament.*—For they were then commanded to offer sacrifices, not only for greater and more enormous offences, but for their lesser sins; (as those of infirmity and ignorance, which the Papists call and account "venial;") as is evident from Lev. iv. 2, 13, 22, &c.; and v. 17. Now those sacrifices respected that only sacrifice of Christ by which all our sins are expiated, as Christ was made a curse for us that he might deliver us from the curse. (Gal. iii. 13.) And from this, saith the learned Walæus, *invictè demonstratur,** "it is invincibly demonstrated," that every sin of itself is mortal.

ARGUMENT VIII. Eighthly. I argue from *the infinity of evil that is in every sin, to its desert of an infinite punishment.*—That every sin is an infinite evil, is most certain. I mean not, that it is infinite *intensivè,* "as to itself or bulk," as I may say; for as the sinner is but finite, so sin is a privation but of a finite rectitude; and if every sin were infinite in its intensiveness, all sins would be equal. But yet two ways sin is infinite:—1. *Objectivè,* because committed against an Infinite Majesty. 2. *Extensivè,* and in respect of its duration, because its stain and defilement last for ever, in regard of the sinner, who cannot of himself repent. In like manner there is an infinite punishment due to sin. I mean not, a punishment infinite *intensivè;* for a finite creature cannot be capable of an infinite torture; but yet an infinite punishment is due to sin two ways, as sin was said to be two ways infinite:—1. A punishment is due to sin, infinite *objectivè,* by the sinner's being deprived of that Infinite Good against whom he hath here offended, and whom he hath here neglected and despised. 2. A punishment infinite *extensivè,* in respect of its duration for ever; because the stain contracted from sin committed in this life endures for ever: and therefore the wicked, who continue for ever *fœdi,* "filthy" and "unclean," continue for ever *Dei consortio indigni,* "unworthy of ever having communion with God." *Qui nunquam desinit esse malus, nunquam desinit esse miser:* "He that never ceaseth to be evil, never ceaseth to be miserable." The most venial fault, therefore, being an infinite fault, deserves an infinite punishment. That it is an infinite fault, it is plain, because it is against the infinite majesty of the Lawgiver, and because its stain of itself, and without the mercy of God, endures for ever.

ARGUMENT IX. Ninthly. That all sins, even such as Papists call "venial sins," deserve an eternal punishment, is evident, because *the least sins of reprobates, "idle words," shall be punished with eternal punishment.*—That those least sins shall be punished eternally, is plain from Matt. xii. 36, 37: "Every idle word that men shall speak, they shall give account thereof in the day of judgment. For by thy words thou shalt be justified, and by thy words thou shalt be condemned." This condemnation here mentioned by Christ plainly imports an eternal punishment; for in the day of judgment there will be no condemnation to a temporal punishment. And that therefore the least sins deserve eternal punishment is evident; because, otherwise, the punishment which shall be inflicted for these sins would not be just and proportionable to their demerit.

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* *Synopsis purioris Theologiæ, de Pec. act.* p. (mihi) 176.

Nor can the Papists shun the force of this argument, by saying, that it is merely by accident that venial sins are punished with eternal death; not in regard of themselves, but because of the condition of the subject of these venial sins; which sins by accident in reprobates cannot be repented of, because they are joined with mortal sins that exclude grace necessary to repentance. This pitiful shift, I say, will not at all help the Papists; for these smaller sins, which they call "venial," are, of and by themselves, the cause of condemnation to an eternal punishment, as is evident from this place, Matt. xii. 36, 37; where Christ proves that an account shall be given of "every idle word," because by our "words we shall be condemned;" by which expression he manifestly shows, that those "idle words" of which he spake, though Papists count them venial, are yet of themselves a sufficient cause of condemnation to eternal punishment. And besides, if it be unjust, as Bellarmine blasphemously speaks, to punish venial sins with eternal death, because they deserve it not; and if a venial sin by its conjunction with a mortal sin in a reprobate is not made greater or deserving of a greater punishment, but retains the same nature that it had before; it will then unavoidably follow, if of itself and in its own nature it deserves not eternal punishment, that as it is in a reprobate joined with a mortal sin, it cannot deserve eternal punishment, and, by consequence, it is not punished with an eternal punishment; for if it were, God should punish sins beyond their desert.

Nor can the Papists come off, as Baronius well observes, by saying, "Though a venial sin by a conjunction with mortal sin is not made more grievous and heinous, yet it is more durable by that conjunction, as having thereby an eternal duration of that stain which follows it; because without repentance, which by a mortal sin is hindered, there is no taking away of that stain." This subterfuge, I say, is very insufficient; for the faults in reprobates, which Papists call "venial," either in themselves do or do not deserve eternal death: if they do not deserve eternal death, then they are punished beyond their desert, which is blasphemy to say; if they do deserve eternal death, then that desert of eternal death is founded in the heinousness of the faults themselves; and eternal death is inflicted, not alone for the duration of the stain of those sins, but for the demerit of the offences themselves; to which the scripture expressly agrees, which testifies, that eternal punishment in the day of judgment shall be inflicted for those "things done in the body." (2 Cor. v. 10; so, Matt. xxv. 42, 43.)

And hence it was that Scotus, Biel, Vega, and Medina,—because they saw that if venial sins were punished eternally, they should be so punished because of what they were in themselves, and in their own nature, and by the demerit of the offence,—labour to put off all, by asserting that the punishment wherewith the damned in hell are punished for venial sins is not eternal, but temporal, and that it shall at length have an end, though their punishment inflicted on them for mortal sins shall last for ever.[*] But others of their own fraternity condemn this justly for an absurd opinion, particularly their great Vasquez, the Jesuit, thus confuting it: "If," saith he, "the opinion of Scotus be true," namely, that the venial sins of reprobates shall not be punished in hell eternally, "it will follow, that we may pray for those in hell, that they may be freed from the punishment due to their venial sins; if that punishment, after they have suffered long enough, be by God to be taken off."[†]

Argument x. Lastly. I argue *from the ridiculous absurdity of the doctrine of veniality of sin, to the erroneousness of it.*—The way, say the Papists, how sins venial come to be expiated and removed is either in this life, or in the next: in this life, by "sprinkling with holy water, confession to a priest, beating the breast, whipping, saying the Lord's Prayer, crossing, eating no flesh, giving to the church," &c.;[‡] in the next life, venial sins are only expiated by the most torturing flames of purgatory, greater than any tortures here in this life,—yea, as tormenting as hell-fire, setting aside its duration, as the Papists say,—and oft to be endured many hundreds of years. I demand then, If in this life a venial sin may be expiated with a toy, as sprinkling with holy water, and crossing, or the doing that which oft is, and always should be, done with cheerfulness, as giving alms, and yet in the next world it requires so many years of torturing flames to expiate it, what is the reason of this difference of the ways of expiating venial sin, that here it may be done with a sport, and there it requires such long and inexpressible tortures in fire a thousand times hotter than any here in this world, and as grievous as the torments of hell? To this question the Papists answer: "The sinner is in the fault, who did not by so light and easy a way expiate his sin while here he lived. Here he neglected his duty; and therefore there he smarts for it." "But then I demand again, Was that neglect of doing his duty in this world a mortal sin, or was it a venial sin? If a mortal or damnable sin, it should have carried the offender to hell; if a venial sin, the difficulty again returns, Why may it not be expiated as easily as other venial sins are?"[§]

Having now produced what I judged sufficient for confirmation of this truth against the veniality of sin, I could add many allegations out of the fathers, which abundantly testify their consent with Protestants, in this point. As out of Jerome, who hath these words *in Gal.* v.: "It matters not whether a man be excluded from blessedness by one sin, or by more; since all alike exclude."[||] Out of Nazianzen: "Every sin is the death of the soul."[¶] Out of Augustine especially, beside what I have formerly mentioned in this discourse; who *(Epist. cviii.)* saith, "Our little sins, if gathered together against us, will press us down as much as one great sin. What difference is there between a shipwreck caused by one great wave, and by the water that sinks the ship which comes into it by little and little?"* The same father *(In Johan.* tract. xii.) speaks thus: "Little sins, neglected, destroy as well as great ones."†

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[*] Scotus *in Quart. Sentent.* distinct. xxi. quæst. 1.

[†] *Si vera sit sententia Scoti, sequitur posse nos orare pro iis qui sunt in inferno, ut citius solvantur a pœnâ debitâ pro his peccatis; siquidem illa tandem, postquam satis passum sit, a Deo dimittenda est.*—Vasquez *in Primam Secundæ*, disp. cxli. cap. 2.

[‡] *Confiteor, tundo, conspergor, conteror, oro,*
Signor, edo, dono: per hæc venialia pono.

[§] *At ego rursus quæro, Istud peccatum sitne mortale, an veniale? Si mortale, in purgatorium non venit; si veniale, cur non eodem jure censetur quo reliqua venialia?*—Sadeel *De verâ Peccat. Remissione*, p. (mihi) 609.

[||] *Non refert an uno quis excludatur peccato a beatitudine, an u pluribus cùm omnia similiter excludant.*—Hieronymus *in Gal.* v.

[¶] Πασα ἁμαρτια θανατος εστι ψυχης.—Nazianzenus *in Orat. funeb. in Mortem Patris.*

PART III. GENERAL APPLICATION.

But, to avoid needless prolixity, I shall but very briefly dispatch this whole discourse, with but naming the heads of those many inferences from it, which have taken me up much time elsewhere: and these inferences might be,

1. *Speculative and controversial.*
2. *Practical.*

1. *For controversial inferences:*

First. *If every sin, even venial, be damnable,* (as breaking the law, as hath been proved,) *and none can live without them,* (as Papists confess,) *it is clear then, that now none can in this life perfectly keep the law.*

Secondly. *If no sins be venial, but all mortiferous and damnable, and make us guilty of eternal death, then down falls* meritum ex condigno, "*merit by the worthiness of any works.*"—For to be guilty of death, and to deserve eternal life, cannot stand together.

Thirdly. *Purgatory is but a fable, if no sins be venial.*—Why should that fire burn, if it be not purgative? Or rather, how can it burn, if it have no fuel?

2. *The practical inferences,* which are many, I shall but name.

First. *If every sin be damnable and mortiferous, then sin is of a very heinous nature.*—There is more malignity in an idle word, and injustice against God in a vain thought, than that all the world can expiate; more weight in it than all the strength of angels are able to bear.

Secondly. *If the least sins are mortiferous, what then are the greatest?*—If a grain presseth to hell, if an atom can weigh down like a mountain, what then can a mountain do? If whispering sins speak so loud, what then do crying ones,—bloody oaths, adultery, murder, oppression?

Thirdly. *If every single sin be damnable, what then are all our sins, millions of sins, sins of all our ages, conditions, places that ever we lived in, relations?*—If all were, as St. Austin speaks, *contra nos collecta,* "gathered into one heap against us," what a heaven-reaching mountain would they make?

Fourthly. *If every sin be damnable and mortiferous, God is to be justified in the greatest temporal severities which he inflicts upon us.*—As God never punisheth so severely here but he can punish more, so he never here punisheth so severely but we deserve more and greater severities. Pains, flames, sword, pestilences, those *tonsuræ insolescentis generis humani,* "those mowings down of so many millions," are all short of damnation, deserved by sin. God is to be justified in sending such judgments as the Fire of London, and the Tempest lately in Utrecht.

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* *Peccata parva, si contra nos collecta fuerint, ita nos opprimunt sicut unum aliquod grande peccatum. Quid interest ad naufragium, utrùm uno grandi fluctu navis obruatur, an paulatim subrepens aqua navem submergat?*—AUGUSTINI *Epist. cviii.*

† *Minuta peccata, si negligantur, occidunt.*—*In Johan.* tract. xii.

Fifthly. *They who instigate others to sin, are damnable and mortiferous enemies to souls.*—They draw to an eternal punishment. Soul-murder is the greatest; and soul-murderers most resemble the devil in carriage, and shall in condemnation. How deeply dyed are those sins and sinners that are dipped in the blood of souls!

Sixthly. *It is no cowardice to fear sin.*—Of all fear, that of sin is most justifiable. It is not magnanimity, but madness, not valour, but foolhardiness, to be bold to sin. Surely, the boldness of sinners, since sin deserves eternal death, is not from want of danger, but discerning.

Seventhly. *How excusable are ministers and all Christian monitors, that warn against sin!*—They bid you take heed of damnation; to warn against which with the greatest, is the mercifullest, severity.

Eighthly. *What a madness is it to be merry in sin! to make a mock of it!*—What is this but to sport with poison, and to recreate ourselves with damnation? If here men are counted to play before us when they are sinning, it will be bitterness in the end. There is no folly so great as to be pleased with the sport that fools make us, nor are any fools like those that dance to damnation.

Ninthly. *Unconceivably great is the patience of God toward sinners, especially great ones.*—God's patience discovers itself eminently, in that he spares damnable sins, though he sees them, hates them infinitely more than we can do, is able to punish them every moment, is infinitely the sinners' superior; yea, seeks to prevent their punishment by warning, entreaties, threats, counsels; yea, puts forth daily acts of mercy and bounty toward those who sin damnably; yea, he waits, and is long-suffering, oft scores and hundreds of years, though this waiting shows (not that he will always spare, but) that we should now repent.

Tenthly. *It is our interest to be holy betimes.*—It is good that as much as may be of that which is so damnable should be prevented. Shouldest thou be converted in old age, it will be thy extreme sorrow that it was so late, though thy happiness [that] it was at all. Early repentance makes an easy death-bed, and makes joyful the last stage of our journey unto eternal joys.

Eleventhly. *No smallness of sin should occasion boldness to commit it.*

(1.) *Parvitas materiæ aggravat.*—In some cases the smallness of the inducement to sin, "the slightness of the matter of thy sin, aggravates the offence." To deny a friend a cup of water, is a greater unkindness than to deny him a thousand pounds: what, wilt thou stand with God for a trifle, and damn thy soul for a toy? Wilt thou prefer a penny before God and glory?

(2.) *Parva difficiliùs caventur.*—"Small sins are more difficultly shunned." A small bone of a fish easily gets into the throat, and it is hard to avoid it. And,

(3.) *Parva viam muniunt ad majora.*—"Small sins dispose to greater:" the wimble makes way for the auger.

(4.) *Minuta et multa sunt ut unum grande.*—"Sins many, though small, are as one great one:" a heap of sands presseth to death, as well as a sow of lead. A ship may sink by water coming in at a leak, drop by drop, as well as when overwhelmed with a great wave, as Austin speaks.

Twelfthly. *I note the great reason why Christ should be dear to us.*—Thou canst not be without him, no, not for thy little, thy least sins, and those of daily incursion. O that this doctrine might make you and me prize Christ more, as long as we live! Because the best cannot live without small sins, neither can they live without a great Saviour. None of us can live without these smaller sins, as the very Papists grant; but O that we may take a wiser course to get pardon of them than they do, by our looking upon God's pity through Christ's blood as our only purgatory! The Pharisees of old saw that we could not live without breaking the law in smaller things, as we have shown before; but let us more study than they did God's design in giving a law which fallen man is not able to keep. The apostle tells us God's design herein: He aimed at Christ, (Rom. x. 4,) who was intended by God as his end in giving such a law which fallen man could not keep; namely, that sinners might seek after his righteousness, by seeing their own inability to keep it. How much do we want Christ at every turn, for our smallest inadvertencies, impertinent, wandering thoughts, in the adjacent defects and defilements of our holy things! Lord, I want thy blood as often as I fetch my breath!

Lastly. *I infer the happiness of believers under the covenant of grace.*—*Ex rigore legis* ["According to the rigour of the law"] the least sins damn, and none of us but every day and in every duty commit them. But here is the comfort,—we are delivered through Christ from that damnation which we deserve for all those unavoidable defects and evils that attend the best in their best observing [of] the law of God; we being loosed under the covenant of grace from that rigid exaction of the law which suffers no sin to go without eternal punishment, and delivered by Christ from the necessity of a perfect and exact fulfilling [of] the law of God under pain of damnation. It is true, the law still commands even believers' perfect obedience; and it is a sin in believers under the covenant of grace, that they do not obey the law of God to the utmost perfection thereof. But here is our happiness, that Christ hath obtained that the imperfection of our obedience shall not damn us; but that our imperfect obedience to the law shall through him be accepted. If indeed there were only the law and no Christ, no obedience but that which is absolutely perfect could be entertained by God; but now, though by the law perfect obedience be required, yet by grace imperfect (if sincere) obedience is accepted. For under the covenant of grace, strictly and precisely, under pain of damnation, we are only obliged to that measure of obedience which is possible by the help of grace; and hence it is that Christ's yoke is called "easy;" (Matt. xi. 30;) which cannot be understood of the law in its rigour, but as mitigated by the covenant of grace: that yoke would not be easy, but intolerable, if it propounded no hope of salvation but under that impossible condition of perfect obedience to the law. And "His commands are not grievous;" (1 John v. 3;) but so they would be, if their exactions were rigorous in requiring perfect obedience, under pain of damnation, of us that cannot perform it. But for ever blessed be God, that though our best obedience be imperfect, yet the perfect obedience of Christ imputed to us supplies the defect of ours; yea, that our imperfect obedience doth not only not damn us, (though the imperfection thereof deserves damnation according to the rigour of the law,) but that it is ordained to be the way to our salvation: I mean, not its imperfection, but it, notwithstanding its imperfection.

Reader, if thou art a believer, till thy love to Jesus Christ prompts thee to a more suitable ejaculation, accept of this for a conclusion of this whole discourse:—

"A saving eternity, Father of mercy, will be short enough to praise thee for Him who hath delivered us from those many millions of sins, the least whereof deserve a damning eternity. Dear Lord Jesus, who hast saved us from the least sin that ever we had or did, help us to serve thee with the greatest love that our souls can either admit or express. And as, through grace, the guilt of the least sin shall not lie upon us, so neither let the love of the least sin lodge within us. Thou who hast made our justification perfect, daily perfect what our sanctification wants. And never, Lord, let us put limits to our thankful returns for those satisfying sufferings of thine, that knew no bounds, no measure."

SERMON XIII. (XI.)

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THE GOOD WORKS OF BELIEVERS ARE NOT MERITORIOUS OF ETERNAL SALVATION.

WHETHER THE GOOD WORKS OF BELIEVERS BE MERITORIOUS OF ETERNAL SALVATION.—NEGATUM EST.*

Also unto thee, O Lord, belongeth mercy: for thou renderest to every man according to his work.—Psalm lxii. 12.

THERE is scarcely any sin more natural to us than pride, and no pride worse than spiritual pride. It was the condemnation of the devil. And spiritual pride shows itself most of all in those high and overweening thoughts [that] we are apt to have of our own worth and excellency. Though when we have done evil we are filled with guilt, yet, if we but think [that] we have done well, we are tickled with conceit: one while we are conscious [that] we have offended God, another while we are ready to believe [that] we have obliged him. We can scarcely be enlarged in a duty, pray with any life or warmth, hear with attention and affection, but we are ready to take our Lord's words out of his mouth, and greet ourselves with a "Well done, good and faithful servant." (Matt. xxv. 23.) And that too not only as if the work were wholly our own, but as if we had deserved something by it.

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* "The proposition is denied."—EDIT.

We commonly contend with the Papists about the antiquity of our religion; they bear us in hand that theirs is the more ancient. For my part, I readily grant it in this sense,—that Popery, as to several of the chief points of it, is plainly the religion of corrupt nature; and nature hath the start of grace in the best of us. Men are generally born with a pope in their bellies; and they can never be eased of him, till some powerful conviction of the insufficiency of their own righteousness, and the impossibility of meriting salvation by it, like strong physic, make them disgorge themselves, and bring him up. And if the doctrine of merits be in the Papists only their faith, yet it is in carnal Protestants their nature, and in saints themselves may sometimes be their temptation.* And therefore, Christians, though my present business lie mainly with them of the Romish religion, yet do not you look upon yourselves as altogether unconcerned; but remember, that the same arguments which conclude directly against the pope without you, may at the same time be levelled against the pope within you. And the truth of it is, that acquaintance with yourselves and the constitution of your own souls is the best way to establish you against the most dangerous errors of Popery; and the better you can deal with that little young Antichrist in your hearts, the better you will be able to defend yourselves against that great old one at Rome. And that I may help you so to do, as God shall enable me, I have chosen this text; which I the rather fix upon, because I find it in the head of a whole squadron of scriptures, pressed by Bellarmine into the pope's service. His Holiness's commission, you know, can compel any scripture to maintain the Catholic cause, though against its own consent. I shall endeavour, in the progress of my discourse, to rescue both this and others from the injury of an involuntary warfare, in which they are forced to fight against that truth which God commissioned them to defend.

If we look into the body of this psalm, we shall find the royal penman of it once and again declaring and professing his faith and confidence in God, and him only, (Psalm lxii. 1, 2, 5—7,) in despite of all his enemies' opposition against him; over whose power he doth triumphantly insult, (verse 3,) as well as tax their malice; (verse 4;) and persuades others to the like fixing [of] their faith on God; (verse 8;) labouring to take them off from their false and ill-grounded confidences, whether in persons or things, either as wicked or vain; (verses 9, 10;) and then lays down the reasons and grounds of the boldness of his faith,—God's power, (verse 11,) and his mercy: (verse 12:) one showing his sufficiency and ability to overtop all those enemies, and effectually to save; the other, his readiness so to do for all that do thus trust in him, and wait for him. The latter of these, God's mercy, he sets forth by a most eminent instance of it,—that most glorious retribution he makes to those that do believe and obey him: "Also unto thee, O Lord, belongeth mercy: for thou renderest to every man according to his work."

And so the words do both assert that great attribute of mercy in God, and prove it; the one in the former part of the verse: "To thee, O

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* The most violent assault [that] Mr. Knox ever had from Satan was at his dying hour, when he was tempted to think, that, by his faithfulness in his ministry, he had merited heaven itself.—*Vide* MELCHIOREM ADAMUM *in Vitâ Knoxi*,

Lord, belongeth mercy;" the other in the latter: "For thou renderest to every man according to his work." The great day of recompensing men according to what they have done in the flesh, will be the most ample proof, and illustrious manifestation, not only of the righteous but merciful nature of God.

Inquire we here what is meant by "*work*," and what by *rewarding men according to it.*

1. By "*work*" we are not to understand barely one individual work; but (the singular number being put for the plural) a plurality or complection of works of the same kind, which, all together, make up one integral work. All the particular actions [that] men do of the same kind are but parts of the great work [which] they are doing, either for God or the devil; and so are all included in it. And the miscarriages of God's children are so many haltings in their course, so many bunglings in their work; which are blemishes in it, though not absolute interruptions of it.

But if it be farther inquired, "What kind of work or works is here intended?" I answer: Good ones, especially: for in the rewarding of them it is that God's goodness and mercy so greatly appear; when it is plainly enough his justice that is manifested in the recompensing of evil ones. Or we may thus paraphrase the words: "To thee, O Lord, belongeth mercy, in that thou renderest to every man according to his work: not only evil to them that do evil, and have deserved it; but good to them that do good, though they cannot challenge it."

2. By *rewarding men according to their works,* (briefly, because I shall meet with it again,) I understand God's recompensing men according to the nature, or kind, or quality of their works: such as their works have been, such shall be their reward: "Who will render to every man according to his deeds: to them who by patient continuance in well doing seek for glory and honour and immortality, eternal life: but unto them that are contentious, and do not obey the truth, but obey unrighteousness, indignation and wrath, tribulation and anguish, upon every soul of man that doeth evil." (Rom. ii. 6—9.) And so the proportion is between the kind of work, and the kind of reward: where the work was good, the reward shall be suitable; and where the work was evil, the reward will be answerable: * natural good the reward of moral [good], as natural evil the reward of moral evil. If it be well with the righteous and ill with the wicked, who can say but the reward is according to their works, though the righteous man's reward be a thousand times greater than his work? (Isai. iii. 10, 11.) "Here is therefore a likeness of quality between the work and the reward, but not a proportion of equality." †

DOCTRINE. The truth then [which] we infer from the words thus explained is this: *that the reward of good works is not deserved by them that receive it:* or, *that the best of men, by their best works, do not merit the reward that God gives them.*

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* *Quia tu reddis unicuique juxta opera sua; bona bonis, mala malis: damnas peccatores, remuneras justos.*—HIERONYMUS *in Psal. lxii. qui apud illum est lxi.* "Because thou renderest unto every man according to his works; good to the good, evil to the evil: thou damnest sinners; thou rewardest the just."—EDIT.

† *Est igitur inter opera et præmia similitudo qualitatis, non proportio æqualitatis.*—DAVENANTIUS *De Justitiâ actuali*, cap. 60.

If the consequence of this doctrine from the text be questioned, it may thus be proved: That which is merely out of the mercy of the rewarder cannot be for the merit of the worker: "And if it be by grace, then is it no more of works: otherwise grace is no more grace. But if it be of works, then is it no more of grace: otherwise work is no more work:" (Rom. xi. 6:) But the Psalmist here affirms, that the reward of good works is out of the mercy of the Rewarder: And therefore it follows, that it is not for the merit of the worker. And so I come to the business in hand, to show you that good works do not merit eternal life, that being the reward spoken of by the penman of this psalm. Here we must,

I. *Explain the terms of the question.*
II. *Give you the state of it.*
III. *Confirm the truth.*
IV. *Take off objections.*
V. *Make application.*

EXPLICATION OF THE TERMS.

I. *For explication of the terms*, it would be inquired into,

1. What is meant by *good works?*

ANSWER. Not to wrong our adversaries, they themselves do generally understand, such good works as are wrought by them that are furnished with truth of grace, or a supernatural principle suited to and productive of supernatural actions; such good works as are the vital actions of the new man, the motions of that "divine nature" whereof believers are made "partakers." (2 Peter i. 4.) And, indeed, those works which proceed not from such a principle, can be but equivocally called "good," as not partaking of the nature of that which is truly, that is, supernaturally, good.* And of those only we are here to speak, and not of any such as are antecedent to the first grace, or conversion of the heart to God. But when we speak of these good works, we mean not only those of the second table, works of justice, charity, bounty, though the Papists like them best, at least when done to themselves; (they must needs be eminently good, which bring-in good money to the popes' coffers, and good cheer to the priests' bellies;) but we take them more largely and comprehensively for the duties of both tables; and those too not only external, or such as are performed by the outward man; but likewise for the inward actings of this supernatural principle which yet proceed no farther than the heart: † such as the inward workings of love, thankfulness, hope, joy, humility, patience, &c.; and, in a word, all that good fruit of all kinds which grows upon this good root.

2. What we are to understand by *meriting*.—What is the original signification of the words *mereri* and *meritum*, I shall not stand to inquire; but that which is most in use in our present age, and which the Papists, for the advantage of their cause, make most use of, is expressed in English by "deserving" and "desert." But if we look back to

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* Bellarmine requires to a meritorious work, that it proceed from one who is *amicus et gratus Deo*, [" a friend of God and pleasing to Him,"] and then *ex charitatis virtute* ["from the virtue of charity"].—*De Justificatione*, lib. v. cap. 10.

† This principle always accompanies faith, "without which no works are to be called 'good.'" *Et si bona videatur facere, tamen quia sine fide facit, nec bona sunt vocanda.*—AUGUSTINUS *in Psalmum xxxi.*

former times, we shall find these words taken in a far different sense by the ancient fathers, (to say nothing of heathen writers,) than by modern Papists. The fathers commonly take *mereri*, "to merit," for the same as *consequi*, *obtinere*, "to obtain," or "gain;" and *meritum*, "merit," for any good work which, according to God's appointment, is rewardable with eternal life; though in the other and more strict acceptation of the word it be no merit, as not being truly worthy of the reward: and so to merit eternal life is, in their sense, no more than to do those things which are the way wherein eternal life is to be obtained. And this is evident in that they apply the word "merit" to those actions in which any real desert or proper worthiness of the reward can never be rationally imagined. Thus Augustine frequently: one while he tells us that "the worshippers of devils are said to merit certain temporal comforts." Elsewhere, that "the Virgin Mary merited to conceive and bring forth Christ." And again, that "Paul, by so many persecutions and blasphemies, merited to be called 'a chosen vessel.'" And yet again, that "the people of Israel had a stiff neck; for that they merited to be delivered from their bondage by so many miracles."[*] And I find a passage cited of Austin which, if merit be taken in the present Popish notion, all the world cannot reconcile to sense: *Nullis præcedentibus meritis per gratiam Dei meruimus templa Dei fieri*: "By no antecedent merits, we by the grace of God merited to become the temples of God." And can a man merit without merits? deserve without deserts? If he have no merits, properly so called, he cannot properly merit to become the temple of God: but without merits he may obtain this favour of God. And yet more strange is that expression, whoever is the author of it, which some tell us is still sung in the Roman rituals, where, speaking of Adam's sin, it is said to be *felix culpa quæ tantum meruit habere Redemptorem*, "a happy transgression which merited so great a Redeemer."[†] And will any believe that Adam's sin deserved so well at God's hands? Was Christ's coming into the world to redeem sinners the reward of sin, or the remedy against it? And yet the reward of it it must be, if the word "meriting" be taken in its proper sense.

The same way the word is taken by others of the fathers. "If they," (that is, the Israelites,) saith Ambrose, "did not merit to come into the land, because they murmured against God; how shall we merit to come into heaven, when we live so like the Heathen?"[‡] And Cyprian, speaking of Dorcas being raised from the dead: "She," saith he, "who ministered help to the afflicted widows, that they might live, merited to be called back to life at the prayers of widows."[§] In the same catachrestical way we sometimes find the word used in the Vulgar translation. In Joshua xi. 20, we read it, "That they might find no favour;" the Vulgar hath it, *Et non mererentur ullam clementiam,* "That they might not merit any mercy." And, Gen. iv. 13, "My punishment is greater than I can bear," our margin reads it, "Mine iniquity is greater than that it may be forgiven;" but the Vulgar, *Major est iniquitas mea quàm ut veniam merear,* "Mine iniquity is greater than that I should merit forgiveness." What can "meriting" in these places signify, but "obtaining?" a signification very far differing from that in which the Papists now take it. *Usus* is *norma loquendi;* "words are to be taken as they are used:" and who knows not that words have their modes and fashions, as well as men's habits and manners? And so those which are in fashion in one age are quite out in another, or taken quite in a different sense: and sometimes the metaphorical signification of a word may be more in use than the proper; and we shall make strange confusion in the nature of things, if those words which properly signify those things be always taken in their proper sense. I insist the more on this, because it is all the answer I intend to the testimonies of the fathers, which the Papists think to run us down with.

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[*] *Cultores dæmonum dicuntur mereri temporalia quædam solatia.—De Civitate Dei*, lib. v. cap. 24. *Maria concipere et parere meruit eum, quem constat nullum habuisse peccatum.—De Naturâ et Gratiâ*, cap. 36. *Qui (de Paulo loquitur) pro tot persecutionibus et blasphemiis, vas electionis meruit nominari.—De Prædest. et Grat.* cap. 16; *et paulò ante: Dura cervix in illo populo qui ex omni mundo electus est, qui de servitute decem miraculis meruit liberari.*

[†] CHAMIERUS *et* RIVETI *Orthod. Cathol.*

[‡] *Si illi terram intrare non meruerunt, quia murmurati sunt contra Deum; quomodo nos cœlum merebimur intrare, indifferenter viventes, sicut Gentes?*—AMBROSIUS *in Hebr. iv.*

[§] *Quæ laborantibus viduis largita fuerat subsidia vivendi, meruit ad vitam petitione viduarum revocari.*—CYPRIANUS *De Opere et Eleemosynis.*

But, to pass from the word to the thing: if we inquire into the pedigree of this darling doctrine of the Papists, we may easily derive it (to look no higher) from their great-grandfathers, the pharisaical Jews, from whom they have received a great part of their religion. The Pharisees were for infallibility, and a magisterial, imposing spirit in matters of conscience, before the pope was born; and the rabbins were for tradition before there were any Papists in the world. And as for merits, Camero cites a passage out of Maimonides, where he says, that "every man hath his sins, and every man his merits: and he that hath more merits than sins is a just man; but he that hath more sins than merits is a wicked man."[*] And that learned author, as well as others,[†] is of opinion, that the apostle James hath an eye to this error of the Pharisees, when he says, that "whoever shall keep the whole law, and yet offend in one point, he is guilty of all." (James ii. 10.)

Others tell us of seven sorts or degrees of Pharisees among the Jews; one of which had its name from their professing to do all still that was required of them, or asking, Was any more yet to be done?[‡] like the young man in Matt. xix. 20: "All these things have I kept from my youth up: what lack I yet?" And, indeed, we need go no farther than our Saviour's frequent reflections upon them, and the apostle's smart disputations against them in the point of justification. (Luke xviii. 9; xvi. 15; Rom. x. 3.) But from whence soever the Papists have received this doctrine of merits, thus they manage it. Merit, they say, is twofold: one out of congruity, the other out of condignity. The former is a work to which the reward is not due out of justice, but out of some kind of decency, or congruity; or, as some of them speak, out of the liberality of the person who accepts the work: so that though the work do not really merit the reward, and is not proportioned to it, yet there is some kind of meetness or congruity that it should be rewarded. This kind of merit some of them contend to be found in men while in their natural state, in relation to that grace which is afterward bestowed on them, or wrought in them.* But others of themselves do as stiffly oppose it; and maintain that sinners cannot even in this way merit the first grace, nor the pardon of their sins; and that believers, when fallen from grace, (as they suppose they may,) cannot merit their own recovery. But this is not the merit we are to speak of. The other is that which is out of condignity, which Durand distinguisheth into two kinds:† one taken more largely for a work of that dignity or goodness which is, according to God's appointment, required in it, that it may be rewardable with eternal life; and that is no more really than the graciousness or supernatural goodness of the action, as proceeding from a supernatural principle, and ordered to a supernatural end; which, we acknowledge, must be in every good work which is capable of a supernatural reward, and is to be found in every truly gracious action. But there is a merit out of condignity in a more strict sense, which is defined to be "a voluntary action, for which a reward is due to a man out of justice, so that it cannot be denied him without injustice."‡ Others define it much after the same manner; namely, such an action as hath an equality of dignity or worth in relation to the reward, which is therefore due to it out of justice. And this is the merit we are to speak of, to say nothing of that third kind [which] some add,—*meritum ex pacto*, "merit upon supposition of a promise;" as when a reward is promised to a man if he do some work which yet bears no proportion to that reward, and for which antecedently to the promise he could not challenge any; but, such a promise being made, he may, and consequently, say they, may be said to, merit.

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[*] צל נה תורהשב.—*Vide* BUXTORFII *Synagog. Jud.; et* PETRUM GALESINIUM, lib. i. cap. 1; CAMERONEM *in Matth. xix.* 3, oper. 170.

[†] BRUGENSIS *apud* DRUSIUM.

[‡] מה חובתי פרוש *Pharisæus qui dicit, Quid debeo facere? et faciam illud. Quasi dixerat, Quid fieri oportet quod nón feci?*—DRUSIUS *De tribus Sect. Jud.* lib. ii. cap. 22; *et* HOTTINGERI *Thesaurus,* lib. i. cap. 1. "A Pharisee is one that says, 'What ought I to do? and I will do it.' As if he should say, 'What ought I to do, that I have not done?'"—EDIT.

THE STATE OF THE QUESTION.

II. The question then is, between us and the Papists, *whether the good works of believers, such as God doth reward in the future life, do truly and properly deserve that reward, so that it is due out of justice, and God should be unrighteous if he should deny or refuse it.*

The modern Papists generally affirm it. The council of Trent so lays down the judgment of the present church of Rome, as to assert that good works do truly merit eternal life; and anathematize any that shall say the contrary.§

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* DIEGO ALVAREZ *De Auxil.* disp. 59; FRANCISCUS CUMELIUS in 1, 2, et 1 *Thom.* disp. v. lect. 3.

† *In Sentent.* lib. ii. dist. xxvii. quæst. 2.

‡ *Est actio voluntaria, propter quam debetur alicui merces ex justitiâ; sic ut, si non reddatur, ille ad quem pertinet reddere, injustè facit, et est simpliciter ac propriè injustus.*—DURANDUS *ibid.*

§ *Cùm enim ille ipse Jesus Christus, tanquam caput in membra, et tanquam vites in palmites, in ipsos justificatos jugiter virtutem influet; quæ virtus bona ipsorum opera semper antecedit, comitatur, et subsequitur, et sine quâ nullo pacto Deo grata et meritoria esse possent; nihil amplius ipsis justificatis deesse credendum est, quò minùs plenè, illis quidem operibus quæ in Deo facta sunt, divinæ legi, pro hujus vitæ statu, satisfecisse, et vitam æternam, suo etiam tempore, si tamen in gratiâ decesserint, consequendam,* verè promeruisse, *censeantur.*—Sess. vi. cap. 16. "Since Jesus Christ himself continually inspires a certain virtue or power into those who are justified, as the head into the members, and vines into their branches; which virtue always precedes, accompanies, and follows their good works, and without which

And though those cunning fathers speak somewhat darkly, and so involve things, blending truth with error, as if they designed to make younger brothers of all the world beside; yet the great interpreter of council speaks more honestly, that is, more broadly; and plainly tells us, that "eternal blessedness is no less due to the good works of good men, than eternal torments are to the evil works of wicked men;" and that "eternal life is so the recompence of good works, that it is not so much given of God freely, and out of liberality, as it is out of debt;" and that "the nature of merit and grace not being consistent, the reward is to be reckoned, not as of grace, but of debt."[*] Now, well fare Andradius, for a plain-dealing enemy. It is a commendable quality in any; but a rare one in a Papist. The man saves us the labour of guessing at the council's meaning. Had all spoken out like him, we should more easily have understood them, and fewer would have been deluded by them. And yet, not to wrong any, other modern Jesuits are no less rigid in the point than this author: nay, who among the Papists do not assert the worthiness of good works, in relation to the reward? though they are not yet agreed from whence that worthiness should arise. Some say, as Bellarmine tells us, from the promise of God, engaging to reward them:[†] but these are few, and too modest; and, indeed, half heretics for their pains. Others say, from the intrinsic worth and excellency of the works themselves, setting aside the consideration of the promise. These are the impudent children of holy church, fit sons for such a mother. And yet the cardinal himself comes little behind them, if at all: he is of opinion, that "the good works of righteous men are worthy of eternal glory, partly by reason of their own proper goodness, and partly by virtue of God's promise; yet not so, neither," (for he is afraid of speaking too diminutively of good works,) "as if, without God's covenanting with the worker and acceptance of the work, it did not itself bear an answerable proportion to eternal life; but (only) because, setting aside the promise, God is not obliged to accept a good work to eternal life, though it be equal to it."[‡] To these we may add others, who say

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they could by no means be pleasing to God and meritorious: it is to be believed that nothing further is required by justified persons in order to their being accounted fully to have satisfied the divine law, with regard to the state of this life, by those works indeed which have been done in God; and to have *truly merited* eternal life, to be obtained also in due time, if indeed they depart in the faith."—EDIT. *Si quis dixerit, hominis justificati bona opera ita esse dona Dei ut non sint etiam bona ipsius justificati merita, aut ipsum justificatum, bonis operibus, &c., non verè mereri augmentum gratiæ, vitam æternam, &c.; anathema sit.*—Can. 32. "If any one shall assert, that the good works of a justified man are so the gifts of God, as that they are not also the good deserts of him that is justified; or that the justified person does not by his good works truly merit an increase of grace, life eternal, &c.; let him be accursed."—EDIT.

[*] ANDRADIUS *apud* CHEMNITIUM.

[†] *Ratio meriti completè est ex ordinatione voluntatis divinæ illius actûs ad præmium.*—SCOTUS *in Sentent.* cap. i. dist. 17. "The reckoning of merit is wholly from the appointment, by the divine will, of that action to reward."—EDIT. *Et paulò post: Actu voluntatis suæ, (Deus,) ordinando ipsum (actum humanum) ad præmium, voluit ipsum esse meritum, qui, secundùm se consideratus absque tali acceptatione divinâ, secundùm strictam justitiam non fuisset dignus tali præmio.* "God, having, by an act of his own will, ordained a human action to reward, willed that it should be meritorious, which, considered by itself without such divine acceptation, according to strict justice would not have been deserving of such reward."—EDIT.

[‡] *Opera justorum sunt meritoria vitæ æternæ de condigno ratione pacti et operis simul: non quidem quòd sine pacto vel acceptatione non habeat opus bonum proportionem ad vitam æternam; sed quia non tenetur Deus acceptare ad illam mercedem opus bonum, quàmvis par et æquale mercedi, nisi conventio intercedat.*—BELLAR. *De Justif.* lib. v. cap. 17.

[that] works are worthy of eternal life, as they are *tincta sanguine Christi,* "dipped in Christ's blood," dignified and commended by his merits, from which they receive virtue and power to be themselves meritorious.[*] And so our business is to show that good works do not on any account, either of themselves and their own internal excellency, or of God's promise or Christ's merits, deserve eternal life.

THE TRUTH CONFIRMED.

III. And so we come to *confirm the truth.*

ARGUMENT I. *Good works are rewarded merely out of God's mercy and grace; and therefore not out of man's merit.*—What more opposite than mercy and merit?[†] "Not by works of righteousness which we have done, but according to his mercy he saved us." (Titus iii. 5.) What a man doth really deserve by his works, cannot be said to be given him out of mere mercy and grace. But it is from thence only that the best works of God's children are ever rewarded with eternal blessedness. Thus the text: "To thee, O Lord, belongeth mercy: for thou renderest to every man according to his work." Were not God infinite in mercy, the best saint upon earth would fall short of a reward in heaven: "Looking for the mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ unto eternal life." (Jude 21.) "Hope to the end for the grace that is to be brought unto you at the revelation of Jesus Christ." (1 Peter i. 13.) And Paul prays for Onesiphorus, "That he might find mercy of the Lord in that day," the great day of retribution.[‡] (2 Tim. i. 18.) The reward, then, that these saints expected, and would have others look for, is one given them out of mercy.

Men never need mercy more than when they come before God's tribunal; and even there, when they look for the reward of their good works, they must expect it from the mercy of the Judge. So Nehemiah did; who, after making mention of some of his good works, and praying that God would remember him for them, (Neh. xiii. 14,)—he farther prays that God would "spare him according to the greatness of his mercy." (Verse 22.) Now when is it that Nehemiah desires to be spared, but then when he expects his works should be rewarded? God's sparing extends even to his judging. God's "remembering him for good," (verse 31,) his not "wiping out his good deeds," and his "sparing him," all proceed from the same mercy of God.

EXCEPTION. "But eternal life," say the Papists, "is ascribed to God's mercy: not that it is not truly and properly the reward of man's merits; but that those merits themselves are the fruits of God's mercy."

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[*] *Vide Catech. Rom.* p. 412.

[†] *Inter mercedem et meritum est quidam respectus mutuus, &c.: utraque autem habet quandam oppositionem ad gratiam sive donum gratuitum.*—JANSENIUS YPRENSIS *De Grat. primi Hominis,* cap. 16. "Between reward and merit there is a certain mutual relation: but both have some kind of opposition to grace or gratuitous gift."—EDIT.

[‡] *Ει δε Ονησιφορος ὁ κινδυνοις ἑαυτον ϖαραβαλλων δια Χριστον απο ελεου σωζηται, ϖολλῳ μαλλον ἡμεις. Ει μη ελεῳ και φιλανθρωπιᾳ ελθοι κριναι, αλλ' ακριβη ϖοιησασθαι την εξετασιν, ϖαντας ὑπευθυνους εὑρησει ϖαντως.*—CHRYSOSTOMUS *in Psalmum cxxx.* "If Onesiphorus, exposing himself to danger for Christ's sake, be saved by *mercy*, much more must we be so saved. If Christ come not to judge in mercy and benignant philanthropy, but to make a severe scrutiny, he will find us all entirely culpable."—EDIT.

ANSWER. To which we may easily reply, that if God do out of his mercy save us, and out of mercy remember us for good, and reward us according to our work; then it is clear that he doth not only enable us out of his mercy to do those good works which tend to salvation. It is one thing for a man to be saved; another thing to be put into a way of salvation, by being enabled to work for it: as it is one thing to crown a man for conquering; and another to give him weapons, and teach him to fight. God could not be truly said to save any man, if he only gave him grace to work in order to it; nor to "save him out of mercy, if for all that mercy he must still be saved by his merits, and without them might fall short of salvation." *

ARGUMENT II. *Eternal life is the gift of God; and therefore is not deserved by our good works.*—"It is your Father's good pleasure," ευδοκησε, "to give you the kingdom." (Luke xii. 32.) "The wages of sin is death; but the gift of God is eternal life." (Rom. vi. 23.) That therefore eternal life is a gift, none can deny that will not deny the plain words of scripture; and that then it will follow, that good works do not deserve it, will appear by the opposition that there is between a free gift and a due reward: that which is of grace is not of debt, and that which is of debt is not of grace. (Rom. xi. 6.) What I owe, I cannot be said properly to give; and what I properly give, I cannot be said to owe. So that if God properly gives eternal life, he cannot be said to owe it; and if he do not owe it, I am sure we do not deserve it. So much we see in the apostle's antithesis, "The wages of sin is death." Death is truly and properly the wages of sin, as being deserved by us; and it is justice in God to give us our desert. But he doth not say, Eternal life is the *wages* of our righteousness or works, but "the *gift* of God;" as being free, and altogether undeserved by us.† Οψωνια, *stipendium;* he alludes to "the pay" that was given to soldiers in the wars, and for which they had served: "Be content with your wages," Αρκεισθε τοις οψωνιοις ὑμων. (Luke iii. 14.) But eternal life he calls χαρισμα, "the free gift of God," such an one as is given εκ χαριτος, "out of grace;" ‡ as soldiers sometimes were wont to have gifts, *donativa*, "largesses," given them, over and above their pay; as we know was the frequent practice of the Roman emperors to do; unto which it is not unlikely that our apostle may allude in the latter part of the verse, as well as he plainly enough doth to their pay in the former. "The apostle doth not say, 'Eternal life is your wages,'" says Theophylact; "but, 'God's gift:' for you receive not the compensation and remuneration of your labours; but all these things come by grace through Jesus Christ."[*]

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* *Neque servatus (est) ex misericordiâ, cui tam sint post eam misericordiam necessaria merita, ut possit illa absque his fieri irrita.*—CHAMIERI *Panstratia*, lib. xiv. cap. 14, tom. iii.

† *Stipendium peccati mors. Rectè stipendium, quia debetur, quia dignè retribuitur, quia meritò redditur. Deinde, nè justitia humana de humano se extolleret bono merito, &c., non e contrario retulit, Stipendium justitiæ vita æterna; sed, Dei gratia vita æterna.*—AUGUSTINUS *Contra Pelagian.* epist. cv. "'The wages of sin is death.' It is rightly called 'wages,' because it is due, because it is deservedly paid, because it is rendered according to merit. Then, lest human justice should boast itself of human good deserts, the apostle has not set in opposition to the former phrase, 'The wages of justice is eternal life;' but, 'The gift of God is eternal life.'"—EDIT. *Maluit dicere, Gratia Dei vita æterna, ut intelligeremus, non pro meritis nostris Deum nos ad vitam æternam, sed pro suâ miseratione, perducere.*—Idem, *De Grat. et lib. Arbit.* "The apostle preferred saying, 'The gift of God is eternal life,' that we might understand that God does not bring us to eternal life for the sake of our merits, but on account of his own compassion."—EDIT.

‡ "When they had nothing to pay," εχαρισατο, "he frankly forgave them both." (Luke vii. 42.)

ARGUMENT III. *Eternal life is given to believers by way of inheritance; and therefore not by way of merit.*—"Which is the earnest of our inheritance." (Eph. i. 14.) "If children, then heirs, heirs of God, and joint-heirs with Christ." (Rom. viii. 17.) "Who shall be heirs of salvation." (Heb. i. 14.) This none can deny. And that it follows, that if they be heirs of glory, they have it not by the merit of their works, we see by Titus iii. 5, 7: "Not by works of righteousness which we have done, but according to his mercy he saved us; that being justified by his grace, we should be made heirs according to the hope of eternal life." And, Gal. iii. 18: "If the inheritance be of the law, it is no more of promise; but God gave it to Abraham by promise." To have eternal life by the law and by works, is opposed to our having it by promise and by inheritance. And this may be farther confirmed; for if a believer merit his inheritance, then either he doth it by works done before his adoption; which Papists themselves will not say, who acknowledge eternal life not to be the wages of servants, but the portion of children; and that merits cannot be in any who are not reconciled to God, and accepted of him. Or else it must be by works done after a man is adopted. But that cannot be neither; because whoever merits, doth thereby acquire a right to something to which he had none before; whereas every believer hath a right to the heavenly inheritance by his very adoption, and before those good works be wrought whereby it is pretended he merits it. "If children, then heirs," &c. (Rom. viii. 17.)

EXCEPTION. "But," say the Papists, "believers have a right to heaven by their adoption; yet must merit the actual possession of it."

ANSWER. It is subtilly distinguished; as if an adopted person had not a title to the possession of the inheritance the very first moment he is adopted; or as if a man might have a right to heaven, and yet not have a right to the possession of it. We acknowledge that obedience is required in a son before he come to possess his inheritance; yet that obedience, though antecedent to his possessing that inheritance, is only the way in which he is to come to it, and the means whereby he is to be fitted for it; but is not meritorious of it. There is no right to the inheritance acquired by his obedience which before he had not; though farther fitness for, and suitableness to, it there may be. The Israelites were to fight, and subdue their enemies, ere they possessed the promised land; but their right to the possession of it they had before by the promise. And who can say that they were worthy of it merely because they fought for it?

ARGUMENT IV. *Believers owe all to God; and therefore can merit nothing of him.*—They owe all to God, both as being *his servants,* to whom they are bound; and *his beneficiaries,* who have received all from him.

1. *They are his servants.*—"When ye shall have done all those things which are commanded you, say, We are unprofitable servants." (Luke xvii. 10.) "Ye are not your own; for ye are bought with a price."

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[*] *Ουκ ειπεν, 'Η αντιμισθια ἡ ϖαρα του Θεου, αλλα, Το χαρισμα· ου γαρ αμοιϐην και αντιδοσιν ϖονων ελαϐετε, αλλα χαριτι ταυτα ϖαντα εγενετο εν Χριστῳ Ιησου.—In Rom. vi.*

(1 Cor. vi. 19, 20.) What that price is, Peter tells us: "Ye were not redeemed with corruptible things, as silver and gold; but with the precious blood of Christ," &c. (1 Peter i. 18, 19.) All the creatures are his servants, because made and employed and maintained by him; but believers are more especially his servants, because they are redeemed by him, too, from being servants to sin and Satan, (by whom, though they were never rightfully servants, yet they were held in bondage,) and "purchased" by him to be his own "possession," ϖεριποιησις, (Eph. i. 14,) his "peculiar people," and to do his work, to be "zealous of good works." (Titus ii. 14.) I suppose, none can deny believers to be as much God's servants as any man's servants are his; and that he hath as absolute a dominion over them as men ever can have over those who are theirs, being bought with a price as well as any. Now who knows not that servants are so their masters', that they are not their own, not *sui juris* ["their own masters"]; cannot command themselves, not dispose of themselves, or their time, or their work? All they have and all they do is their masters'. Believers, then, being thus God's servants, have nothing, do nothing, but what belongs to their Lord; and so can deserve nothing at his hands by all the service they can do him, seeing they owe it all to him. Who indeed deserves any thing for doing what he is bound to do, and deserves punishment if he do not do? And, therefore, if God rewards his servants, he doth it out of his liberality, and because it pleaseth him to reward them; not that any thing is due to them: and if he never should reward them, never had promised them a reward, yet still they, being servants, were bound to do his work. Hence our Saviour, in that, Luke xvii. 10, bids his disciples, when they "have done all that is commanded them," or supposing they could and should do all, yet even then to acknowledge themselves to be but "unprofitable servants;" not only unprofitable to God, (so much the Papists will grant,) but unprofitable to themselves; in that, being bound by the condition of servants to obey their Lord, they could not deserve so much as thanks, (verse 9,) much less a reward. And so, in a word, if God give believers any thing, it is grace; if nothing, it is not injustice. He that would deserve any thing of his master must first be made free: manumission must go before merit.

2. *Believers owe all to God because they are his beneficiaries, and have received all from God.*—"What hast thou that thou didst not receive?" (1 Cor. iv. 7.) "It is God that worketh in you both to will and to do of his good pleasure." (Phil. ii. 13.) "Not that we are sufficient of ourselves to think any thing as of ourselves; but our sufficiency is of God." (2 Cor. iii. 5.) And indeed Papists themselves dare not in plain terms deny it; but in words confess it. And the more ancient and sounder Schoolmen roundly assert all the good we do, as well as enjoy, to come from God. "No man," says one, "is beforehand with God in doing any thing for God; but God himself in every good work and motion is the first mover and doer." * And, "Whatever we are," saith another, "whatever we have, whether good actions, or good habits, or the use of them, it is all in us out of the liberality of God, freely giving all

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* *Nullus autem homo priùs fecit pro Deo; ipse enim Deus in quâlibet motione et factione est primus motor et factor.*—BRADWARDINUS *De Causâ Dei*, p. 343.

and preserving all." [*] And yet another: "All our good works and merits are God's free gifts." [†] He calls them "merits;" and yet in that very place disputes against the condignity of merits, with this very argument [which] we have in hand. And though it be true, that the good actions we do are ours as they are wrought by us, and come from us; yet "all that is good in them is of God;" [‡] and they have no more goodness in them than what they have of him.

Now then hence it will follow, that men can deserve nothing of God: "Who hath first given to him, and it shall be recompensed to him again?" (Rom. xi. 35.) They that have not first given to God something which is their own, something which they never received from him, cannot oblige him to recompense them. And indeed it is contrary to common sense, that a man should deserve anything of another, by giving him back what he received from him: and so that God should be a debtor to us for those very good works which himself hath wrought in us. Thus some of the Papists themselves argue. "If God," says one, "gives a soul grace, he gives it freely; and no man will say, that because he hath given him one gift, he owes him another: therefore when God freely gives a soul charity, he is not consequently bound to give it glory." [§] Nay, the others go farther, and argue, that the more good a man doeth, the more he receives from God; (seeing it is of God that he doeth that very good;) and therefore is so far from obliging God by what he doeth, that he is himself more bound to God. And indeed it is a clear case, that the more a man owes to God, the less capable he is of deserving any thing of God; but the more good a man doeth, the more he owes, because the more he doeth the more he receives; and consequently the best saints, that do most, seeing they likewise receive most, must needs owe most, and therefore merit least. Indeed, did they do their good works merely in their own strength, and without receiving grace from God, so that they could call their works purely their own, more might be said in defence of merits; but when no believer in the world ever doeth one jot of good more than what he is enabled by God to do, and which God works by him, it follows that still as his works increase, so his receipts increase; and as they grow, his merits (to speak so for once) abate, he being in every good work a new debtor to God for the grace whereby he did it.

ARGUMENT V. *The good works of believers are imperfect; and therefore they cannot merit by them.*—How can a man merit any reward of the lawgiver by doing that which doth not answer the law, which requires not only good works, but perfectly good ones? *He* doth not deserve his wages *that* doth not do his whole work, and do it as he should. Or how can a man deserve a reward by those works which deserve punishment? Can he deserve the blessing and the curse at the same time, and by the same works? But imperfect good works, though the imperfection of them be not actually imputed, and what is good in them be accepted, yet, as imperfect, and falling short of the demands of the law, do deserve the curse; for, "Cursed is every one that continueth not in all things which are written in the book of the law to do them." (Gal. iii. 10.) And the perfection of good works, as well as the works themselves, is one of those things which are written in the law: "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy strength, and with all thy mind." (Luke x. 27.) Now, that the good works of believers are imperfect, not only all together, but each of them in particular, how clear is it to any that ever really exercise themselves in them! Where is there the saint in the world but hath some sins mingled with his good works? Who ever holds on in so constant a course of obedience and holiness but that the good he doeth is interrupted with the mixture of some evil? "There is not a just man upon the earth that doeth good and sinneth not," says Solomon. (Eccles. vii. 20.) And, "If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us," saith St. John. (1 John i. 8.) And David, who was as holy as any Papist upon earth, speaks for himself, and all the world besides, that if God "should mark iniquity," none "could stand." (Psalm cxxx. 3.)

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[*] *Et illud quod sumus, et quod habemus, sive sint actus boni, sive habitus, seu usus, totum est in nobis ex liberalitate divinâ, gratis dante et conservante.*—DURANDUS *in Sent.* lib. i. dist. xxvii. quæst. 2.

[†] *Omnes operationes nostræ et merita sunt dona Dei.*—GREGORIUS ARIMINENSIS *in Sent.* lib. i. distinct. xvii. quæst. i. art. 2.

[‡] *Totum quod est hominis bonum est a Deo.*—AQUINATIS *Summa Theol.* Prima Secundæ, quæst. cxiv. art. 1.

[§] *Si Deus dat animæ charitatem, gratis donat; et nullus diceret quod ex eo quòd Deus donet aliquod munus alicui, fiat ei alterius muneris debitor: ergò ex eo quòd gratis dat animæ charitatem, non debetur consequenter etiam gloria.*—ARIMINENSIS *ubi supra. Vide* BRADWARDINUM *et* DURANDUM *ubi supra.*

Exception. And though our adversaries tell us here, that the intermixture of some venial sins with the good works of the saints doth not hinder their perfection nor meritoriousness, and that their sins are no other: that believers may, as they walk toward heaven, have a little dust fall upon them, but do not wallow in the mire: that they do but turn aside in God's ways, not turn their backs upon them; but halt in them, not forsake them; but squint a little on the world, not turn their faces wholly toward it:

Answer. Yet this will not suffice till they can solidly establish the distinction of mortal sins and venial upon scripture-foundations; which they never can till they have made an *Index expurgatorius* upon the Bible itself, and sentenced the holy penmen of it as *authores damnatos*, "condemned" them for making those sins mortal which they themselves would so fain have only venial. No, nor after they have done that, till they can produce some one saint who hath lived all his days without ever falling into any one of their mortal sins. Let them ransack their whole college of cardinals, search all their religious houses, examine Peter's chair itself, and they shall not find one that dares (and Protestants will not) pretend to be wholly without, or free from, some or other of those sins which they themselves count mortal.

And if we look to the good works of the saints in particular, we shall find some defectiveness in every one of them. The best proceed but from an imperfect principle,—the new nature; which, in believers, during their present state, is but in its growth, not come to its full maturity: it shall be made perfect; and therefore is not yet perfect. God promises that believers shall grow in grace: "The righteous shall flourish like the palm-tree: he shall grow like a cedar in Lebanon. Those that be planted in the house of the Lord shall flourish in the courts of our God. They shall still bring forth fruit in old age; they shall be fat and flourishing." (Psalm xcii. 12—14.) They are commanded to grow: "Grow in grace."

(2 Peter iii. 18.) It is their endeavour to grow; they reach out to things before them, and press forward, &c. (Phil. iii. 12—14.) And it is their privilege that they do grow: "Their inner man is renewed day by day." (2 Cor. iv. 16.) And there is no time of a saint's life in which it is not his duty to grow in grace; the command obligeth them all, as long as they are on this side heaven. But if grace were come to its full perfection, there would be no more need of growing in it, no more obligation so to do. Besides, there is no saint but, as he hath some grace in him, so he hath some remainders of corruption too, sin dwelling in him, as well as Paul had; (Rom. vii. 17;) the law of the members, as well as the law of the mind; (verse 23;) flesh, as well as Spirit; (Gal. v. 17;) as one principle which draws him off from sin, so another which inclines him to it; as one which puts him upon good, so another which makes him in some degree averse to it; as something which makes him do the work, and in some measure as he should, so something which checks and cools him, and makes him not do it altogether as he should.

Now from hence ariseth a double imperfection in the best works of the saints: one is a want or failing of that intenseness, or those degrees, of goodness, that height and excellency of it, which the law of God requires; for where the principle itself is not fully perfect, the actings of that principle cannot but be imperfect; the effect can be no better than the cause. The other is the adherence of some evil to the work, some spot or stain cleaving to it. As sin dwells in the same soul, the same mind, the same will and affections with grace, so it mingles itself with the actings of grace: there being something of mud in the fountain, it dirties the stream; the vessel, having a tang, derives it to the liquor that runs out of it; there being something of venom in the flower, it insinuates itself into, and mingles with, that sweet vapour that comes from it. So that, upon the whole, every act of a saint is some way or other defective and blemished, and comes short of a legal accurateness; and therefore is not able to abide a legal trial. That any are at all accepted with God, it is upon the sole account of Jesus Christ. (1 Peter ii. 5.) Him we find offering incense with the prayers of the saints, (Rev. viii. 3,) and his type, the high priest, "bearing the iniquities of the holy things which the children of Israel hallowed in all their holy gifts." (Exod. xxviii. 38.) And surely, then, if the good works of believers are accepted for Christ's sake, they are not rewarded for their own: their goodness cannot deserve a recompence, when their infirmities need a covering. Their weakness argues their not answering the law; and if they do not answer it, they cannot deserve to be rewarded according to it.

ARGUMENT VI. *Believers need forgiveness of sin; and therefore cannot by all their good deeds merit life.*—That they need forgiveness, is plain not only by the former argument, (in that there is no man so full of good works, but he hath some sins mingled with them; and there are no good works in this life so full of goodness, but they have some mixture of evil too,) and by our Saviour's command to pray for pardon, and that daily: "Forgive us our debts;" (Matt. vi. 12;) but likewise by the practice of the saints in scripture, (Psalm xxv. 11; Dan. ix. 19; 1 Kings viii. 34, 36,) and the practice of the Papists themselves. How many

Pater-nosters and *Kyrie-eleesons* ["Lord, have mercy upon us"] do they daily say! The veriest saints among them confess their sins, and pray for pardon. The pope himself, for all his holiness, and his pardoning other men's sins, yet confesseth his own. Now if saints themselves need forgiveness, how do they deserve heaven? How can "the conscience of sin," and the merit of life, consist together? (Heb. x. 2.) He that prays for pardon, confesseth himself a sinner; and he that owns himself a sinner, acknowledgeth himself to be worthy of death; and if he be worthy of death, how is he worthy of life? If he deserve a punishment, surely he doth not at the same time deserve a reward. If they shall say, that they pray only for the pardon of venial sins, it signifies little; they had as good keep their breath for something else, seeing [that] after all their seeking the forgiveness of them, yet they must be fain to expiate them hereafter in purgatory. And if they do by their venial sins deserve purgatory, how do they at the same time merit heaven? And therefore either let the Papists cease to pray for pardon, or to pretend to merit. To beg forgiveness, if they do not indeed sin, is to mock God; and to pretend to merit, if they do, is to mock themselves.

ARGUMENT VII. *The good works of believers are not commensurate and equal in goodness and value to eternal life; and therefore cannot deserve it.*—Common sense will evince the truth of the consequence. Who can say that such a work deserves such a reward, if it be not equal in worth and value to it, any more than that such a commodity deserves such a price, if it be not of equal worth with it? And Papists themselves grant as much. Aquinas makes the just reward of a man's labour, and the price of a thing bought, to be both alike of justice, and requires an equality wherever strict justice is.* And that the good works of the saints are not equal to eternal life, unless they be grown better than they were in Paul's time, is clear by Rom. viii. 18: "For I reckon that the sufferings of this present time are not worthy to be compared with the glory that shall be revealed in us." And if the sufferings of the saints are not worthy of their glory, surely none of their other works are; their sufferings (wherein they are not merely passive, but active too; for they "choose to suffer afflictions," Heb. xi. 25) being some of the most excellent of their works, and in which most grace is exercised.

EXCEPTION. The Papists' common answer is, that the good works of believers, as they come merely from them and their free-will, are not worthy of or equal to their glory; but yet that they are so, as they proceed from grace, a supernatural principle in their hearts.

ANSWER. But we have seen before, that that very principle, though excellent, noble, divine, as to the nature of it, yet, in respect of its degrees, is but imperfect; and therefore the actings which proceed from it must needs be so too, there being such a mixture of sin in the heart where grace is seated, [that] it mingles itself with the actings of grace in our works. And how then can we say that an imperfect work deserves a full reward? that the poor, lame performances of believers are equal to that abundant glory which God in his goodness hath prepared for them?

ARGUMENT VIII. *Believers cannot recompense to God what they have*

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* *Vide Primam Secundæ*, quæst. cxiv. art. 1.

already received of him; and therefore cannot by all they do merit any thing of him.—They that are debtors to God can by no means make him a debtor to them: when they owe him so much, he can owe them nothing. Debt to God must be discharged before any obligation can be laid upon him. And that saints cannot recompense God for what they have received of him, is clear by what was said before; for they have received of him all they are, all they have, all they do, their being, their powers and faculties, their good inclinations, principles, actings. And what can a man return to God which may recompense him for all these? It is a known saying of the philosopher, that no man can requite God or his parents.* And, indeed, if a son cannot return equal to his father for the being he hath received from him, though but subordinately to God, much less can he recompense God himself for that and all else which he hath received from him. But deserving a reward at God's hands, especially such an one as we speak of, is much more than merely to requite him for what he hath done for us; and therefore such a reward by all our good works we can never possibly merit. I conclude this with that of Bradwardine: "God hath given to and for man, miserable, captive man, man obnoxious to eternal flames, himself made man, suffering, dying, buried, that he might redeem him; and he promiseth and giveth himself wholly to be enjoyed by man as his great reward, which infinitely exceeds any mere man,"† and consequently all his power, all his holiness, all his good works. What saint on earth can requite God for giving himself for him? and how then can he merit the enjoyment of God? If the first be above his requital, I am sure the other is above his desert.

ARGUMENT IX. *He that deserves any thing of another must do something whereby that other hath some benefit or advantage; for no man can be said to merit at another's hand by doing that which is advantageous only to himself.*—But believers, by all they do, profit themselves, if any, not God; they bring no gain, make no addition, to him; it is their own good, their own happiness, [which] they farther and advance by all their holiness and good works, but not God's, who is still, after all the good works of all the saints on earth for these five thousand years and upwards, the same [that] he was before: all their mites have added nothing to his treasures, all their drops nothing to his ocean. "Can a man be profitable unto God, as he that is wise may be profitable unto himself? Is it any pleasure to the Almighty that thou art righteous? or is it gain to him that thou makest thy ways perfect?" (Job xxii. 2, 3.) And therefore it must needs follow, that believers by their good works deserve nothing of God.

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* ARISTOTELIS *Ethica*, lib. viii.

† *Deus dedit homini, et pro misero homine et captivo, flammis perpetuis obligato, seipsum incarnatum, passum, et sepultum, in pretium temporaliter redimendo; promittit insuper et dat seipsum totum in præmium feliciter consumendo, quod excedit quemlibet purum hominem infinitè.*—BRADWARDINUS, p. 345. *Certè, Domine, qui me fecisti, debeo amori tuo meipsum totum; qui me redemisti, debeo meipsum totum: imò, tantum debeo amori tuo plus quàm meipsum, quantum tu es major me, pro quo dedisti teipsum, et cui promittis teipsum.*—ANSELMUS *apud* BRADWARDINUM, *ibid.* "Assuredly, O Lord, who hast made me, to thy love I owe my whole self; to thee, who hast redeemed me, I owe my entire self: nay, I owe to thy love so much more than myself, by how much thou art greater than I, for whom thou gavest thyself, and to whom thou dost promise thyself."—EDIT.

ARGUMENT X. *The Popish doctrine of merits highly derogates from the honour of God and Christ; and therefore is not to be admitted.*

1. *It derogates from the glory of God,*

(1.) *In his liberality.*—For God is the most liberal giver. (James i. 5.) Every good, we say, by how much the greater it is, so much the more communicative it is; and God, being the greatest good, must needs be most communicative, most liberal, and that too to such a height as nothing can be conceived more so. Now he that gives freely, is more liberal, more generous, more communicative, than he that gives out of debt, or on the account of desert; and therefore that most free and liberal way of giving must be ascribed unto God, as most suitable to him; and we cannot say that God gives any thing to his creatures out of debt, but we diminish the glory of his liberality.

(2.) *In his liberty.*—It is a subjecting him to his creature. He that owes any thing to another is so far forth subject to him: "The borrower is servant to the lender." (Prov. xxii. 7.) He that gives all freely is more free himself than he that gives only because he owes it. And therefore if God be a debtor to man, and bound in justice to reward him, he doth not act so freely as if no such obligation lay upon him.

2. *It derogates likewise from the glory of Christ, because from his merits.**—Whoever merits any thing, acquires thereby a right to that thing which before he had not, either in whole, or in part. A day-labourer hath no right to his wages but by his work; and till his work be done cannot challenge it: and so if believers merit eternal life, they do by their works get a title to it, which before their working they had not. And if they do by their works acquire a right wholly to eternal life, then Christ hath not at all merited it for them: if in part they merit it, then Christ hath but in part merited it for them, and something there is in eternal life which Christ hath not merited.

EXCEPTION. And it is in vain to say, that Christ hath merited for the saints a power of meriting; and that it is more for his glory to enable them to do it, than to do it wholly himself.

ANSWER. For, besides that the Papists can never prove that Christ hath merited any such power for believers, it is really more for the honour of his bounty to purchase all for them himself, than to enable them to it; as he is more bountiful who gives a man a great estate out of his own proper goods, than he that enables him to get an estate by his labour and industry.

Indeed Bellarmine speaks plainly, that God would have his children merit heaven, because it is more for their honour than to have it given them; *(De Justif.* lib. v. cap. 3;) so little is his Eminency concerned for God's glory, as zealous as he is for the credit of the saints. Methinks he might have remembered, that what is given to the one is taken away from the other; and if it be more for the saints' honour to have their inheritance by way of merit, yet it is more for God's glory that they have it as a gift.

Other arguments might be added, but I had rather mention enough than all. I have been larger in these, because, though some of the more learned among the Papists place the meritoriousness of good works upon something else than the intrinsic excellency of them, yet this is the most popular and dangerous error among them; the vulgar sort, not understanding the distinctions and niceties of some few scholars, are more apt to believe their good works to be of their own nature and for their own excellency meritorious. More briefly, therefore, of the rest: Bellarmine bears us in hand, that the complete meritoriousness of good works ariseth from the addition of God's promise to them; so that they which would not have merited eternal life otherwise, (though proportioned to it, if he may be believed,) yet, the promise being made, are truly worthy of it.

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* *Vide* CHAMIERUM, tom. iii. lib. xiv. cap. 20.

Against this we argue, that if the accession of the promise make good works to be truly meritorious, then it must be either because the promise makes good works better, more excellent and noble, than they would have been had no such promise been made; or else because (which is this cardinal's notion) the promise obligeth God in justice to reward them, which without it he were not bound to do.

1. *But the addition of God's promise doth not raise the rate of good works, not ennoble them, nor add any intrinsical dignity or worth to them, nor make them in themselves better than they would have been if such a promise had not been made; the promise being something extrinsical to the works themselves, &c., from whence therefore they can receive no new degrees of inward goodness or worth.*—The proper formal excellency of a good action ariseth from its conformity to its rule, the rightness of the principle from whence it proceeds, and the end to which it is directed. If therefore it proceed from a supernatural principle, and be referred to a supernatural end, and be in other things agreeable to its proper rule, which is the command of God, and not the promise, (for that, though it be an encouragement to work, yet is not the rule of our working,) it hath all in it that is necessary to the essence of a good work, whether any promise be made to it or not. Indeed, the more high and intense the principle of grace is from whence it proceeds, and the more directly and expressly it is ordered to its end, and the more exactly it is conformable to its rule, the more good, the more gracious it is; but the adding of the promise makes it not one jot more gracious, more intrinsically worthy: had God never made any promise of rewarding the good works of believers, yet they would have been as good as now they are. Nay, I meet with a Schoolman that says, if the promise make any alteration in the nature of a good work, it is rather by diminishing from its goodness than adding to it, so far as it may be an occasion of a man's acting less out of love to God, and more out of love to himself.* However, did any new goodness accrue to a good work by the accession of God's promise, it would follow that the least good work

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* *Nec illa promissio facit opus melius, ut patet per substantiam operis et per omnes ejus circumstantias inductivè: imò, forsitan minùs bonum; facit enim intentionem minùs sinceram. Qui enim priùs operabatur purè propter Deum solum, nunc forsitan operetur propter retributionem promissam.*—BRADWARDINUS *De Causâ Dei*, lib. i. p. 339. "Nor does that promise make the work better, as is plain by the substance of the work, and by all its circumstances, inductively considered: nay, perhaps the promise makes the work less good; for it causes the intention to be less sincere. For he who before acted purely for the sake of God alone, now perchance may act on account of the promised reward."—EDIT.

of a saint should thereby be so elevated and raised in its worth and value, as to be made equal to the greatest: the giving a cup of cold water to one of Christ's disciples, should be equal to a man's laying down his life for Christ. For "they which agree in some third, agree between themselves," as the learned bishop Davenant argues; * and so if the giving [of] a cup of cold water to a disciple of Christ be by God's promise made equal to eternal life, dying for Christ being no more, even after the accession of the promise, they must be both equally good and (in the Papists' style) equally meritorious actions, because both commensurate to and meritorious of the same reward. Nay, supposing God should promise eternal life to a merely moral work, which had no supernatural goodness in it, or to an action in itself indifferent; yet that action, though not gracious in itself, should be of as great dignity and value as any the best and most spiritual action whatever. For the best action cannot be imagined by Papists themselves to deserve any more than eternal life, and even a mere moral or indifferent one would by the help of the promise deserve as much; and yet the Papists acknowledge that none but gracious ones can deserve it. And how absurd would it seem in the things of this life, for a promise or contract thus to raise the value of a man's labour or money above the due estimation and intrinsic worth of it! Would it not seem strange, nay, ridiculous, to affirm, when two men buy two parcels of a commodity, of equal worth in themselves, but at unequal rates, (suppose the one at a hundred pounds as the full value, the other at five pounds,) that the contract made between the buyer and seller, or the promise of the seller to let his chapman have his goods at such a price, did raise the value of his five pounds, and make it equal to the other's hundred? Who would grant this? Who would not say that such a commodity were in a manner given away, or the just price of it abated, rather than the value of the money raised? It is a case here; and what our adversaries speak of good works being made meritorious by the addition of God's promise, is no less ridiculous and void of reason.

2. *The addition of God's promise of rewarding good works, doth not bind him in strict justice to reward them.*—We acknowledge that he is engaged, by his immutability and faithfulness, to reward the holiness of his saints, having once promised so to do; but that is no more than to say, that God is engaged to act like himself, suitably to his own nature. It is agreeable to God, as God, to be faithful and true to his word. If he were not faithful, he could not be God: not to be faithful were to "deny himself." (2 Tim. ii. 13.) But it is quite another thing to be bound in strict justice to render to men such a reward as he hath promised. For the object of justice being the equality of the thing given and the thing received, and it being the business of justice to see to that equality, and that so much be returned for so much, God being bound by his promise to make such an equality of the reward to the work, argues imperfection in him; for it implies that God is man's debtor, and hath received more of him than hitherto he hath given him; or that a man's works exceed all his receipts, and all God's former bounty: in a word, that man hath done more for God than God hath yet done for him, on the account

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* *Quæ conveniunt in aliquo tertio conveniunt inter se.—De Justitiâ actuali*, cap. 63.

whereof he is bound to give him more, (namely, the reward,) that so there may be an equality. And if this do not imply imperfection in God, what doth? Besides, if after God hath promised glory to a righteous man walking in his righteousness, yet he should not give it him, such an one could only say that God did break his word, or act contrary to his faithfulness; but he could not say he acted unjustly, or did not give him as much as he received from him. "If," saith a Papist himself, "God should not give glory to a man that died in a state of grace, or should take it away from one already possessed of it, yet in so doing he should not be unrighteous." [*] To conclude: justice, properly taken, implies an equality; and where equality is not, there cannot be justice. But there is no equality not only between God and man, but between man's working and God's rewarding; and it is not the addition of a promise that either levels the reward to the work, or raiseth the work to the reward.

But, say some of our adversaries, good works become meritorious of eternal life, by being sprinkled with Christ's blood, commended to God by his merits. We would willingly see the proof of it. Let them tell us, if they can, what it is which Christ's merits do superadd to the goodness of the work whereby it becomes meritorious, when before, though truly good, it was not so. We grant indeed, that as there is no goodness in ourselves, so likewise none in our works, which is not the effect of Christ's merits; but, supposing the goodness of them, we would know what it is that Christ's merits do further add to them to make them meritorious. True, indeed, the merits of Christ do procure both acceptance and reward for the good works of the saints; but they do not make these works intrinsically perfect: they are the cause why the failings of the saints in them are not imputed; but they do not remove those failings and weaknesses from them. Nay, more: Christ's merits do no more make the good works of believers meritorious, than Christ communicates to believers themselves a power of meriting.[†] But that can never be; a mere creature is uncapable of such a power. To merit is proper to Christ only, and cannot agree to any of his members. The power of meriting eternal life consists in the infinite virtue of the person meriting answering to the glory merited; and therefore to say that Christ, by his merits, makes the good works of the saints meritorious, is to say that he communicates to themselves an infinite power, and to their works an infinite excellency.

To all these I add but this one general argument: *It is not lawful for men to trust in their own works; and therefore they do not merit any thing of God by them.*—For what reason can be given why a man might not put confidence in them, if they really deserved a reward of God, and so were really the cause of man's salvation? It is true indeed, [that] the confidence of a believer, and his rejoicing in the goodness and safety of his spiritual estate, and hope of life, may be helped on by, and in a sense proceed from, his obedience and good works; because they are an evidence of his faith, and so of his interest in Christ, acceptance with God, and title to the heavenly inheritance. But this is quite another thing: there is a vast difference between a man's taking comfort in his obedience as the evidence of his title to glory, and trusting in it as that which gives him that title. Nehemiah, though he reflect on his good deeds, and comfort himself in them, yet expects his reward on another account: "Spare me according to the greatness of thy mercy." (Neh. xiii. 22.) And so our Psalmist, in the text: "To thee, O Lord, belongeth mercy: for thou renderest to every man according to his works." And how frequently do we find the saints disclaiming all confidence in their own holiness and obedience, when they have to do with God and his judgment! But, to descend from the saints to a cardinal: Bellarmine himself, after his laborious disputes in defence of merits, and for justification by works, in the very same chapter where he pleads for the lawfulness of men's trusting in them, at last hath this conclusion,—that "because of the uncertainty of man's own righteousness, and the danger of vainglory, it is the safest way for men to place their whole confidence in the mercy and goodness of God alone."[*] And if Bellarmine say it is safest, I will say it is wisest; and the cardinal doth but trifle in contending so much for the merit of good works, and so, in a business of the highest importance, putting men upon a course which he himself dares not say is safe.

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[*] *Si Deus decedenti in gratiâ non daret gloriam, aut si habenti gloriam auferret, tamen nihil injustum faceret.*—DURANDUS, *ubi supra;* AQUINAS, *Prima Secundæ*, quæst. cxiv. art. 1.

[†] *Vide* RIVETI *Orthod. Cathol.*

PAPISTS' OBJECTIONS REMOVED.

III. Having said thus much for the confirmation of the truth against the Papists, it is high time [that] we give them leave to speak for themselves, and hear what they can say for the merit of good works in relation to the reward of eternal glory.

Objection i. First, therefore, they tell us, that eternal life is in scripture frequently called "a reward:" "Great is your reward in heaven." (Matt. v. 12.) "But that we receive a full reward." (2 John 8.) "I come quickly, and my reward is with me." (Rev. xxii. 12.) And so in other places. "Now," say they, secondly, "*merces et meritum*, 'a reward and merit,' are correlates, so that merit infers reward, and reward implies merit; and therefore if heaven, which is given to believers, be the reward of their works, their works must needs be the merit of that reward."

Answer 1. A reward may be taken either *strictly and properly*, for that which is given to a man not only on consideration of his work, but is proportioned and measured out according to it, and is in strict justice due to him for it. And in this sense we deny that eternal life is ever in the scripture called "a reward;" and let our adversaries prove it if they can. Or, secondly, it is taken *improperly and metaphorically*; and then there is no such relation between it and merit as the objection mentions. Thus, "God hath given me" שְׂכָרִי "my hire," or "reward," saith Leah. (Gen. xxx. 18.) And yet who can say that she merited a son at God's hands by giving her handmaid to her husband? "The fruit of the womb is his reward:" (Psalm cxxvii. 3:) and I wonder, then, what is the merit? Indeed, what is "reward" in the latter part of the verse, but the same that "heritage" [is] in the former? So, Gen. xv. 1: "I am thy shield, and thy exceeding great reward." And will the Papists say that God himself falls under men's merit? And yet so it must be, if there be such a necessary relation between reward and merit. Yet more fully: "To him that worketh is the reward not reckoned of grace, but of debt." (Rom. iv. 4.) Here are plainly two sorts of rewards,—one proper, and of debt; the other improper, and of grace. And therefore I conclude, that eternal life is called "a reward" in scripture improperly and metaphorically; and no otherwise than as any thing given to another, on consideration of service done, may be called "a reward," though it be a thousand times greater than the service is, or though it be not at all due to him to whom it is given: as when a master gives something to his slave who hath done his work well; though he were not bound to it, his servant being his money, and being bound to do his work, and do it well, though no reward should be given him.

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[*] *Propter incertitudinem propriæ justitiæ et periculum inanis gloriæ, tutissimum est totam fiduciam in solâ Dei misericordiâ et benignitate reponere.—De Justif.* lib. v. cap. vii. prop. 3.

2. As eternal life is sometimes called "a reward," so it is other times called "a gift." (Rom. vi. 23.)

EXCEPTION. If it be here excepted, that it is properly called "a reward," and metaphorically "a gift;"

ANSWER. Camero answers,* that that which is properly a gift may metaphorically be called "a reward," as if it be given on the account of some service; as when a master gives a gift to his servant for doing his work, which yet (as before) he was not obliged to give. But that which is properly a reward can by no means be called "a gift;" because a real proper reward implies something worthy of it, whereby it is deserved, and the reward is a debt due in justice to such a work. And so if eternal life be a reward, it cannot at all be called "a gift," at least without an unpardonable catachresis; whereas, though it be properly a gift, it may figuratively be called "a reward," because of some resemblance to it, in that God rewards men with eternal glory after they have done him service, though they were bound to have served him, however no such reward were to be given them. And yet again: eternal life is called "an inheritance," as well as "a reward." "And," says a learned man,† "either both these names are given it properly; or both figuratively; or one properly and the other figuratively. The first cannot be; for to be properly an inheritance and reward too will imply a contradiction. Who knows not that a reward, properly taken, is always deserved, but an inheritance is not? And so eternal life, if it be properly both, must be given to some antecedent desert, because a reward; and without it, because an inheritance; and so freely, and not freely; out of justice, and not out of justice. If it be metaphorically only called both 'a reward' and 'an inheritance,' we gain as much as we need; for then it is not properly a reward, and so not truly deserved, the Papists themselves being judges. If one be taken properly, the other figuratively, it may easily be proved that the figurative sense must rather be applied to its being a reward than an inheritance; unless we will say not only that eternal life is properly a reward, but believers are properly mercenaries. And if the Papists are so fond of their merits, that rather than fail they will own themselves mercenaries, much good may it do them; we envy them not the honour."

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* *Opera,* cap. i. p. 44.

† CHAMIERUS, *De bonis Operibus,* cap. 6.

OBJECTION II. Several places they allege where the scripture speaks of believers as worthy of the reward: *Εις το καταξιωθηναι ὑμας της βασιλειας του Θεου·* "That ye may be counted worthy of the kingdom of God." (2 Thess. i. 5.) *Και ϖεριπατησουσι μετ᾽ εμου εν λευκοις· ὁτι αξιοι εισιν·* "They shall walk with me in white: for they are worthy." (Rev. iii. 4.) Much stress they lay upon the word "worthy;" and so argue the saints to merit eternal life, because they are said to be worthy of it.

ANSWER. The worthiness spoken of in such places is plainly the saints' fitness for, and suitableness to, the reward of glory; that disposition which God works in those whom he intends to glorify; of which the apostle speaks in Col. i. 12: "Who hath made us meet to be partakers of the inheritance of the saints in light:" where the Vulgar Latin renders it, *Qui dignos nos fecit,* though the Greek *ἱκανωσαντι* signify no more than (as we translate it) "making meet," or "fit." And in how many other places is the same word used for fitness, or suitableness! "Bring forth fruits meet for repentance;" (Matt. iii. 8;) that is, such as become those who truly repent; and yet the Greek hath it, *καρπους αξιους της μετανοιας,* "[fruits] worthy of repentance." And if we take it in the Popish sense, what fruits are they which are worthy of repentance, so as to merit it? Not works before it; for they themselves will not affirm works wrought before the first grace to merit that grace, at least by way of condignity. Nor can it be said of works after repentance; for who is so weak as to say, [that] a man may truly and properly deserve what he hath already, by something which he doeth afterwards? Other places confirm our interpretation of the word. "That ye walk worthy of the vocation wherewith ye are called," *Αξιως ϖεριπατησαι,* (Eph. iv. 1,) is no more than to "walk suitably or agreeably to their calling;" and, *Αξιως του ευαγγελιου ϖολιτευεσθαι,* "To have our conversation worthy of the gospel," (Phil. i. 27,) is no more than, (as our translation renders it,) "as becometh the gospel;" and *αξιουσθαι,* which we render "to count worthy," (2 Thess. i. 5,) is no more than *dignari,* "to vouchsafe." And the same use both of the Greek and Latin word is frequent in heathen authors;* so that nothing for merit in a proper sense can be inferred from it. Or if dignity must needs be in the case, the Greek word will rather signify, "to dignify" or "put honour upon another," than suppose any dignity inherent in him; or, if you please, so to deal with a man as if he were worthy, whether he be so or not:† and thus it will rather imply a kind of imputation of worthiness to a person, than its being really in him.

Again: when the saints are said to be worthy, it is not to be understood of any such dignity in them as answers to what the law requires, or of an absolute worthiness of the reward; but rather of a comparative one. When they are said to be worthy, they are compared with wicked men, in respect of whom they may be said so to be; because although, in strict justice, they do not merit life, yet they are qualified for it, and suited to it, by having those holy dispositions wrought in them which God intended to furnish them with, in order to the enjoyment of so glorious a recompence as he hath designed them for.

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* *Conjugio, Anchisa, Veneris dignate superbo.*—VIRGILII *Æneid.* iii. 475.
"Whom heavenly Venus honoured with her love."—DRYDEN'S Translation.
Quos quoniam cœli nondum dignamur honore.—OVIDII *Metamorph.* i. 194.
"Since yet on them we please not to bestow
Celestial dwellings."—SANDYS'S Translation.

† *Αξιουμενος, qui imprimis honore dignus habetur, vel plurimi fit. Αξιουσθαι, dignum judicare.*—SUIDAS. "The Greek participle signifies 'one who is especially counted worthy of honour, or most highly esteemed.' The verb itself means, 'to judge any one worthy.'"—EDIT.

OBJECTION III. Those places of scripture are objected * in which the reward is said to be given men according to the proportion and measure of their works and labour; from whence they infer, that in rewarding good works, God hath respect not merely to his liberality, or promise, or favour, but to the dignity and efficacy of the works themselves; so that as evil works do really deserve eternal death, good ones do likewise deserve eternal life.

ANSWER. The general answer to this argument was laid down in the explication of the text; namely, that God's rewarding men according to their works, is to be understood of the nature and kind of them, not of the value and dignity of them; that they who do well shall fare well, and they that do otherwise shall be otherwise dealt with: it shall be well with the righteous, and ill with the wicked: there is a blessing for the one, and a curse for the other. As for the particular scriptures, they may be easily answered. First: my text is brought in against me, that God "renders to every man according to his work;" but it carries its answer along with it,—that though God reward men according to their works, and so give life to those that are righteous, yet it is out of mere mercy [that] he doeth it. Let but Bellarmine read the whole verse together, and make the best of it he can. And for Luke vi. 38, "With the same measure ye mete withal it shall be measured to you again;" either it is to be understood not of God's judging and rewarding men in the future life, but of man's judgment in this life: as if he had said, "As you deal with others, so others shall deal with you; you shall have such as you bring, and be paid in your own coin." Or else, if it be meant of God's judgment, yet it is of a judgment of condemnation, not of absolution, and so is wholly impertinent to the business in hand: Christ doth not say, "Do not absolve others, lest God should absolve you;" but, "Do not condemn others," that is, rashly, sinfully, "lest God condemn you righteously." And so much seems to be implied in the parallel place. (Matt. vii. 1, 2.) 1 Cor. iii. 8 is alleged too: "Every man shall receive his own reward according to his own labour;" but to little purpose: for the apostle speaks not there of the salvation of some, and the damnation of others; but only of the difficulty of the salvation of some, who had built on the foundation "wood, hay, stubble," (verses 12—15,) who, he says, should be saved, "yet so as by fire:" some should be saved with more difficulty than others; yet all should be saved. The other places [that] they bring here, ("Reward every man according to his works," Matt. xvi. 27; "Whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap," Gal. vi. 7; "Who will render to every man according to his deeds," Rom. ii. 6,) need no more than the general answer before given, which is confirmed by verses 7—10, of the same chapter, (1 Cor. iii.,) which speak plainly of the kind or quality according to which the

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* BELLARMINUS *De Justificatione*, lib. v. cap. 3.

reward shall be given, not of the worth or dignity of them; and yet it is further assured by the last place [which] the Papists allege under this head: "To give to every man according as his work shall be." (Rev. xxii. 12.) This text is a commentary on all the rest; for what is in the other places, *κατα τα εργα*, "according to their works," is in this place, *ώς το εργον αυτου εσται*, "as his work shall be;" that is, if a good work, eternal life; if an evil one, eternal death.

Objection iv. Those places are urged in which eternal life is so said to be given to good works, as that those works are the reason why it is given them. The chief are: "Inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world: for I was an hungred," &c. (Matt. xxv. 34, 35.) "These are they which came out of great tribulation, and have washed their robes and made them white in the blood of the Lamb. Therefore are they before the throne of God." (Rev. vii. 14, 15.)

Answer. The stress of this argument lies on those particles, "for," "therefore," &c.; too slender twigs to keep the Popish cause from sinking. For they do not always signify a connexion by way of causality, or one thing being the true and proper cause of another; but only by way of consequence, or the following of one thing upon another; the connexion of two things, whereof the one is antecedent, the other consequent: as, if you say, "It is day; *for* the sun is up;" you then assert the sun's being up to be the reason of its being day, and rightly too: but if you say, "It is day; *for* I see the sun," you will not affirm your seeing the sun to be the reason of its being day; and your "for" will signify no more than that your seeing the sun follows upon its being day. You prove well that it is day because you see the sun; but you prove it not by the cause, but by the effect. If you should say, "Popery is a wicked religion; *for* it makes treason lawful," you show why it is a wicked religion: but if you say, "Some Papists have been wicked wretches; *for* they have been convicted of treason, and hanged for their pains," you do not allege their being convicted and hanged as the cause of their wickedness. So likewise in the places urged upon us, when the reward is said to be given to men *for* or *because* they have done thus and thus, that doth not imply their having done so and so to be the proper cause of the reward given them; but only the connexion between their work and their reward, their so doing and so receiving.

In 1 Tim. i. 13, Paul, speaking of his blaspheming and persecuting, says, he "obtained mercy, *because*" he "did it ignorantly in unbelief." And can any man say, that Paul's ignorance and unbelief (allow that they might lessen the sinfulness of his persecution and blasphemy) were the meritorious causes of his obtaining mercy? "When it is evening, ye say, It will be fair weather: for the sky is red." (Matt. xvi. 2.) Is the redness of the sky the cause of fair weather, or only an indication of it? When, therefore, Christ invites the saints to inherit the kingdom prepared for them, &c., because he was an hungred, and they gave him meat, &c., he doth not thereby signify that their good works were the meritorious causes of their inheriting that kingdom, but only the antecedents of it, and the evidences of their title to it. And that is confirmed by our Saviour's own words, in that he doth not merely call them to take possession of it, but to "inherit" it, (Κληρονὸμησατε,) or "take possession of it as heirs and by right of inheritance," and consequently not in the right of their merits.* And if he had meant those works [which] he mentions to have been the meritorious cause of their salvation, he could (with Bellarmine's good leave) have more clearly expressed it, and plainly told them, that they had merited the kingdom, and he was bound in justice to see them settled in the possession of it. So that it can no more be concluded from hence, that the saints do, by their good works, deserve heaven as their reward, than if God should have said to the Israelites, at the end of their forty years' voyage toward Canaan, "Go in now and possess the promised land; *for* you have been forty years in the wilderness, and have been exposed to many difficulties and hazards,"—that therefore they had thereby merited that land.

EXCEPTION. If it be said that Christ speaks the same, and as much of the good works of the saints, as he doth of the evil works of the wicked, the same word "for" being used in verse 42, as well as in verse 35:

ANSWER. I answer, that it will not follow from thence that good works are as truly and properly the causes of salvation, as evil ones are of damnation, there being so great a difference in the case: and we do not conclude men's wicked works to be the cause of their damnation merely because of the conjunction used by our Saviour in this place; but from the nature of the thing itself, and other scriptures which speak more fully to it.

As for that place in Rev. vii., take but the whole words together, and Bellarmine hath his answer: "These are they that came out of great tribulation, and have washed their robes, and made them white in the blood of the Lamb;" (verse 14;) then follows, "Therefore are they before the throne of God." (Verse 15.) Wherefore? Because not only they "came out of great tribulation," but because they "have washed their garments," &c.

OBJECTION V. These places of scripture are urged, where eternal life is promised to good works: "If thou wilt enter into life, keep the commandments." (Matt. xix. 17.) "Every one that hath forsaken houses, or brethren, or sisters," &c., "for my name's sake, shall receive an hundredfold, and shall inherit everlasting life." (Verse 29.) So, 1 Tim. iv. 8: "Godliness hath the promise of the life that now is, and of that which is to come." James i. 12: "Blessed is the man that endureth temptation: for when he is tried, he shall receive a crown of life, which the Lord hath promised to them that love him." Thus they may argue from such places as these :—They that do these works to which eternal life is promised merit that life : But believers do those works : Therefore they merit, &c.

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* *Quia fides factis declaratur, quæ omnibus nota sunt et manifesta, consentaneum est ex factis potiùs quàm fide sententiam pronunciari. Antequam Christus hæc sanctorum opera commemorat, veras et proprias salutis causas attingit, &c.; quàndo enim hereditatem eos adire jubet, Dei in Christo adoptioni omnem justitiæ et salutis causam tribuit. Quod enim jure hereditario aliquis possidet, id suis operibus minimè meretur. Tum quod subjungit, paratum hoc illis fuisse regnum a jactis mundi fundamentis, æternam Dei electionem omnibus operum meritis opponit. Q. d.*—WHITAKERUS *Contra Duræum.* "Because faith is displayed by deeds, which are known and manifest to all, it is fitting that the sentence should be pronounced on the ground of deeds, rather than on that of faith. Before Christ recounts these works of the saints, he touches upon the true and proper causes of their salvation: for, when he commands them to enter into the inheritance, he attributes all the cause of their righteousnes and salvation to their adoption by God in Christ. For, what any one possesses by hereditary right, that he by no means merits by his own works. Besides, what he subjoins,—that this kingdom was prepared for them from the foundations of the world,—opposes the eternal election of God to all the merits of works."—EDIT.

ANSWER 1. It is most false that they that do that to which the reward of life is promised do deserve that reward : for,

(1.) No man deserves that which is promised to him, unless by doing something which is adequate and proportionate to the thing promised : but (as before was declared) the good works of the saints are not proportionate to eternal life, nor answerable in goodness and dignity to it ; and so cannot deserve it. You may promise a man a hundred pounds for a day's labour which is not worth above two shillings : and can it then be said that he deserves your hundred pounds ?

(2.) A promise may be made to a man for doing that which he is bound to do, though nothing were given him ; as when you promise a reward to a slave, who yet was before bound to do your work ; and then his doing it doth not deserve what you give him.

(3.) Justification is promised to them that believe and repent : and will the Papists say that a man deserves to be justified by his faith and repentance? A king promiseth pardon and life to a rebel, if he lay down his arms ; to a robber, if he leave off his robbing : and can it be said that such do deserve pardon or life for laying down their arms, or leaving off their wicked courses, when they were bound, however, to have done it, and the prince was not bound to hire them to it?

2. To the minor proposition we answer : Eternal life is promised to good works, (so to speak for once, though improperly ; the reward being promised not to good works themselves, but to them that do them,) either,

(1.) In the first covenant, or covenant of works ; and then works are the sole and adequate condition of salvation, and a man's right to it. But then those works must be every way perfect, and answerable to the law that requires them. And thus the minor proposition is most false, —that any believer on earth doeth that to which eternal life is promised. For none do all [that] they should ; and what they do, yet they do not as they should.

(2.) Or in the second, the covenant of grace ; as where the crown of life is promised to them that love God ; (James i. 12 ;) and other places of the like import : but then it should be considered, (i.) That life is promised not to works alone, nor to works merely as works ; (for that is the very tenor of the law ;) but as joined with and proceeding from faith ; and then they are neither the only nor the complete or adequate condition of obtaining eternal life. (ii.) That they to whom this promise is made are believers, such as are accepted in Christ unto eternal life, even before those works are wrought ; and then their works are not at all the condition of their being entitled to life ; though the evidence of their title to it, and the means of fitting them for it, they may be, as hereafter more. And so we say, that however believers do those things to which eternal life in the covenant of grace is promised, yet they are not entitled to it by their so doing, and therefore do much less deserve it.

This may suffice for the other places alleged. As for that of Matt. xix. 17, it is manifestly a legal command, suited by our Saviour Christ to the question of the young man who sought for life by the law;[*] our Saviour therefore accordingly answers him, and sends him to the law. "What good thing shall I do?" says the young man; "Keep the commandments," says Christ. "If thou wilt have life by the law, fulfil the righteousness of the law; if thou art only for doing, do all that God hath set thee to do." And "this was the way to bring him to faith, by convincing him of the impossibility of fulfilling the righteousness of the law;"[†] (which he farther doth by the following command: "Go and sell that thou hast," &c.; where he detects the young man's secret covetousness, whereby he had broken the law;) and that, after all his endeavours after a righteousness of works, if he would at last be saved, he must quit his hopes of life by them, and look to Christ alone for it, seeing elsewhere it was not to be found.

OBJECTION VI. They argue eternal life to be deserved by believers, because it is given to them out of justice; and that it is so, they prove by 2 Thess. i. 6, 7: "It is a righteous thing with God to recompense tribulation to them that trouble you; and to you that are troubled rest with us," &c. 2 Tim. iv. 8: "Henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous Judge, shall give me at that day: and not to me only, but unto all them also that love his appearing." Heb. vi. 10: "God is not unrighteous to forget your work and labour of love." And so James i. 12; Rev. ii. 10; and such-like places.

ANSWER. God gives eternal life to believers, not out of strict justice, in a proper sense, but out of that which we call "justice" or "righteousness of faithfulness or constancy." And though he may be said to reward both saints and sinners righteously, or out of righteousness; yet not in the same way, or out of the same kind of righteousness. It is indeed righteous for God to recompense the labours and sufferings of his people, because he hath promised so to do; and it is righteous that he should act according to his own determination and promise; but it is not so righteous for him to do it as that his recompensing them is formally an act of remunerative justice. And when the apostle tells the Hebrews that "God is not unrighteous to forget their work and labour of love," (Heb. vi. 10,) he means no more than that he is not unfaithful, not unconstant; he will not change, nor break his word.

EXCEPTION. But is not the last day called, *ἡμερα δικαιοκρισιας του Θεου*, "'the day of the righteous judgment of God;' who will render to every man according to his deeds?" (Rom. ii. 5, 6.)

ANSWER. The same day, as it is called "the day of God's righteous judgment," so is likewise called "the day of redemption;" (Eph. iv. 30;) and "a day of mercy:" "The Lord grant that he may find mercy in that day;" (2 Tim. i. 18;) and "a day of refreshment:" "When the times of refreshing shall come." (Acts iii. 19.) And as Christ is said to come to "judge the quick and the dead," (2 Tim. iv. 1,) so likewise to appear to the salvation of believers. (Heb. ix. 28.) That great day therefore is properly a day of mercy, of redemption, of refreshment, of salvation to believers; and but figuratively a day of righteous judgment as to them, so far as it hath some resemblance to a righteous judgment, because God then gives eternal life with respect to something going before; namely, the obedience and holiness of those whom he rewards; not as if it did really deserve that reward, but because it is the way in which God hath determined to act. He gives glory to those that have lived graciously; happiness to them that have continued in the exercise of holiness.

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[*] CALVINUS *in locum*.

[†] *Neque meliùs inanem justitiam refutare potuit, quàm si illam ad legem exigeret.*—WHITAKERUS.

Objection vii. Lastly. They argue from those places of scripture where God is said not to be an accepter of men's persons: "For there is no respect of persons with God." (Rom. ii. 11.) "God accepteth no man's person." (Gal. ii. 6.) "Who without respect of persons judgeth according to every man's work." (1 Peter i. 17.) Hence says Bellarmine, "Respecting men's persons is contrary to distributive justice; as when a judge gives a reward without merit, or a greater reward to lesser merits, or on the contrary. Therefore God, in giving rewards, considers men's merits, and according to the diversity of them assigns them their several mansions in heaven."

Answer. That God is no respecter of persons, we grant; and that accepting men's persons is contrary to distributive justice, we grant too. But what is that to us, who deny that God's rewarding the good works of the saints is an act of distributive justice? For it is, as was before proved, an act of grace; and accepting of persons hath no place in rewards of grace, though those rewards be never so much above the deserts [of], or altogether without deserts in, the persons so rewarded. They that laboured but one hour in the vineyard received as much as they that had been all the day at work; (Matt. xx. 9;) which ought not to have been, according to distributive justice; but well might, according to grace. What God gives, he gives out of no stock but his own: and may he not do what he will with his own? (Verse 15.) What is it to Bellarmine, if God will give glory and blessedness to those that never deserved it of him, seeing he wrongs not others in what he gives to some, and he receives nothing from any to distribute to any? What God gives, he may, if he please, not give at all; or he may give out and dispense to whom and as he sees fit.

Several other arguments Bellarmine brings to prove the merit of good works; but they are all of lesser consequence, and not likely to prevail with any that can answer the seven already mentioned; which indeed are the most plausible of any [that] he brings, and the very seven locks wherein the great strength of this great champion lies; and these being shaven off, (let them grow again, if they can!) this Romish Samson is but like another man. (Judges xvi.) As for the testimonies [that] he brings out of the fathers, you need not fear them, and I shall not trouble you with them; having in the beginning given you an account in what sense they generally take the word "merit," which makes nothing at all for the Papists' cause.

Only one argument more there is still behind, which, though all the Papists conceal, I will not. You find it in Acts xix. 25: "Ye know that by this craft we have our wealth." I dare say Demetrius speaks the very heart of Bellarmine; only he was a mechanic and a fool, and so uttered all his mind; whereas our cardinal was a crafty Jesuit, and knew how to keep-in his. But how to answer this argument I know not, unless by granting the whole. That the doctrine of merits is a gainful doctrine, cannot be denied, when the art of meriting is so liberal an art. It first replenisheth the church-treasury; which again, by the help of indulgences, empties itself into the pope's exchequer. Only these good works suffer some alteration in the exchange; and, by I know not what kind of new ferment in their last receptacle, what was merit in the church storehouse, is in the pope's purse transubstantiated into metal, which puts his Holiness out of a capacity of saying, as Peter did, "Silver and gold have I none." (Acts iii. 6.) The sum is this: the doctrine of merits is no doubt a fundamental doctrine: super-erogations are built upon it; indulgences are built upon it; purgatory itself, and prayers for the dead are built upon it: and, not to go so far as the other world, how many good things in this life are built upon the foundation of Popish good works! many religious houses, and many religious orders, many a fair monastery, and many a stately temple, and many a fat benefice. And who can say but the foundation must needs be precious, when the superstructure is so rich? Well then may the Popish priests stickle for the principal, when the interest is all their own. Well may they contend for merits, as *pro aris et focis*, as "not only for their altars, but for their chimneys too," when it is the zeal of meriting that keeps their kitchens warm. In a word: well may they "sacrifice to these nets, and burn incense to these drags," when "by them their portion is made fat, and their meat plenteous." (Hab. i. 16.)

But here two queries may be made:—

QUERY I. "Upon what account are believers bound to the practice of good works, if they merit not by them?"

ANSWER. Upon several, and good ones too: reason enough we have to persuade us to the practice of good works, though we place no merit in them.

1. *God's command is of itself sufficient, though no other reason could be given.*—He hath commanded us to "be holy;" (1 Peter i. 15;) to "exercise ourselves to godliness;" (1 Tim. iv. 7;) to "follow peace and holiness;" (Heb. xii. 14;) to "put on bowels of mercies, kindness, humbleness of mind," &c.; (Col. iii. 12, 13;) to "be ready to distribute, willing to communicate:" (1 Tim. vi. 18:) and, in a word, that "they who have believed in God, should be careful to maintain good works." (Titus iii. 8.) God is our sovereign; his will is our rule and our reason. What he will have us do, we must do: and his command is sufficient to make our actions not only lawful, but necessary; not only to warrant us in the doing of them, but oblige us to do them. And we need not doubt but our actions will be as acceptable to God which are done out of compliance with his will, as any that are done with a design of meriting at his hands. Obedience will go as far as mercenariness.

2. *Good works are the way in which God hath appointed us to walk in order to our obtaining eternal life.*—They are *via ad regnum*, the path of life, "the way to God's kingdom," the work we are to do ere we receive our reward, the race we are to run ere we be crowned. Though God save us not for them as meritorious causes of his saving us, yet those that

are capable of doing them he doth not ordinarily save without them:* "We are his workmanship, created in Christ Jesus unto good works, which God hath before ordained, that we should walk in them." (Eph. ii. 10.) "Without holiness no man shall see the Lord." (Heb. xii. 14.) Though eternal glory be not, as hath been proved, properly a reward, nor God's giving it an act of strict justice; yet God hath, we acknowledge, determined to give it, *per modum præmii*,† "after the manner of a reward;" in that he will not give men the glory he intends them till they have done him some service; not treat *them* as conquerers *who* never fought his battle; not respect *them* as faithful servants *who* have been sluggards or loiterers. The "sanctification of the Spirit," as well as "belief of the truth," must go before salvation, "because God hath from the beginning chosen us to salvation" by the one as well as the other. (2 Thess. ii. 13.)

3. *The practice of good works is a special means to strengthen and increase good habits in us.*—The actual exercise of grace heightens the principle of grace. Doing good is the ordinary way whereby we grow better. While we employ our talents, we add to our stock; we get grace, while we act it; and lay up for ourselves, by laying out for God. Active Christians are generally the most thriving Christians; they gather by scattering, and are enriched by their very expenses. The more humility men act, the more humble they grow; and the more love they exercise, the more love they have: as the more we use our limbs, the more agile and nimble they are; and the farther a river runs, the broader it spreads.

4. *Good works fit us for the reward.*—It is by them we are "made meet to be partakers of the inheritance of the saints in light." (Col. i. 12.) Though by faith we are entitled to that inheritance, because we are "the children of God by faith in Jesus Christ," (Gal. iii. 26,) "and if children, then heirs;" (Rom. viii. 17;) yet, over and above our title to it, there is required in us a suitableness to and fitness for it. The father of the Prodigal first embraces and kisses his poor returning son, and then puts the robe upon him, the ring on his hand, and shoes on his feet; he first pardons him, and then adorns him, and at last brings him into his house and feasts him: he fits him for his entertainment ere he brings him to it. (Luke xv. 20—24.) God's pardoning a sinner is one thing, and his fully saving him is another; his receiving him into favour, and receiving him into heaven; his giving him a right to the inheritance, and giving him the actual possession of it. The first is done in a sinner's justification, the other in his final salvation; but between these two comes in a third, which is, God's working in him a fitness and meetness for that salvation, which meetness consists in a temper of spirit agreeable to and capable of such enjoyments as are expected by and settled upon them that are the heirs of glory.

And indeed, if we look into it, we shall find, that there is not only a congruity that they who are to be made happy should first be made holy, (in that it would be unbeseeming the wisdom and holiness of God to let them enjoy him who never loved him, or crown them with everlasting

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[*] *Etsi ad metam nunquam pervenitur nisi viam rectam ingredimur, via tamen non est causa metæ.*—WHITAKERUS. "Although the goal is never attained unless we enter upon the right course, yet that course is not *the cause* of the goal."—EDIT.

[†] TWISSE.

blessedness who never prized or sought it,) but a necessity too, in that unholy souls have no capacity for true happiness; merely natural hearts are not suited to a supernatural good: heavenly enjoyments are above the reach of sensual creatures; and the faculty, till elevated and raised by grace, would be so much below its object, that it could take no delight in it.[*] Now grace or holiness in the heart, is that very temper I speak of, which makes a man capable of and fit for glory,—a supernatural principle for a supernatural happiness; and though God begins this frame, and infuseth something of this principle, in the work of regeneration, yet it is further strengthened by the exercise of grace, and a course of good works; which, we therefore say, do fit men for heaven by increasing grace in them, wherein their fitness consists. Men's abounding in good works is the way to heighten those graces from whence they proceed; and the heightening their graces is the ripening [of] them for their glory. And though God himself, as the author of all grace, is the principal agent in carrying on this work of sanctification in them, and he who doth gradually "work"[†] them for the glory [which] he intends them; (Jer. xxxi. 18, 19;) yet they themselves having in their new birth received a new life and new power from God, so far as they are active in the exercise of grace, (which under him they are,)[‡] so far likewise they are active in preparing themselves for glory, and therefore deeply concerned to live in the daily exercise of good works, as the means of preparing them for it.

5. *Good works bear witness to the goodness of our faith.*—They evidence it to be true, and of the right kind; not counterfeit, not sophisticate. And therefore we are greatly concerned to maintain good works, that thereby we may be able to assert our faith against a quarrelling conscience, or an accusing devil, which otherwise we shall never be able to do. We acknowledge that only to be a true justifying faith, and so of the right stamp, which "purifies the heart," (Acts xv. 9,) "works by love," (Gal. v. 6,) encourageth, and promotes, and produceth holiness, and shows itself by works. (James ii. 18.) So that if faith be the root of good works, good works are the fruit of faith: and how then shall we know the root but by the fruit? So that as, if the devil or conscience charge us with disobedience to God and breach of his law, and that therefore we are liable to the curse of the law, we plead in our defence, that though we are not without sin, yet we are not without faith neither; though we have offended God, yet we have believed in Christ: so if we be accused of hypocrisy or unbelief, and told that we have not received Christ by faith, and therefore are liable to the woe of the gospel, we then

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[*] *Operatio divina necessaria est, quia mutari nos oportet et novas creaturas effici, priusquàm participes esse possumus cœlestium beneficiorum. Nam in nobis nihil est aliud quàm summa ineptitudo ad bonum spirituale, sive intelligendum, sive faciendum, sive denique capiendum.*—DAVENANTIUS *in Coloss. i.* "A divine operation is necessary, because we must be changed and made new creatures, before we can become partakers of celestial blessings. For in us there is nothing but the highest inaptitude for either understanding, or doing, or, lastly, for receiving that which is spiritually good."—EDIT.

[†] 2 Cor. v. 5. Κατεργαζεσθαι, *rem expolire rudem et informem.*—CAMERO *Exod. xxxv.* 33, *apud LXXII.*, Κατεργαζεσθαι *τα ξυλα.* "Camero defines the Greek verb, used by the apostle in 2 Cor. v. 5, to mean, 'to polish into form a rough and shapeless thing.' The same word is used by the Septuagint in Exod. xxxv. 33; where our translators render the Hebrew, 'In carving of wood.'"—EDIT.

[‡] *Acti agimus.* "Being actuated, we act."—EDIT.

produce our good works, a course of holiness, as the undoubted signs and evidences of the reality and power of our faith. And in this sense we may say, that as we ourselves must be justified by our faith, so our faith must be justified by our works.

6. *Hereby they further our assurance, and help-on our comforts.*—The great comfort of a believer comes in by his faith; (Rom. xv. 13;) and therefore usually so much comfort a Christian hath, as he hath evidence of the truth and sincerity of his faith. While it is uncertain to him whether his faith be right, he can have little comfort in it: little "joy and peace in believing," while he knows not whether he really believes or not. The same we may say of other graces, so far as they conduce to the consolation of a Christian; a believer can enjoy little comfort in them, if he perpetually doubt of them: while he suspects himself to be a hypocrite, it is no marvel if he taste not the sweetness of sincerity. Now our good works, as before, give evidence to the truth of our faith, and so likewise to the sincerity of other graces, as habits are known by their actings, and we judge what a fountain is by the streams that come from it. And therefore they that desire the comfort of grace, must be diligent in the exercise of grace; they that are concerned for their own peace and joy, are consequently so concerned to live and act, as that they may attain that end. Beside, we might add, that the applause and commendation of a sanctified conscience, upon the performance of good works, and that inward secret delight which is usually the concomitant of gracious actings, (which, so far as we are renewed, are grateful to that new nature which is within us,) is no small part of a Christian's pleasure, and therefore no weak inducement to diligence and constancy in such a course.

7. *We are bound to the practice of good works, that so we may be conformed to God and Christ.*—Christ, when on earth, "went about doing good:" (Acts x. 38:) he did not only abound in holiness, but activity; had not only a fulness of habitual grace in him, whereby he was always in a fitness and readiness to do good, but did continually exercise himself in it: and that he did, not only that he might fulfil the law, but give us an example; and so for the imitation of believers, as well as satisfaction of divine justice. We therefore are commanded "so to walk, even as he also walked." (1 John ii. 6.) And the apostle Paul bids us "be followers of God." (Eph. v. 1.) And Peter [bids us] "be holy in all manner of conversation," (and so practically,) "as he who hath called us is holy." (1 Peter i. 15.) And our Saviour Christ bids us "be perfect, as our heavenly Father is perfect." (Matt. v. 48.) It is our perfection to be like God, not in infiniteness, immensity, independency,—attributes wholly incommunicable to us, unimitable by us,—but in righteousness and holiness: this was our primitive perfection in innocency, and will be our final perfection in glory. And still the more we increase in righteousness and holiness, the more perfect we grow, because the more like God; and the more good works we do, still the more we go on in grace toward perfection and conformity to God. Men generally look on it as a desirable thing to be like God in one way or other: let but those desires be regulated, and carried toward that likeness to him which they may attain, and ought to seek; and that will be

inducement enough to the practice of good works, as the most proper means to bring them to that conformity.

8. *Good works are the end of good principles.*—God gives us grace, that we should exercise it; puts a price into our hands, that we should use it. Exercise is the immediate end of habits. We are not to look upon grace as an idle quality, a dormant principle, something to lie by us, and be sluggish within us. It is not to be as a "candle under a bushel, but on a candlestick;" (Matt. v. 15;) not as money hoarded up, but laid out. And the more we exercise it, the better; because so much the more we answer God's end in bestowing it upon us.

9. Lastly. *God is most glorified by our good works;* (John xv. 8;) *and therefore we are the more to abound in them.*—The more the excellency and beauty of grace appears, so much the more God is glorified: and the exercise of grace doth most of all discover the beauty of it. Holiness is but God's image: and if the image be so ravishing, what then (will men infer) is he that is resembled by it? If there be so much lustre in a beam, what is there in the sun? Grace in the creature is but the expression or imitation of some attribute in God to which it answers; and so the more grace we act, and the more good we do, so much the more we declare what excellences are in God, or, in Peter's phrase, "show forth his virtues," *αρετας*. (1 Peter ii. 9.) So that good works are the most effectual way of glorifying God, because the most convincing demonstration of those perfections which are in God.

And is not here reason enough for the practice of good works? Is it nothing that God hath commanded them, that they are the way to glory, and fit us for glory, increase grace, and discover grace, help on our comforts, and promote God's honour, unless withal we merit heaven by them, and oblige God to reward us for them?

QUERY II. "If good works are not truly meritorious, why then, and upon what account, doth God reward them?"

ANSWER 1. *Because he hath promised so to do.*—And he is constant and unchangeable, and will not be worse than his word.

2. *Because of the love he bears to and the delight he takes in holiness, and those good works which are the fruits of it.*—"The righteous Lord loveth righteousness." (Psalm xi. 7.) God delights first in himself; and next in that which comes nearest to him, and most resembles him, as holiness doth, the actings of which in good works are but the beaming-out of his image in the soul; and it is not strange that God should delight in his own image. Beside that, good works are God's works; they not only resemble him, but come from him; and then well may he delight in them; and that he may show how much he doth so, he bountifully rewards them.

3. *To encourage men to the practice of them, by the hopes of the reward.*—Though obedience be our duty, even without consideration of the reward, yet, to enliven our desires, and put more vigour into our endeavours after it, he sets the crown in our view, and assures us that if we "abound always in the work of the Lord, our labour shall not be in vain in the Lord." (1 Cor. xv. 58.)

USE.

V. *Something from this doctrine we may learn for our* INFORMATION *in the truth,* and *something for our* INSTRUCTION *as to duty.*

1. For the former, we see here,

(1.) *How much the best of saints are beholden to the Lord Jesus Christ for purchasing life and glory for them, which by all their good works they could never have done, though they were a thousand times more than they are.*—Had not Christ made the purchase, they could never have received the inheritance: had not he laid down the price, they could never have had a title or possession. They might work their hearts out of their bodies, ere they could work their souls into heaven. All the grace they ever have or act in this life, could never deserve the least degree of glory they receive. So fair an estate, so rich an inheritance, so weighty a crown, so transcendent a blessedness, is fit only for so great a Purchaser as the Lord Jesus Christ to buy out. They might as well purchase a kingdom in the world with a single penny, as everlasting glory with all their good works. Whatever title they have to a future happiness, whatever hopes of it, whatever rest and peace and joy they expect in it, they owe all to Christ, and are his debtors for all: they owe him more than a whole eternity of praises will ever recompense. How miserable would the best of saints have been, if Christ had not merited for them! How should they ever have obtained eternal life, got a place in heaven, or indeed have escaped everlasting burnings, had it not been for Christ's undertakings? When they had been working and labouring all their days, they would have lost their labour at last. They might have prayed, and heard, and given their goods to feed the poor, and their bodies to feed the flames, they might have done all they could, and suffered all their enemies would, and yet have fallen short of a reward. One sin committed by them would have done more to shut heaven against them, than all their good works could to open it to them.

(2.) *How unreasonable is their pride, how unpardonable is their folly, that boast of, and put confidence in, their own good works!*—That ever men should think God to be their debtor, and that they have him in bonds to them! That ever they should have such high thoughts of such pitiful things as their own works! Surely they have little knowledge of themselves that have such great conceits of themselves; know little of their ill deserts, that think they have any good ones; they have cheap thoughts of God's grace and Christ's merits, that do so magnify their own performances. David and Paul and all the ancient saints were of another mind; they durst not abide God's trial, nor confront his judgment with the choicest of their works. (Job ix. 15; xl. 4; Psalm cxliii. 2.) They, belike, were saints of a lesser size, and their graces and good works of a lower allay: our Popish saints have over-topped them in holiness, are giants to them: Suarez and Vasquez have got the start of Job and David, and have found out a way to heaven unknown to all that went formerly thither. Jacob, poor man! counted himself "less than the least of God's mercies;" (Gen. xxxii. 10;) but these count themselves worthy of the greatest of them. "The four-and-twenty elders cast down their crowns before him that sits on the throne," (Rev. iv.

10,) in token that they had received them from him; but Papists scorn to do so; they think they have won them, and therefore may wear them; and instead of giving glory, and honour, and thanks to him that liveth for ever, they take them to themselves,—at least, share them with him. The Lord tells the Israelites, that he gave them not that good land to possess it for their righteousness, (Deut. ix. 6,) speaking of the earthly Canaan; but these audacious merit-mongers think that even the heavenly one is given them for theirs. Great saints no doubt they are, and well deserve to be canonized, when (if you will believe them) they deserve to be saved!

(3.) *And yet more egregious is their folly, in expecting advantage by the merits of others, and thinking to eke out their own righteousness by borrowing of their neighbours.*—If no good works of the saints merit any thing at God's hands, then the Popish treasury is quite empty, and his Holiness is a mere bankrupt, super-erogations fail, indulgences fail, and there is no borrowing from Peter to supply Paul. If the best have no merits at all, surely they have none superfluous, none to spare. The wise virgins have no more oil than will serve for themselves: (Matt. xxv.:) and are not they foolish ones that think to accommodate their friends? and they yet more foolish that hope to borrow of them? The scripture speaks indeed of a "superfluity of naughtiness" in men's hearts; (James i. 21;) but it nowhere speaks of a superfluity of goodness in their hearts or lives. A redundance of merit we acknowledge in Christ, "unsearchable riches," (Eph. iii. 8,) "all fulness;" (Col. i. 19;) but woe to them that seek for the like redundance of merit among men! Ask the old patriarchs, and prophets, and apostles, to lend you some of their merits, and they will all tell you [that] they never had any of their own; [that] they were all beholden to Christ; and to him you must go as well as they: the church store-house cannot furnish you.

2. *For* INSTRUCTION *in point of duty.* Learn hence,

(1.) *To be humble, and acknowledge the insufficiency of all you do, to deserve any thing at God's hands.*—Own yourselves as "unclean things," and your "righteousness as filthy rags." (Isai. lxiv. 6.) Do but study your hearts, the workings and lustings, the inclination and temper, of them; study your actions and ways, the best as well as worst, your duties and choicest services; and study God's law, the purity, holiness, spirituality, and extensiveness of it, what it forbids, what it requires, how far it reaches; and compare both together; and then be proud if you can; boast if you can; trust in your own works if you can; and, in one word to say all, be Papists if you can.

(2.) *Learn to admire the grace of God in rewarding your works.*—It is much that he accepts them; and what is it then that he rewards them? It is much that he doth not damn you for them, seeing they are all defiled, and have something of sin cleaving to them; and what is it then that he crowns them? You would admire the bounty and munificence of a man, that should give you a kingdom for taking up a straw at his foot, or give you a hundred thousand pounds for paying him a penny-rent you owed him: how then should you adore the rich grace and transcendent bounty of God in so largely recompensing such mean services, in setting a crown of glory upon your heads, as the reward of those works [which] you can scarcely find in your hearts to call good ones! You will even blush one day to see yourselves so much honoured for what you are ashamed of, and are conscious to yourselves [that] you have deserved nothing by. You will wonder then to see God recompensing you for doing what was your duty to do, and what was his work in you; giving you grace, and crowning that grace; enabling you to do things acceptable to him, and then rewarding you as having done them.* Take heed therefore now of rivalling God's grace, or Christ's merits; of inverting his praises, and ascribing any thing to yourselves which belongs only to him. Set the crown upon the right head; let *him* have the honour of the work *that* hath done it, the glory of your reward *that* hath purchased it. Say with yourselves, "What am I, and what are my services, that ever God should thus plentifully reward them? I never prayed but I sinned; never confessed sin, never begged pardon of it, strength against it, but I did at the same time commit it. I never heard a sermon, received a sacrament, did any good duty, but with some mixture of coldness, deadness, distractedness. I never had any grace but what God gave me, nor acted any but what he stirred up in me. All the good I ever had or did I received from him; and therefore I owe all to him. I am a thousand ways his debtor:—for my life and being, for the good things of this life, for the means and offer of eternal life, for the knowledge of his will, conviction of sin, restraint from sin, the change of my heart, the reformation of my ways, the graces of his Spirit, the privileges of his children conferred upon me. I am his debtor for all the evils he hath delivered me from, all the good he hath offered me, wrought in me, done by me. And doth God take so much notice of such poor things? Will he indeed reward such weak endeavours, such lame performances? Must I live in heaven, that never deserved to live on earth? Must I wear the crown of righteousness, who never deserved any thing but the punishment of mine iniquities? Must eternal glory and honour be my portion, who have deserved nothing better than 'shame' and 'everlasting contempt?' (Dan. xii. 2.) I have nothing to boast of, nothing to glory in. I must cry, 'Grace, grace.' (Zech. iv. 7.) All I have, and to eternity am to have, is grace. The foundation of my salvation was laid in grace; and so will the top-stone too. It was grace [that] sent Christ to redeem me; and grace will send him at last fully to save me. I have received all from God; and therefore desire to return the praise of all to him: it is but just that all should be ascribed to him from whom all came."

(3.) *Labour so to exercise yourselves in and to good works, as yet to put all your confidence in God's grace.*—I do not go about to cry down good works, or discourage the practice of them; but [to] take you off from confidence in them: nor to dissuade you from that exercise of holiness whereby God may be glorified, and your souls advantaged; but that sinful reliance on your own righteousness which is God's dishonour and your loss. Be as holy as you will, do as much good as you will, abound as much in the work of the Lord, and walk as circumspectly and closely with God, as you please; (and the Lord make you abound more and more !) only, if you value your comforts, if you love your souls, if you are concerned for God's glory, take heed of putting any the least confidence in what you do, or expecting to merit a reward by your most laborious working. It is the great art and wisdom of a Christian to join the exercise of faith and holiness together, and yet distinguish their different relations to his salvation : not to give so much to the one as to exclude the other; but so to believe as still to own the usefulness of works ; and so to work as to see the necessity of faith : to believe like one that had no works, and to work like one that were to be saved by his works : in a word, to be diligent in good works, but not put confidence in them ; and so to acknowledge their necessity in their place, but not their meritoriousness. He is a believer of the right stamp, who neither contemns Christ's law, nor dishonours Christ's grace ; but is alike an enemy to antinomian faith and antichristian works.

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* *Cùm Deus coronet merita nostra, nihil aliud coronat quàm munera sua.*—AUGUSTINUS *Contra Pelag.* epist. cv. "When God crowns our merits, he crowns nothing else but his own gifts."—EDIT.

If you do trust in your good works, your best duties and services, consider that,

(i.) *You do but lean upon a broken reed, build upon a sandy foundation ; which will at last fail you, disappoint you, undo you.*—What a defeat will it be to expect to be saved by your merits, when, at last, it appears you have no merits! to fancy yourselves worthy of a reward, when it appears you have been worthy of nothing! And as sure as the scripture is true, you can merit no more at God's hands by all your services, than a debtor can of his creditor, by paying him some small part of what he owes him ; and your very confidence in your works will bereave you of any benefit by Christ's merits : Christ alone must be trusted in, relied on, and glorified by you. You must not think to be parcel-saviours with him : either he will be your only Saviour, or not at all your Saviour ; your only righteousness, or not at all your righteousness. If you divide Christ's honour, you lose his help : your works cannot be your righteousness, and Christ will not ; and so you will "lose those things which you have wrought," (2 John 8,) by thinking to gain too much by them ; [you will] miss of the substance, while you catch at the shadow.

(ii.) *However you trust in your works while you live, you will not dare to do it when you die.*—When men come to die, and close the eyes of their bodies, usually those of their minds are most open ; and as their reflections are then most strong, so their prospect is most clear. The nearer they are to death and judgment and eternity, the truer apprehensions they have of them. They then best see how holy the Judge is, how impartial his search, how righteous his sentence. And how do they fear him then, with whom they made so bold before! how doth the confidence of their lives shrink at their death! Alas! they did not think either God so strict as now they believe him, or their goodness so imperfect as now they come to find it. They see the necessity of grace, which before they slighted ; and the insufficiency of works, which before they idolized. Mercy is mercy indeed to a dying man ; and works are but works, and not merits. Let me see the face of the Papist that, when he is coming to the highest tribunal, dares trust to his good works, and put in his claim to the crown of glory upon the account of his merits, and tell God to his face,—"Lord, I have done all thy will, and done it as I should; or if I have fallen short in some things, I have out-done it in others. I have heard so many Masses said, so many Pater-nosters and Ave-Marias, observed so many canonical hours, made so many confessions, done so many penances, given so many alms, gone so many pilgrimages, fasted so many Lents, mortified my flesh with hard lodging and harder blows. And this is as much as heaven is worth: thou art now a debtor to me. I have done my work; I challenge my reward. Let justice be done me, and the crown be given me. I ask no more than I have laboured for, and deserved at thy hands. It is but just that I should be joint-heir with Christ, seeing I have been joint-purchaser with him." I am persuaded there is not the Papist upon earth, unless he be most brutishly ignorant of the nature and law of God, and of his own heart, that will dare in a dying hour thus to bespeak him. And how foolish is it for men to boast of that now, which they will not dare to boast of then; and build upon a foundation in their life, which they must be forced to relinquish at their death! Remember, Christians, there is a time to die, as well as to live; a time to be judged in, as well as to act in; a day of recompense, as well as a day of service: and therefore bethink yourselves beforehand; see [that] your confidence be rightly placed. Expect your salvation from Him only now, from whom you will expect it at last; and put your souls into His hands now, into whose you would then most willingly commit them. Set aside your works, though not as to the practice of them, yet as to your confidence in them. Eye Christ alone as to the business of your justification, acceptance, reward. Labour for such a faith in Christ and free grace as will support you under the weakness and imperfections of your present righteousness, and encourage you against the terrors of approaching death. In a word: so believe and hope now that you are going on toward eternity, as you would do when you are stepping into it.

SERMON XIV. (XVI.)

BY THE REV. THOMAS LYE, A.M.

THERE ARE NOT ANY WORKS OF SUPER-EROGATION.

NO WORKS OF SUPER-EROGATION.

So likewise ye, when ye shall have done all those things which are commanded you, say, We are unprofitable servants: we have done that which was our duty to do.—Luke xvii. 10.

The truth that at this time lies before me, both to prove and improve, is this,—that *there are not any works of super-erogation.* On that account, I have pitched on the words read; which are an *apodosis* or *epiphonema,* the "inference" or "conclusion" which our Lord Jesus draws from his preceding parable.

COHERENCE.

The parable begins in verse 7: "Which of you, having a servant ploughing or feeding cattle, will say unto him by and by, when he is come from the field, Go and sit down to meat? and will not rather say unto him, Make ready wherewith I may sup, and gird thyself, and serve me, till I have eaten and drunken. Doth he thank that servant because he did the things that were commanded him? I trow not. So likewise ye, when ye shall," &c. (Verses 8—10.)

PARAPHRASE.

Doth he thank that servant?—Τῳ δουλῳ εκεινῳ; or, if you will, "that captive slave," * who is wholly at his foot and dispose; as if, forsooth, by his obedience he had done his master a free kindness and favour, to which he was not obliged? Hath that vassal in strictness of justice obliged his master? and is his master bound to look upon himself as obliged to return his vassal thanks, and to reward him, for doing the things that were commanded him?

I trow not—Ου δοκω, "I think, suppose, judge not." Neither the person nor the service do in truth deserve or merit any thing, no, not so much as thanks, nor can in justice claim it. The ransomed vassal's all,—his life, spirits, strength, service, all that he is, hath, can do, suffer,—are his master's, not his own; and therefore wholly and solely at his absolute dispose and command. "Doth he then thank that servant? I trow not." True, indeed, though the great God owes us no thanks, yet in infinite grace he is pleased so far to stoop beneath himself, as to give us thanks for our obedience, and to bespeak us in such a condescending language, as if indeed he were beholden to us: Τουτο χαρις, "This is thankworthy, if a man for conscience toward God endure grief, suffering wrongfully;" (1 Peter ii. 19;) that is, God accounts himself hereby gratified, as it were, and even beholden to such sufferers; this being the lowest subjection, and that being the highest honour, men can yield unto their Maker. God will thank such. Nay, more: look into that amazing scripture, Luke xii. 36, 37, and read it, if you can, without an ecstasy. If a man serves, and his Lord comes and finds him watching too, and intent upon his work, what will his Lord do? "He will gird himself, and serve him." *O stupenda condescensio! O stupenda dignatio!* † says one on the place. But know, though these two parables seem parallel, their scope vastly differs. What a diligent servant may humbly expect from his bountiful Lord, is one thing; (namely, that his "labour shall not be in vain," or unprofitable, but plentifully rewarded; 1 Cor. xv. 58;) that is the scope of Luke xii.; and what the most diligent slave can justly challenge from his absolute Lord and Patron, is another; which is the grand scope of the text. Doth he deserve, or may he justly challenge, any the least reward, yea, but so much as bare thanks? "I trow not. So likewise ye," &c.

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* *A* Δουλος, *quasi* δειλος, *a* δεω, *ligo; mancipium,* "a bond-slave." ["The Greek word for 'servant' seems to be formed from an adjective denoting 'wretchedness,' which may be derived from the verb 'to bind.'"] *Servus a servando: servi primùm e captivis facti sunt ab iis, a quibus jure belli eos occidi liceret.*—VOSSIUS. "The Latin name for 'servant' is taken from the verb 'to save or preserve:' persons were made servants or slaves at first in consequence of their having become captives to those who, according to the rights of war, might have killed them."—EDIT. Δουλος· *ejus correlatum,* δεσποτης· *oppositum,* ελευθερος· Ουκ ενι δουλος, ουδε ελευθερος. (Gal. iii. 28.) "The correlate of 'servant' is 'master;' its opposite, 'free-man:' 'There is neither bond nor free.'"—EDIT.

† "O amazing condescension! O wonderful courtesy!"—EDIT.

When ye shall have done all those things which are commanded you—'Οταν ϖοιησητε. The learned Glassius observes, that in these words our Saviour doth not insinuate that any man arrives at that sinless perfection in this life as to do all those things which God commands; for how much soever we have done, it will appear, upon a just balance of account, that we have done less than we ought, and are much short of our duty. But Christ speaks here conditionally, and supposes only what he doth not assert or grant: * as if he had said, "If it were possible" for them to do all things that were commanded by God in his holy word, † to do all that good that God requires, (Micah vi. 8,) to walk exactly according to "that good, acceptable, and perfect will of God:" (Rom. xii. 2; Heb. xiii. 21:) all those good things, I say, which God prescribes in his word, and not such as fond men devise, either out of blind zeal, or upon pretence of good intention, without the warrant of the word. (Matt. xv. 9; Isai. xxix. 13; 1 Peter i. 18; Rom. x. 2; John xvi. 2; 1 Sam. xv. 21—24.)

Supposing, then, that you "have done" all these things, ϖοιησητε, ‡ and that with utmost art and industry, as a man would do a curious piece of work which he intends to expose as his masterpiece to the most curious view of all observers. "Well, and what then?" Then "say ye, We are unprofitable servants." When God looked back on the works of his hands, and saw every thing that he had made, he did, and might most justly, say, "Behold, it is very good." (Gen. i. 31.) But as for you, when ye have done your utmost, "say ye, We are unprofitable servants," "Yes," say the Papists, "say so indeed; but this is only out of humility and modesty; for ye are not really unprofitable." To whom we give this short reply. Christ doth not here teach his disciples the art of modest lying, and that to God himself,—to say one thing, and to think another. No; without question we are to say so, and that from the heart; and in saying so, we speak the truth, and nothing but the truth. "We are" indeed "unprofitable servants," such as cannot merit the least good at the hand of God by our best obedience.

Unprofitable—Αχρειοι.§ It is well observed by some critics, that this word is of the same import with that in Rom. iii. 12: "They are become unprofitable," ηχρειωθησαν. So the Septuagint render Psalm xiv. 3;

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* 'Οταν, *particula temporis indeterminati, pro si.*—GLASSII *Gram. Sacr.* lib. iii. tract. vii. can. 5. "'When' is here a particle of indeterminate time, for 'if.'"—EDIT.

† Παντα τα διαταχθεντα ὑμιν· *omnia quæ præcepta, edicta, injuncta, sancita sunt vobis: a* τασσω, *ordino, aciem instruo.* "'All those things which are commanded you:' all things which are prescribed, charged, enjoined, decreed to you: from the verb 'to arrange, to draw up in battle-array.'"—EDIT.

‡ Ποιεω, *edo, præsto, propriè significat, Rem aliquam certis qualitatibus orno; a* ϖοιος, *qualis.* "'I do,' 'I effect or perform:' the Greek verb properly signifies, 'I furnish any thing with certain qualities;' and is derived from a word which denotes, 'of what kind.'"—EDIT. *Facio, a* φαω, *luceo: qui rem facit, dat eam luci, atque ut conspiciatur facit.*—VOSSIUS. *Vide Joh. viii.* 34; *et iii.* 21. "The Latin verb 'to do' is derived from the Greek verb 'to shine, to be visible:' he who does a thing, gives it to the light, and causes it to be seen."—EDIT.

§ Αχρειοι, *inutiles; ab a privativo, et* χρεια, *usus, utilitas, commodum.* "'Unprofitable,' 'useless;' from the privative particle 'not,' and the noun 'use, utility, profit.'"—EDIT.

liii. 3. The word in the original [is] נֶאֱלָחוּ* "They are become abominable," *Putidi facti sunt;* so far from being profitable, that they rather stink in God's nostrils. Nay, farther: it is the same word that is given to that wicked and slothful servant that was cast out into outer darkness: Τον αχρειον δουλον εκϐαλλετε, "Cast out that unprofitable servant:" (Matt. xxv. 30:) to show us, saith one, what our merit is, if God should be severe. (Psalm cxliii. 2.)

In the last place, our Saviour subjoins the reason why he would have us heartily to acknowledge ourselves unprofitable servants; and it is this, Because if we had, or could have, done all those things, &c., we had then done but that which we ought to do; that, and that only, that, and no more than, was our duty to do;† and on that account the Lord by a just right might exact and challenge it at our hands. We owe all obedience possible to God as our Creator. (Psalm c. 2, 3; xxxiii. 8, 9.) The highest obedience is our debt; and it is no matter of merit to pay a man's debts. How good soever any man is, he is no better than he should be; and what good soever any man hath done, he hath done no more than was his duty to do both to God and man. On this account, saith our Saviour, "If you could and should do all those things," &c.

From the words thus opened, I infer these two

CONCLUSIONS.

I. *They who in their obedience attain to the greatest height which is possible in this life, fall short of much which in duty they are bound to do.*

II. *Were it possible for the best of men perfectly to keep the law of God, yet even these supposed perfect ones cannot in the least oblige God, or merit any thing from the hand of his justice.*

These two propositions, solidly fixed and fitly discharged, may, through a smile from Heaven, prove effectual for the battering down of one of the topmost pinnacles of the Romish Babel; namely, their proud doctrine of super-erogation.

CONCLUSION I.

I. Of the first. *They who in their obedience attain to the greatest height which is possible in this life, fall short of much which in duty they are bound to do.*

(I.) QUESTION. "But what is every man in this life in duty bound to do?"

ANSWER. *Every man in this life is bound to full conformity, in the whole man, to the righteous law of God, and to entire, exact, and perpetual obedience thereunto.*—"The law of the Lord is perfect," (Psalm xix. 7,) and requires the highest perfection both of parts and degrees: and that,

1. *In the frame and disposition of the whole man, soul and body.*—It reaches all the faculties, motions, and operations of the inward, as well as the words, works, and gestures of the outward. Man, as God's creature, is bound to love the Lord his God with all his heart, soul, mind,

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* *Ab* אלח, *putidus, fœtidus fuit. (Job xv.* 16.) "From a root signifying, 'He was filthy, or loathsome.'"—EDIT.

† Ὁ ωφειλομεν· *ab οφειλω, debeo, ære alieno obstrictus sum, oportet me.* "'That which was our duty to do;' from the verb, 'I ought, I am in debt, it behoves me.'"—EDIT.

might, and strength. (Deut. vi. 5; Matt. xxii. 37—40; Luke x. 26, 27.) The first bubblings of rash anger are no less forbidden by this "royal law" than cruel murder. (Matt. v. 21, 22.) A lust peeping out of the eye is no less a violation of this spiritual law than an unclean act. (Verses 27, 28.).

2. *In the performance of all those duties of holiness and righteousness which he oweth to God and man.*—Israel must hear all God's commandments, statutes, and judgments, that they might learn, and keep, and do them. (Deut. v. 1—3, 31, 33.) "He hath showed thee, O man, what is good," truly and acceptably good: "and what doth the Lord thy God require of thee?" Surely, something that, in the balance of the sanctuary, down-weighs "thousands of rams, and ten thousands of rivers of oil;" nay, is more acceptable than the idolatrous sacrificing of a first-born son: namely, "To do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God." (Micah vi. 6—8.) Holy Paul writes after this copy; but could not reach it: it was his exercise and endeavour, though not his attainment, to get and keep a good "conscience void of offence," both "toward God and toward man." (Acts xxiv. 16.)

3. *In this universal performance of all obedience, the law requires the utmost perfection in every duty, and forbids the least degree of every sin.*—"Whosoever shall keep the whole law, and yet offend in one point," that is, willingly, constantly, and with allowance from conscience, though but in the least tittle, "he is guilty of all;" that is, is liable to the same punishment [as], stands upon no better terms of hope and acceptance with God than, if he had done nothing. (James ii. 10.)

OBJECTION. "But what is all this to believers? They 'are not under the law, but under grace.'" (Rom. vi. 14.)

ANSWER 1. True, believers are not under the law as a covenant of works, so as to be thereby either justified (Gal. ii. 16; Acts xiii. 39) or condemned. (Rom. viii. 1; Gal. iii. 13.)

2. But yet they are under the conduct of the law, namely, as it is a rule of life, informing them of the will of God and their duty; and doth at once direct and bind them to walk accordingly. See what high apprehensions Paul had of this law: "The law is holy, and the commandment holy, and just, and good." (Rom. vii. 12.) His dear affection to it: "I delight in the law of God after the inward man." (Verse 22.) His faithful observance of it: "With the mind I myself serve the law of God:" (verse 25:) [He] copies out a great part of it, and presents it as a rule to the Romans to walk by, (Rom. xiii. 7—9,) and to other churches. (1 Cor. vii. 19; Gal. v. 14; Eph. vi. 2, 3.) James calls it "a royal law," the law of God, the King of kings, and Jesus Christ, the King of saints: (James ii. 8:) it hath a kingly author, requires noble work, gives royal wages;—"a law of liberty," which if ye shall fulfil, if ye have respect to the whole duty and compass thereof, ye shall do well, and but well. (James i. 25.) Thus the beloved disciple backs the authority of the law. (1 John ii. 3, 4, 7, 8.)

OBJECTION. "But hath not the Lord Jesus in the gospel dissolved this obligation?"

ANSWER. Yea, rather, so far is Christ in the gospel from dissolving, that he much ratifies and strengthens, this obligation: "I came not to destroy, but to fulfil;" (Matt. v. 17—19;) in this chapter clearly expounds it; elsewhere most strictly enjoins it. (Matt. xxii. 37—40; Luke x. 26, 27; Mark xii. 33.) Paul goes deep in the case, and rejects the thought of it with the deepest aversation: "Do we then make void the law through faith? God forbid: yea, we establish the law." (Rom. iii. 31.)

Thus you have heard what every man in this life is in duty bound to do; namely, perfectly, entirely, exactly, perpetually, to keep the commandments of God: that is his duty. In the next place, let us speak to his ability, or rather utter impotency, to perform this duty.

(II.) *They who in their obedience attain to the greatest height which is possible in this life, fall short of much which in duty they are bound to do.*

Since the fall of the first Adam, our common head and representative, no mere man, descending from him by ordinary generation, in this life ever was, is, or shall be, able, either by himself, or by any strength of grace received, perfectly to keep the commandments of God; but doth daily break them in thought, word, and deed.

1. *Since Adam's fall*—True, indeed, the first Adam in his estate of innocency had a power personally and perfectly to keep the whole law of God; but not since, neither he, nor any that naturally spring from his loins. It was the dream of the old Pelagians, that man was so little bruised and impaired by Adam's fall, that even still by the mere power of nature he could perfectly keep the whole law. If so, what means the apostle in Rom. v. 12, 17—19; 1 Cor. xv. 21, 22? By Adam's sin were all made unrighteous, subject to death, judgment, condemnation; and therefore such unrighteous, judged, condemned creatures as we are all by nature, can never perfectly fulfil a righteous law.

2. *No mere man*—None that is a man and no more. *No man descending from Adam by ordinary generation*—True, the only "Mediator between God and man, the Man Christ Jesus," (1 Tim. ii. 5,) was able perfectly to keep the commandments of God; and did so. Conceived he was without sin, (Luke i. 35; Heb. iv. 15,) anointed with the Holy Ghost above measure, (John iii. 34,) "holy, harmless, undefiled, separate from sinners," (Heb. vii. 26,) came on purpose "to fulfil the law," (Matt. v. 17,) and did perfectly fulfil it. (Psalm xl. 7, 8; Heb. x. 5—11; Matt. iii. 17; John xvii. 4.)

But then he was not a mere man; he was God as well as man, (Rom. ix. 5; Col. ii. 9,) God incarnate, the eternal "Word made flesh," [*] (John i. 14,) "manifested in the flesh;" (1 Tim. iii. 16;) but no mere man.

3. *Not in this life*—We grant, that when the soul comes to be enrolled, and admitted a free denizen of the heavenly Jerusalem, she shall sit down among "the spirits of just men made perfect;" (Heb. xii. 23;) but not till then. When the saints "come to the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ;" (Eph. iv. 13;) when they come to "see God as he is," and shall behold his face in light and glory; then, and not till then, they "shall be like him." (1 John iii. 2.) Then indeed they

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[*] *Αναμαρτητος ανθρωπων ουδεις ϖαρεξ του γινομενου δι' ἥμαρ ανθρωπου.*—CLEMENTIS *Constitut.* lib. ii. cap. 18. "No man is free from sin, with the exception of Him who became man for a season."—EDIT.

shall see God "face to face;" but here only "through a glass darkly:" (1 Cor. xiii. 12:) then presented "a glorious church, not having spot or wrinkle;" (Eph. v. 27;) but whilst here, like the moon at full, not without our spots.

4. *Not able perfectly to keep the commandments of God*—There is indeed a twofold perfection ascribed to saints in this life:—

First. *A perfection of justification.*—Saints are "complete in Christ," their head and surety. (Col. ii. 10.) They are perfectly justified, never-more liable to condemnation. (Rom. viii. 1, 33, 34; Heb. x. 14; John v. 24.)

Secondly. *A perfection of holiness or sanctification.*—And this so called,

(1.) *In regard of its essential or integral parts.*—Thus when we see an infant that hath all the parts of a man, soul, body, all its members, we say, "This is a perfect child." Saints even in this life have this begun perfection of holiness: they are begun to be sanctified in every part, in "soul, body, spirit," throughout, though every part be not throughout sanctified. (1 Thess. v. 23.)

(2.) *In regard of desires, intendments, aims at and endeavours after gradual perfection.*—They desire, study, labour to be perfect, as their Heavenly Father is perfect. (Matt. v. 48.) They "forget that which is behind, and press forward toward the mark." (Phil. iii. 12—14.) Perfection, which will be their reward in heaven, is their aim on earth; and as God accepts the will for the deed, (2 Cor. viii. 12,) so he expresseth the deed by the will, and candidly interprets *him* to be a perfect man *who* would be perfect, and desires to have all his imperfections cured.

(3.) *In respect of others; comparatively perfect.*—Thus, when one man is sickly and weak, and another man is very strong, we say the strong man hath perfect health compared with him that is sickly and weak; and yet the strong man hath not such perfect health, but [that] he hath also the principle of sickness in his body; and some time may be ill, and indisposed. Thus "Noah was perfect in his generation;" (Gen. vi. 9;) Lot among the Sodomites; (2 Peter ii. 7;) Job in the land of Uz. (Job i. 1.) Thus saints in scripture are said to be perfect, when compared with those that were openly wicked, or but openly holy; said to be men without spot, compared with those that were either all over spotted with filthiness, or only painted with godliness. Thus those that were stronger in knowledge and grace, laid in the scale with those that were weaker, men with babes, are said to be perfect. (1 Cor. ii. 6; Phil. iii. 15; Heb. v. 14.)

(4.) *In respect of divine acceptation; an evangelical perfection, a perfection of sincerity and uprightness.*—Such as "love our Lord Jesus in sincerity." (Eph. vi. 24.) Such as are not gilded, but golden, Christians; not painted sepulchres, not whited walls; not men "of a heart and a heart." (Psalm xii. 2.) Thus God to Abraham: "Walk before me, and be thou perfect," or "upright." (Gen. xvii. 1.) Aarons, indeed, in this,—that they carry "Urim and Thummim," "light and perfection," or "uprightness," engraven on their breasts; (Exod. xxviii. 30;) on whose tombs you may, with God's approbation and testimonial, write an Asa's epitaph: "Nevertheless" (notwithstanding Asa's several slips, yet) "his heart was perfect with his God all his days." (1 Kings xv. 14; 2 Chron. xv. 17.)

(5.) *In respect of degrees; to which nothing is wanting, nothing can be added, to make it more complete.*—When the sun is not only risen, but got to its full meridian and zenith. Thus, when we see a child that was born perfect as to parts grown up to man's estate, so that he shall grow no taller, wax no stronger, this we call "perfection of degrees." And thus no saint in this life is or can be perfect, [so] as to include all the degrees of holiness, and to exclude all, even the least taint of, sin. And if there be but the least gradual defect, the law is not perfectly fulfilled.* Now that no man is in this life so perfect, &c., appears,

(i.) In this, *that there is not one instance to be given of any one, even the most holy man that ever breathed on God's earth, that was so holy and perfect as to be freed from having sin in him.*—O the blots that we find in the best of their escutcheons! Noah at once betrays his internal and external nakedness. Abraham, the father of the faithful, equivocates more than once. Moses, that conversed with God mouth to mouth, the great secretary of heaven, is guilty of unbelief, and speaks "unadvisedly with his lips." (Psalm cvi. 33.) What shall I speak of David, Hezekiah, Josiah, those stars of the highest magnitude? As for Paul, even after he had been rapt up into the third heavens, hear his groans, his heart-piercing groans: "O wretched man that I am! who shall deliver me?" (Rom. vii. 24;) and free confession of his imperfection: "Not that I have already attained, or were already perfect," &c. (Phil. iii. 12—14.) As for Peter, concerning his perfection, (Gal. ii. 11, 12,) read, but with fear and trembling, Matt. xxvi. 69, to the end; and when thou hast mingled tears with him, draw a finger on his scar, and go, and ask his holy successor, that most humble servant of servants, the pope, whether he, or any of the scarlet robe under him, dare compare with those truly golden ones for holiness, notwithstanding all their dross: and if not, what becomes of their proud dream of gradual perfection?

(ii.) *How many express scriptures are there, that prove, that no man is perfectly holy in this life!*—Solomon gives us three: "There is no man that sinneth not." (1 Kings viii. 46.) "There is not a just man upon earth, that doeth good, and sinneth not." (Eccles. vii. 20.) As if he had said, "If you would look for a just one, that doeth good, and sinneth not, you must look for such an one in heaven, and not upon earth." The learned and judicious Dr. Manton hath an excellent note on this text; namely, "The wise man doth not say simply, 'That sinneth not,' but, 'That doeth good, and sinneth not;' that is, that sinneth not even whilst he is doing good." † Our very wine is mixed with water, our best silver with dross; our softest lawn hath its list, our sweetest honey, its wax and sting. Farther yet: he throws down his gauntlet, and proclaims a challenge to all the world to enter the lists with him: "Who can say, I have made my heart clean?" (Prov. xx. 9.) "Who can?"

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* *Peccatum est, cùm non est charitas quæ esse debet, vel minor est quàm esse debet.*—AUGUSTINUS *De Perfectione Justitiæ.* "It constitutes a sin, when there is not that charity which ought to exist, or when it is less than it should be."—EDIT.

† DR. MANTON, "On James," p. 351.

Why, many can and do,—Pharisees, Papists, Quakers. True, many may say so boldly, proudly, falsely: but who can say so truly? (Rom. iii. 9—21, 23;) "I am pure from my sin?" (Prov. xx. 9.) "If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us. If we say that we have not sinned, we make him a liar, and his word is not in us." (1 John i. 8, 10.) The doctrine of the Catharists is a lying doctrine. Even from this scripture, it plainly appears, that that man is not perfect that saith he is perfect; forasmuch as it saith, that he that saith so is a liar, and one that is so far from growth and perfection, that "the truth" itself, the root of the matter, "is not in him." None in this life are absolutely freed and exempted from sinning: "In many things we offend all." (James iii. 2.) All of us offend in many things; in some things, at best. The blessed Virgin herself had her slips; for which she is taxed by Christ himself. (Luke ii. 49; John ii. 3, 4.) *We offend*—"We" includes himself, though an apostle of such eminent holiness that he was called "the Just."* "How should man be just with God?" or, as Broughton reads the words, "How can man be just before the Omnipotent?" "Just;" that is, by an inherent righteousness before God. "If he will contend with him, he cannot answer him one of a thousand." (Job ix. 2, 3, 20.) Man is not able to maintain his cause, and to hold his plea with a holy God. (Job xv. 14, 15.) Hence it is that that man after God's own heart wholly waves God's tribunal of justice: "O enter not into judgment with thy servant, Lord." He doth not say, "with an enemy, a rebel, a traitor, an impenitent sinner;" but "with thy servant," one that is devoted to thy fear, one that is consecrated to thy service, one that is really and indeed *quantus, quantus est, totus tuus.*† (Psalm cxliii. 2.) As if he had said, "Lord, if the holiest, purest, best of men should come and stand before thee in judgment, or plead with thee, they must needs be cast in their cause. 'If thou, Lord, shouldest mark iniquities,' alas! 'O Lord, who shall stand?'" (Psalm cxxx. 3.)

(iii.) *It is utterly impossible in this life perfectly to keep the commandments of God, because the best of saints in this life are but imperfectly sanctified.*—The principle of grace within them, which is the fountain, is but imperfect; and therefore the streams of obedience can never rise higher than the fountain. The root is tainted, and the sap and branch; therefore the fruit cannot be perfectly sound. While the tree is partly evil, the fruit cannot be wholly good. As to the great grace of faith, what great reason hath Christ to say to the best of saints, as more than once to his disciples, "O ye of little faith!" (Matt. vi. 30; viii. 26; xvi. 8.) Where is the man of so much brass and impudence, that dares avouch he loves God with that degree of intenseness that he ought to do? that he loves God here with as raised, transcendent, superlative flame of heart as ever he shall do, or can hope to do, in heaven? Love always attends on knowledge. I "cannot possibly love that which I do not know:" it is the eye that must affect the heart: *Ignoti nulla cupido.* Nor can the degree of my love exceed the degree of my knowledge. It may indeed sink beneath it, but never swells above it. Now our knowledge of God in this life is imperfect: "We know but in part;" "we see through a glass," and that "darkly;" (1 Cor. xiii. 9, 12;) and therefore cannot love with all the heart, soul, mind, strength.

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* Eusebii *Eccles. Hist.* lib. ii. cap. 1.

† "One that is wholly thine, as much and as fully as he can be."—Edit.

More than this: there are remnants of sin abiding in every part of saints, and perpetual lustings of the flesh against the spirit, "so that they cannot do the things that they would;" (Gal. v. 17;) "a law in their members warring against the law of their minds," and leads them "captive to the law of sin." (Rom. vii. 18, 23.) They have a clog at their heels, "sin that easily besets" them; (Heb. xii. 1;) lusts within them, "that war against their souls." (1 Peter ii. 11.) There is indeed in every man, even in the holiest living, a cursed "root of bitterness," (Heb. xii. 15,) which God doth indeed more and more mortify, but not nullify, in this life.* This [is] like the ivy in the wall: cut off the stump, body, boughs, branches of it; yet some strings or other will sprout out again, till the wall be plucked down. This, this is that coloquintida, that death in the pot, that flyblows all their graces, leavens all their comforts, taints and blends all their duties. Hence proceed the iniquities of our holy things. (Exod. xxviii. 38.) This is that that is able to turn the high priest's robes into rags, his incense into a stench. Hence came the humble but true complaint of the church: "All our righteousnesses," in themselves, as ours, "are as filthy rags." (Isai. lxiv. 6.) Mark, we do not say, as the Papists falsely charge us, that all that a believer doeth is sin; but this we say: A believer sins, for the greatest part, in all he doeth. The work of God's Spirit upon us, and the motions of his grace within us, are pure and holy: but yet, as clean water passing through an unclean pipe receives a tincture of that uncleanness; so sinfulness cleaves to our holiest actions, we, the instruments, being sinful.† Needs must the music be inharmonious, when all the strings of the lute are out of tune.

INFERENCE.

Is this a truth? Is the moral law of God so perfect, spiritual, just, and good? Doth it indeed require and exact such personal, perfect, and perpetual obedience? Must good, only good, all good, and that in the most intense and highest degree, be done, and that from a divine principle,—the Spirit, faith, love; in a right manner,—according to the divine word and will; and to a divine end,—the glory of God? And was there never a saint yet in the world, that was mere man, that ever did or could exactly do what this law requires, but fell far short of their duty? See here, then, the certain downfall of Dagon before the ark. Behold here that arrogant Popish doctrine of super-erogation, bowing, stooping, falling at the foot of the truth and word of God. Let him that hath an ear, hear and judge. Tell me: if the best of God's saints, doing their best, fall short of much which in duty they are bound to do, is it possible for a Popish shaveling to super-erogate, that is, to do, yea, piously, acceptably, and preter-pluperfectly to do, far more than God requires? They are not ashamed to tell the world, that it is not only possible, but facile and easy, for a true believer exactly to keep the whole law of God, and not to fail a tittle, Alas! Paul was a man of low attainments, when he whines out his Ω ταλαιπωρος εγω ανθρωπος· "O wretched man that I am!" (Rom. vii. 24;) and David a dwarf to these Goliaths. He indeed stands wondering and trembling on the shore of the ocean, and cries out, "'I have seen an end of all perfection: but thy commandment is exceeding broad;' a great deep, an unsearchable gulf, an ocean without bank or bottom." (Psalm cxix. 96.) But as for them, with their very spoon they will lave it.* Alas! it is an easy leap into the chair of perfection; that is a mark and white for souls of a lower alloy. But greater souls are born for greater exploits. Such eagles as they scorn to catch at flies; but fly at stars. Nay, it is not heaven itself [that]—at least nothing less than the eleventh orb of the empyrean heavens—can give a proportionable treat to their aspiring souls. It is for poor, penitent publicans and sinners, to please themselves in doing, through Christ's strength, what the Lord requires; nothing becomes these worthies less than doing more than ever entered into God's heart to command them. O the stupendous pride of Lucifer, and of hearts possessed by him! Well, my brethren, I would not be thought to envy and pine at their triumphant honour; only give me leave to conclude this use with this epiphonema; namely, Those that will perform an obedience that God never commanded, what can they expect less than a heaven that God never created? But here the Papist acts the Parthian, and fights flying, namely, makes his objections.

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* *Habitat, sed non regnat; manet, sed non dominatur; evulsum quodammodò, sed non expulsum; dejectum, sed non prorsùs ejectum tamen.*—BERNARDUS *in Psal. xc.* serm. 10. "It dwells, but it does not reign; it remains, but it does not rule; in some degree torn up, but not expelled; cast down, but yet not entirely cast out."—EDIT.

† *Mala mea purè mala sunt, et mea sunt: bona autem mea nec purè bona sunt, nec mea sunt.*—HUGO. "My evil deeds are purely evil, and are my own: but my good actions are neither purely good, nor are they my own."—EDIT.

OBJECTION I. "Doth God enjoin the creature that which is impossible? That were unjust, and would highly intrench on God's goodness."

SOLUTION. This arrow was long since taken out of Pelagius's quiver; to which we reply, as Austin did: What is simply and absolutely impossible in itself God doth not impose upon the creature; but what apostate man himself hath made impossible to himself, voluntarily, and merely by his own default, that the great Lawgiver may and doth justly impose. And this impossibility no way impeacheth God's goodness; because the sinner hath wilfully contracted and brought it on himself.

If a prodigal spendthrift hath, by his luxury and debauchery, utterly disabled himself to pay his debts, may not the wronged creditors demand their due, although the prodigal cannot pay? What, though the sinner hath lost his power? since this is done wilfully and wickedly, certainly God may justly demand his right!

OBJECTION II. "But did not Christ come in the flesh for this end, that we might be able fully to keep the law in our own persons, that the righteousness of the law might be fulfilled in us?"

SOLUTION. Mark: the scripture saith, "in us," not "by us." Christ came, "that the righteousness of the law should be fulfilled" for us, and "in us," that is, imputatively, but not by us personally. (Rom. viii. 4.) The blessed Jesus, our Head and Representative and Surety, in his own person, whilst here on earth, did fully obey the law, perfectly conforming to it in all its holy commands. Now this his most perfect obedience is made over, reckoned, and imputed, to his members, (Rom. v. 19,) as if they themselves, in their own persons, had performed it. The law's righteousness is not fulfilled in them formally, subjectively, inherently, or personally, but legally and imputatively, they being in Christ as their Head and Surety; and so Christ's obedience becomes ours by imputation. (Rom. x. 4.)

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* *Vide* CHAMIERUM, tom. vi. lib. xx. cap. 20.

OBJECTION III. "But we find divers saints in scripture recorded for perfect men: Noah, Job, Caleb," &c.

SOLUTION. But were they perfect with a sinless perfection? If you prove not that, you do but beat the air. We easily grant a perfection of parts; we utterly deny perfection of degrees, such as admits not the least taint of defect or sin. We say, that men may be very eminent in grace; but yet even then not exactly conformable to the law. An evangelical perfection we admit; it is no more than sincerity: a legal perfection we deny; that, in this life, is an impossibility.

OBJECTION. But the Romanists fly a higher pitch; and, not content with perfect performance of what is commanded, they tell us they can, and do, do more; crying up their "evangelical counsels," as they call them, for rare things indeed, and such as far transcend moral or evangelical precepts. He that gives ear to these counsels, and follows these, is a saint indeed, and doth indeed do more than God requires.

SOLUTION. But what are these evangelical counsels that are distinct from evangelical precepts? * Bellarmine, Alphonsus, and Platus, concur in their description of an evangelical counsel; and they thus decipher it: "It is Christ's commending only, but not commanding, a good work: which if not done, doth not at all expose to condemnation; but if done, merits a greater degree of glory, a coronet at least in heaven." A counsel differs from a precept in matter, subject, form, and end. *The matter* of a precept is more facile and easy, but that of a counsel more hard and difficult. Obedience to a precept springs from a principle of nature; but obedience, or listening, to a counsel owes itself to none but a supernatural principle. To obey a precept is good; but to conform to a counsel much better. But then for *the subject.* All are bound to obey evangelical precepts; but only some few choice, select privadoes of heaven are concerned with evangelical counsels. *The form* also differs. A precept obliges by its own proper power and authority to obedience; but a counsel leaves it in the breast and liberty of the person to whom it is given, whether he will follow it, yea, or no. Lastly: they differ no less in *their end.* The end or effect of a precept is a reward to him that obeys, punishment to him that doth not; but the end of a counsel is a greater reward to him that observes it, but not the least punishment or frown on him that neglects, and not observes it. But are there indeed any such evangelical counsels contradistinct from evangelical precepts? "Yes," say the Papists; and to that end charge us with these three texts, which, they say, do all prove that there are some evangelical counsels which fall not under a command.

OBJECTION I. "But other fell into good ground, and brought forth fruit, some an hundredfold, some sixtyfold, some thirtyfold." (Matt. xiii.

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* CHAMIERUS, tom. iii. lib. x. cap. 20, *De Conciliis.*

8.) Here, saith Bellarmine, the Lord compares the church to good ground, whereof one part brought forth a hundred, another sixty, another thirtyfold: and he allegeth the authority of Hieronymus, Cyprian, and Austin for this interpretation of this parable; namely, that Christ doth here distinguish between the different merit of chaste marriage, widowhood, and virginity; and that virginity is a greater good, and more meritorious in the sight of God, than either chaste widowhood, or conjugal chastity. But this, saith Bellarmine, is an evangelical counsel only, not a command; for what God commands not, and yet commends, and prefers it before other things, he doth, without all doubt, counsel only and advise.

SOLUTION 1. But what reasons do those fathers of the church give for this interpretation? Here Bellarmine is silent.

2. Let their own Maldonate answer for us and truth. *A Christo tantùm propositum fuit, ut doceret omne semen, &c.:* "Christ's intent here was only this,—to teach us that all seed which fell on good ground did so multiply, that that which brought forth the least increase produced thirtyfold, even so much as none but the best and most cultivated ground was wont to bring forth; that which brought forth most, a hundred; the middle good ground, sixty." And if this be the genuine sense of the text, what doth it make for Bellarmine in the least, seeing fruitfulness in hearing the word, and enjoying of ordinances, doth no less belong to precepts than counsels?

OBJECTION II. "Jesus said unto him, If thou wilt be perfect, go and sell that thou hast, and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven: and come and follow me." (Matt. xix. 21.) Here, saith Bellarmine, an evangelical counsel is plainly distinguished from a precept. The precept we have in His answer to the young man's question: "Good Master, what good thing shall I do, that I may have eternal life?" namely, "Keep the commandments." There is the precept; (verses 16, 17;) and to obey, that is sufficient for salvation. But then he subjoins: "If thou wilt be perfect;" that is, saith Bellarmine, "If thou art not contented with bare eternal life, but dost aspire unto and breathe after a more excellent degree in that eternal life, then 'go, sell all,'" &c. Here is the counsel.

SOLUTION. In these words Christ doth not give any evangelical counsel in the Papists' sense. For,

1. No greater reward than bare "eternal life" is proposed by Christ to him. Christ only saith to him, "Thou shalt have treasure in heaven;" which phrase is common to all those to whom the hope of eternal life is proposed: "Lay up for yourselves treasures in heaven." (Matt. vi. 20.) Now a bare heaven, according to them, is not a sufficient reward for the obedience of an evangelical counsel.

2. We utterly deny Bellarmine's gloss on these words, "If thou wilt be perfect;" that is, "If thou aspire to an excellent degree in eternal life:" but rather thus: "If by the observation of the commandments here thou wouldest obtain life eternal hereafter, it is necessary that thou shouldest be perfect in thy observation of them. But thou art not perfect; and therefore, in that way, thou canst not hope to obtain eternal life. Wast thou perfect, thou wouldest 'go and sell all thou hast, and

give to the poor;' but this thou wilt not do." The perfection, then, that our Saviour intends, is a perfection of grace in this life, not a higher degree of reward in the next. And that appears,

(1.) In our Saviour's answer to him: "One thing thou lackest." (Mark x. 21; Luke xviii. 22.) Here our Saviour gives check to his vain boasting.

(2.) When he was gone away sorrowful, mark what our Saviour adds: "A rich man shall hardly enter into the kingdom of heaven." (Verse 23.) He doth not say, "Shall not obtain a golden coronet, or a greater degree of glory;" but plainly, "He shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven." Whence it follows, that this young man, because he did not follow our Saviour's counsel, was in danger of losing eternal life. Now the Papists assert, that he that refuseth to hearken to an evangelical counsel shall incur no punishment; and let themselves be judges, whether exclusion from heaven be no punishment.

Objection iii. "Paul counsels, but doth not command, virginity and continency to the Corinthians." (1 Cor. vii. 25, 26, &c.)

Solution 1. It doth not follow that because Paul saith, "I give my judgment," therefore he doth not command. Compare this with 2 Cor. viii. 10: "Herein I give my advice," Γνωμην εν τουτῳ διδωμι. This was concerning almsdeeds: and do any Papists number exhortations to them among evangelical counsels? Or will they admit marriage to be an evangelical counsel? And yet Paul adviseth to it: "To avoid fornication, let every man have his own wife." (1 Cor. vii. 2.)

2. Evangelical counsels have always a greater reward in heaven proposed to the observers of them. Read the whole chapter, and see whether Paul holds forth a more glorious crown to virginity; yea, whether he doth so much as barely promise eternal life to it.

3. Evangelical counsels are not backed with the intimations of temporal commodities, as these are here. (Verses 26, 28, 34.)

Let this suffice for the first conclusion. I proceed to the second.

CONCLUSION II.

II. *Were it possible for the best of saints perfectly to keep the law of God, yet even these supposed perfect ones cannot in the least oblige God, or merit any thing from the hand of his justice.*—"When we have done all those things which are commanded us, we are still unprofitable servants" to our Sovereign Lord: "we have done but that which was our duty to do." As to merit, properly and strictly so called, it is the just desert of a voluntary action, whereunto a proportionable reward is due out of justice; so that if it be not given, an injury is really committed, and he to whom retribution properly appertaineth, should be really unjust if he did not exactly compensate.* Some of the Papists soar very high in this point, and tell us roundly, that good works do not only merit in respect of God's gracious covenant, but in regard of the worthiness of the works themselves; and that God, for the greater honour of his children, would have them to get heaven by their merit, which is more honourable to them than to receive it by God's free gift. It is not for such high-born souls as theirs humbly to expect and obtain everlasting happiness, as a beggar doth his alms; but to attack heaven by storm, to enter upon and possess it as the just reward of their works, and to ride triumphantly through it as conquerors. Others of the Papists seem more modest;* and they tell us, that "the saints do merit indeed, but then their merits are subordinate to Christ's merits: nay," say they, "they are derived from them; for Christ hath merited for us the power and grace of meriting. And therefore this doctrine of merit is far enough from obscuring the glory of Christ's merits; it rather argues the wonderful efficacy of them. It is no blemish to the sun, that the moon and stars shine with a borrowed light from it. Fruitfulness of the branches is no disparagement to the vine. The dependent and subordinate efficacy of second causes is no detraction from the all-sufficiency and omnipotency of the First." But for all these sugared words and fair pretences, we shall endeavour to make it evident, that such a fancied merit of pardon of sin, and eternal life, even by our best works, is an "ungrounded, novel, unnecessary, impossible fiction."

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* Tapperus *in Explic. Artic. Lovan.* tom. ii. art. 9.

1. *Wholly ungrounded on the scriptures*—That Christ's merit hath purchased for us grace for the performance of good works, we readily grant; but that he hath merited that we might merit, we utterly deny, as being a thing unheard of in the writings of the prophets and apostles.

2. *Novel*—"It is a new, upstart opinion:" so says that *malleus Jesuitarum,* ["mall of the Jesuits,"] the incomparable Usher. In former times of Popery, the ordinary instruction appointed to be given to men on their death-beds was, that they should look to come to glory, not by their own merits, but by the virtue and merits of Christ's passion; and place their whole confidence in his death only, and in no other thing; and interpose his death between God and their sins. This made William of Wickham, founder of New College, profess, he trusted in Christ alone for salvation; and Charles VIII. did the like when he came to die; and Bellarmine himself, when he was at the brink of eternity, to profess, *Tutissimum est, &c.:* "Give me a Christ, rather than all other pretended merits whatever."

3. *An unnecessary fiction*—Hath Christ a fulness of merit, and that of infinite value, to purchase reconciliation and acceptation both of our persons and services, together with an everlasting inheritance in the kingdom of heaven? Yea, or no? If it be denied, it is easily proved out of Dan. ix. 24, 26; Col. i. 19, 20; John xvii. 2; Heb. ix. 12, 15. If it be granted that the merit of Christ is of infinite value, and that by it he hath purchased in the behalf of his members a full right unto eternal life and happiness; if Christ hath merited for us perfection, and fulness of grace and glory; what necessity is there that we ourselves should do this again? †

4. *It is impossible*—We cannot possibly by our best works merit eternal life. We are saved by mercy, not merit; (Rom. iii. 20; iv. 2, 4, 6;) by grace, not of works; (Eph. ii. 8, 9; Titus iii. 5—7;) and if by grace, by grace alone, not by works, no blending of grace and works together. (Rom. xi. 6.) To evidence this, let us but duly consider the necessary ingredients of merit, and apply them to the best works of the

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* BELLARMINUS *De Justif.* lib. v. cap. 16, 17.

† *Entia non sunt multiplicanda sine necessitate.* "Entities are not to be multiplied without necessity.—EDIT.

best of saints. To render a work properly and strictly meritorious of a reward, it is necessary,

(1.) *That there should be some equality, proportion, and suitableness between the work and the reward.*—But is there any equality betwixt the enjoyment of God in heaven, and our imperfect works on earth? If I present my prince with a horse or dog, and he requites me with a lordship, will any man say I have merited that lordship? Of all works none comparable to martyrdom; but yet what compare between a crown of thorns here, and a crown of glory hereafter? (2 Cor. iv. 17;) not worthy to be named the same day. (Rom. viii. 18.)

(2.) *That the work done be profitable and advantageous to him of whom any thing is merited.*—But "can a" sinful "man be profitable unto God?" (Job xxii. 2, 3; xxxv. 7, 8.) "Can a man?" he doth not mean an ordinary, sickly, weak, frail man; but a man at his best, a man in the flower and perfection not only of his natural abilities, but in the richest furniture and array of his acquired and inspired perfections. Take this man, a man of these attainments and accomplishments; and "can he be profitable unto God?" Can he bring any advantage, gain, or profit unto God? Be he never so holy, never so righteous, doth the Lord receive any advantage by him, so as thereby God is his debtor, and become beholden to him? No, no. The best of men cannot oblige God. The great Jehovah is perfect in himself, and therefore cannot receive any addition; he is self-sufficient, and therefore needs no addition. Holy David humbly acknowledges this: "My goodness extendeth not to thee;" that is, "I am not able to do any good which reacheth to thy benefit, or increaseth thy happiness." (Psalm xvi. 2.)

OBJECTION. "But is not the church of the Jews called God's 'peculiar treasure?' And is there no profit in a treasure?" (Exod. xix. 5; Deut. xxxii. 9.)

SOLUTION. Yes. They are called his "treasure;" not because they profit him, but because he protects them, as a man would his treasure that is most dear to him.

OBJECTION. "But is not the glorifying of God an advantage to him?"

SOLUTION. Our glorifying of God adds no more to him than the reflecting glass doth to the most beautiful face. It only shows what God is; it doth not add to what God hath. Nay, at best, it is but a dusty, cracked glass. (Matt. v. 16.) A little taper adds more light to the sun, than all men do or can to God.

(3.) *That it be a work that is not already due.*—Doth any man deserve an estate for that money whereby he discharges an old debt? That which is our duty to do cannot possibly merit when it is done. We cannot oblige either God or man by performing our obligation. All the works we can do for God are deserved by him. Hath not he created us? Doth he not every moment uphold our souls in life? Hath he not redeemed us, and so is infinitely beforehand with us every way? Dare any say, that God doth not deserve that they should do the utmost they can for his service and glory? If he doth, is it not pride and impudence to pretend merit from God? Thus our Saviour argues in the text, where he proves, that, because the servant had done no more than was his duty to do, therefore he did not merit in doing it: "When ye have done all, say, We are unprofitable servants: we have done that which was our duty to do." He that hath done all those things that are commanded him is a man indeed, a man of worth, a man of men: but where to be found on earth? But let it be granted that he hath reached to the utmost line of the command, he is yet "an unprofitable servant," he hath done but his duty. A man of worth he may be; a man of merit he is not, he cannot be. There neither is nor can be any good work acceptable to God which God hath not commanded. Of all other works whatever his query is, "Who hath required them at your hands?" (Isai. i. 12.) And if it be commanded, then it is due to God; and if so, then by giving that to God which is his due, we do not merit, no, not so much as thanks. (Luke xvii. 9, 10.) We are not our own; we are the Lord's. We are "bought with a price;" we owe our whole selves for our creation and redemption; and therefore we ought to glorify God in our bodies and souls, which are the Lord's. (1 Cor. vi. 20.) If we ourselves, our bodies and spirits, are the Lord's, much more are all our services his. If the person be another's, all the work that is or can be done by him is his too.

(4.) *That what good works we do be our own.*—A man cannot merit by giving that to another which he had from him to whom he gave it. A king's almoner merits not by distributing his sovereign's alms. Now "every good gift and every perfect gift is from above." (James i. 17.) What hath or doeth the best of saints, that he hath not received? (1 Cor. iv. 7.) Is it not the Lord that worketh in them "both to will and do?" (Phil. ii. 12, 13.) Do not all works that are good, as they are good, proceed from his Spirit? Are they not the fruits that spring from that divine root? (Gal. v. 22.) Is not repentance his gift? (Acts xi. 18; v. 31.) Is it not given to us both to believe and to suffer? (Phil. i. 29.) Without him, can we of ourselves do any thing? (John xv. 5.) Nay, can we so much as think a good thought of ourselves? (2 Cor. iii. 5.) Is it not he that works all our works for us and in us? (Isai. xxvi. 12.) And therefore certainly by them God cannot be bound to bestow more upon us. Hence Durandus, to the great regret of merit-mongers, with much zeal and strength, impugns and contends against the merit of condignity.*

(5.) *That it be not mixed and tainted with sin.*—That action which needs a pardon cannot deserve a reward. Can that for which we deserve hell and eternal death, merit heaven and eternal life? Now as good works are wrought by us, they are defiled and mixed with so much weakness and imperfection, that they cannot endure the severity of God's judgment. (Isai. lxiv. 6; Gal. v. 17; Rom. v. 17, 18; Psalm cxliii. 2; cxxx. 3.) All our graces are imperfect, all our duties are polluted, and therefore stand in need of favour, grace, and acceptation: and where then is their merit?

OBJECTION I. "But is not eternal life called 'a reward?' And doth not that strongly prove merit? 'Great is your reward.'" (Matt. v. 12.)

SOLUTION 1. Compare scripture with scripture, and then judge. Is not eternal life said to be "the gift of God?" (Rom. vi. 23.) Can a free gift be deserved or merited? Again: is not eternal life called "an inheritance?" (Rom. viii. 17; Gal. iv. 7; Eph. i. 14, 18; Col. i. 12.) Can the same estate be mine by inheritance, and by purchase?

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* DURANDUS *in lib. ii. Sentent.* dist. xxvii. quæst. 2.

"Yes," say the Papists; "the glory which Christ had was his by inheritance; for he was 'heir of all things.' (Heb. i. 2.) And yet it was his by purchase too: he dearly paid for it." (Phil. ii. 7—10.)

True; but this was in diverse respects, because he had two natures: as he was the eternal Son of God, it was his inheritance, and belonged to the manhood only as united to the Godhead. As he was man, he might and did purchase it by what he did and suffered in the flesh. But in saints there are not two natures, nor any ground of pretence for purchase.

2. Doth not the scripture clearly speak of two kinds of rewards,—of grace, and of debt? and withal affirms, that the reward that God gives to good men is merely of grace, not of debt. (Rom. iv. 4.)

Bellarmine tells us it may be of both.

No; the apostle utterly denies that: "If it be of grace, then it is no more of works." (Rom. xi. 6; iv. 4, 5.)

Object. ii. "But God gives this reward to men for working in his vineyard." (Matt. xx. 8.)

Solution. True. But still the reward appears to be of grace: else why should he that came in at the last hour receive as much as they that had "borne the heat and burden of the day?" (Verse 12.)

Object. iii. "But God is said to reward men 'according to their works;' *according to*, that is, according to the proportion of them; and that implies merit." (Rev. xx. 13; 2 Cor. xi. 15.)

Solution. I must demur to this gloss on these texts; and that,

1. Because, since God is pleased to reward in us his own gifts and graces, not our merits, as Bernard speaks, "He may still keep a proportion; and to them to whom he gave more grace here, he may give more glory hereafter;" and yet there is no more merit in this additional reward than in the rest.

2. I may as well conclude, [that] the blind men merited their sight, because Christ saith, "Be it unto you according to your faith;" (Matt. ix. 29;) as we may gather merit from this phrase, "according to your works."

Object. iv. "Good works [are] mentioned as the causes for which God gives eternal life: 'Come, ye blessed,' &c.; 'for I was hungry, and ye gave me meat,'" &c. (Matt. xxv. 34—36.)

Solution. Paul did not think this a good argument; for though he knew that it was said of Abraham, "Because thou hast done this thing, I will bless thee;" (Gen. xxii. 16, 17;) yet he flatly denies the merit of Abraham's works. (Rom. iv. 2, 6; Gal. iii. 6.) And when he says of himself, "I obtained mercy, because I did it ignorantly," (1 Tim. i. 13,) who can imagine that he means that his ignorance merited mercy? The king said, "I forgave thee all thy debt, because thou desiredst me." (Matt. xviii. 32.) Did his mere asking deserve it?

Object. v. "Good men [are] owned by God as 'worthy of the kingdom of God.'" (2 Thess. i. 5; Rev. iii. 4.)

Solution. These are said to be worthy, not as "the labourer is worthy of his hire," (Matt. x. 10; Luke x. 7; 1 Tim. v. 17, 18,) but,

1. *Comparatively, in respect of other men, that are most unworthy.*

2. *By God's gracious acceptation of them in and through Christ.* (Acts v. 41; Matt. xxii. 8.)—But otherwise the holiest of saints have ever judged themselves most unworthy of the least of God's mercies; (Gen. xxxii. 10; Matt. viii. 8; Luke vii. 6, 7;) so far have they been from proudly thinking themselves worthy of eternal life. A worthiness of fitness and meetness for heaven in saints we acknowledge, (2 Thess. i. 3—5; Phil. i. 27; Luke xxi. 36,) as the word *αξιους·* is rightly rendered in Matt. iii. 8; and yet it is God's grace alone that gives the saints this fitness; it is God alone that makes us thus "meet to be partakers of the inheritance of the saints in light." (Col. i. 12.) It is therefore no less than impudence to pretend to merit from God by it. And if yet any will be so audacious as to boast of their own worth and merit, let them be pleased to answer the apostle's close and cutting questions: "Who maketh thee to differ? and what hast thou that thou didst not receive? now if thou didst receive it, why dost thou glory, as if thou hadst not received it?" (1 Cor. iv. 7.)

USES.

USE I. INFERENCE. If, then, legal, sinless perfection, and merit for ourselves by our best works, notwithstanding all its plausible pretexts, stands convicted and cast, what shall we think of works of super-erogation? What intolerable arrogance, boldly, and without a blush, to affirm, that "divers of the saints have not only merit enough to purchase eternal life for themselves, but a great deal to spare for the relief of others!" This self-advancing and heaven-daring doctrine of works of super-erogation, what self-searching soul is there that looks not on it as the highest strain, two or three notes at least above *E-la*,* indeed such a note as not the holiest teraphim, seraphim, archangel, durst ever yet pretend to reach to, no, not in their highest Hallelujahs? Super-erogation! both the word and thing point out to us the top round of the Popish arrogancy. Or, if you please, you may look upon it as the grand bellows of the pope's kitchen here, and of his comfortable importance, his most beneficial laboratory, namely, purgatory, hereafter.

The Papists jumble-in this doctrine among the crowd of several other ungrounded, unscriptural, novel, and absurd opinions. And, that you may see that it is much beneath these grand sophis, *vel delirare, vel insanire, nisi cum ratione;*† thus they erect their Babel, a landscape whereof is exactly drawn by the skilful pencil of the truly reverend and learned Davenant:—‡

I. First, then, they readily acknowledge and declare, that "God-man Christ Jesus did fully satisfy the justice of God by his offering up of himself a sacrifice for sin, and that by that sacrifice did fully expiate the sins of believers:" a truth this written with a sun-beam. But then with the text, you must take the Popish comment too. "This satisfaction and expiation," say they, "is to be understood only in respect of their guilt of mortal sins, and of their eternal punishment due thereupon; but not at all in respect of their temporal punishment." As for this, they are wholly left to themselves, either to sink or swim; and, notwithstanding all that Christ hath done, suffered, purchased, promised, believers are still liable to it; and that not only in the present world, but, for some time at least, in the next; that is, in purgatory.

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* The highest note in the musical scale.—EDIT.

† "Either to be foolish, or talk madmen, except with reason."—EDIT.

‡ DAVENANTIUS *in Col. i.* 24.

To follow them κατα ποδας, "step by step:"—

1. As to that pretty, new-coined distinction between the full remission of the guilt of sin, and yet inflicting of the punishment after the pardon of the guilt. Tell me, what is guilt? Is it not a liableness and being bound over to punishment? Is it any thing more or less? Therefore "if the guilt be taken away, of necessity the punishment must be taken away also."* All punishment results from guilt, and from guilt alone; and therefore, if there be a full expiation of that, the punishment must needs cease, let the kind of it be what it will. If a sin be remitted, pardoned, forgiven, it cannot in equity be punished. All punishment in order to satisfaction of justice, is utterly inconsistent with the nature and tenor of remission of sin. It is a great and known maxim, *In sublatâ culpâ tollitur et pœna;*† and backed by the concurrent testimony of the ancients.‡ The truth is, to affirm the contrary, is to make remission of sin a mere bauble, or rather a taunting jeer, or stinging sarcasm. As if a creditor should say to his debtor, "Poor soul! I freely forgive thee all thou owest me: only I must throw thee into a dungeon full of scorpions and serpents, and these must sting and torment thee years without number. But, for thy comfort, know, that it is not for the millions, but mites, thou owest me." (Purgatory-fire is not for *mortal* but *venial* sins, little peccadillos.) Or as if a judge or king should cause an "O yes" to be made, and then proclaim a free and gracious pardon to a desperate malefactor, or rather to his own prodigal, rebellious son, thus: "Son, I do, before men and angels, and in the face of the whole world, freely forgive you all your debaucheries, rebellions, treasons; I frankly quit you from the guilt of all your bloody crimes: only I remember some little incogitancies, some slight slips of your youth; and these I must not, cannot pardon. For these therefore, such is my tender compassion, you shall only be stretched and held on a rack, thrown on a burning gridiron, feed on flames of sulphur, and have plentiful draughts of scalding lead." O brethren, what human ears could bear such stabbing language? *Mutato nomine, de Papicolis narratur fabula.*§

2. Hath not Christ by his perfect obedience and sacrifice of himself fully satisfied the justice of his Father, and purchased perfect reconciliation?‖ "By the obedience of" that "one" man, the second Adam, "are" not "many," even all elected, converted, believing, penitent sinners, "made righteous" before God? (Rom. v. 19.) Hath not Christ, "by one offering, perfected for ever them that are sanctified?" (Heb. x. 14.) Doth not the "blood of Christ" thoroughly "purge our consci-

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* *Culpam remitti, nihil aliud est quàm non imputari ad pœnam.*—DURANDUS, lib. iv.

† "In the taking away of guilt, the punishment due is also removed."—EDIT.

‡ *Exempto reatu eximitur et pœna.*—TERTULLIANUS *De Bapt.* cap. v. Ὁπου συγχωρησις, ουδεμια κολασις.—CHRYSOSTOMUS *ad Rom.* hom. viii.

§ This is a modified application of a well-known line of Horace, (*Serm.* lib. i. sat. i. 70,) and may be thus translated: "Names being changed, this language belongs to the doctrine of the Papists."—EDIT.

‖ *Verè Christus communicando nobiscum sine culpâ pœnam, et culpam solvit et pœnam.*—AUGUSTINUS. "Christ, by participating in our punishment without guilt, hath taken away both guilt and punishment."—EDIT.

ence from" the guilt of "dead works" as well as filth? (Heb. ix. 14.) Hath not Christ "loved us, and given himself for us an offering and a sacrifice to God for a sweet-smelling savour" to all gracious intents and purposes? (Eph. v. 2.) Did not Christ by his death "finish the transgression, and make an end of sins?" Hath he not made perfect "reconciliation for iniquity, and brought-in everlasting righteousness?" (Dan. ix. 24, 26; Col. i. 19, 20; Rom. iii. 24—26.)

3. Where do we find in the whole scripture any the least hint of such a restriction or limitation,—that Christ hath satisfied for eternal and not for temporal punishment? Did he not bear the one as well as the other? "Surely he hath borne *all* our griefs, carried *all* our sorrows, is wounded for *all* our transgressions, bruised for *all* our iniquities, the chastisement of our *whole* peace was upon him, and by his stripes *only* we are *fully* healed." (Isai. liii. 4, 5.) The indefinites in the text clearly include an universal. Christ "his own self bare *all* our sins," that is, the guilt and punishment of them, "in his body on the tree;" and therefore doubtless takes off from the sinner what he bare in his own person. (1 Peter ii. 24.)

4. But tell me, Papists, suppose you laid your ear close to that fiery dungeon of purgatory, and should there hear elected believers, such for whom Christ hath eternal love and particularly died, and such as are truly regenerated and adopted; (for none but such are there, according to yourselves;) suppose, I say, you heard an Asa, a Hezekiah, a Jehoshaphat, a Mary Magdalen, nay, one of your own most holy popes, (who all have had their little slips, venial sins at least,) yelling, howling, crying out with Dives, "Woe is us! woe is us! for we are tormented in this flame." And, though they cannot, dare not in the least murmur against or impatiently complain of God; (that were a mortal sin, not committable in purgatory;) yet might they not without offence complain to God in such language as this?—"Ah, dear Father, the Father of thy dearest Son, our only Surety and Saviour, who now sits at thy right hand, and where one day we shall sit near him, wert not thou he that didst most freely and faithfully promise us, when we were on earth, to 'blot out all our sins as a cloud, and our transgressions as a mist?' (Isai. xliii. 25; xliv. 22;) to cover them with the robes of thy Son's righteousness? (Psalm xxxii. 1, 2;) to 'cast all our sins into the depth of the sea?' (Micah vii. 18, 19;) 'not' to 'impute our trespasses?' (Rom. iv. 8;) yea, though they were sought for, that they should not be found? (Jer. l. 20;) never to mention them more? (Ezek. xviii. 22;) nay, never to remember them more? (Jer. xxxi. 34.) Ah, dear Father, were these indeed thy promises, and didst thou in our life-time, by thy Spirit, seal to our consciences the faithful performance of them? and is this thy performance of them? 'Is this thy kindness to thy friend?' (2 Sam. xvi. 17.) As once Rebekah: 'If it be so, why are we thus?' (Gen. xxv. 22.) Is all thy promised mercy come to this? O consider and 'see whether there be any sorrow greater than our sorrow, which is done unto us, wherewith the Lord' himself, our Father, and not the devil, 'hath afflicted us, in the day of his fierce anger.' (Lam. i. 12.) True, indeed, our mountains are buried in the depth of the sea; but our mole-hills sink us: all our talent-debts are paid; but we lie, and rot, and burn, and die,

for some little fees."—Tell me, Papists, if you heard such a complaint as this, would it not make your bowels to wamble? would you not be apt to bid them hush and be still, for fear, lest it should be noised in Gath, and blabbed abroad in the streets of Askelon? (2 Sam. i. 20;) lest that on the other side of the wall, in hell, (which, you say, stands but the next wall to purgatory,) a damned caitiff should hear it, and say? "Aha! aha! thus would we have it; thus, O thus, let all those be served and saved, that, while they lived on earth, believed on and were obedient to a crucified Jesus." In one word: for God to elect, redeem, regenerate, justify, adopt, sanctify, accept, promise, swear, and to do yet much more for pardoned sinners on earth; and yet in a vindictive way, in order to the satisfaction of justice, thus to punish; what is it less than the highest contradiction?

OBJECTION I. But we must not think the learned Bellarmine will be so easily muzzled: bark he will and must, though bite he cannot. "If Christ," saith he, "satisfied for all the fault and punishment, why then do we suffer so many evils after the remission of guilt? Doth not God lay many evils on pardoned persons? Was not Moses pardoned as to his rash anger, but yet must die in Mount Nebo for his trespass? (Deut. xxxii. 48, &c.) [Were not] the Israelites pardoned, but yet punished? (Num. xiv. 20—23.) [Was not] David pardoned, but yet the child must die, and the father [must be] stabbed through the child's loins?"* (2 Sam. xii. 14.)

SOLUTION. These are not properly and strictly punishments. True, materially they look like such, and may be owned as such; but not formally. Fatherly chastisements they are; legal punishments they are not; medicinal, but not penal; rhubarb, not poison; lancets only, not stilettos; ligaments, not halters. They do not come from God's vindictive wrath, nor doth he in the least design them for the satisfaction of his justice; but they proceed from other causes, and are designed for other ends. They are the issues of his paternal love and tenderness, (Heb. xii. 5, 6; Rev. iii. 19,) to make them more sensible of the evil of sin, (Jer. iv. 18,) to prove their graces, (Deut. viii. 16,) to purge their consciences, (Isai. xxvii. 9,) refine their spirits, (Zech. xiii. 9; 1 Peter i. 7,) and to save their souls. (1 Cor. xi. 32; 2 Cor. iv. 17.) For God thus to afflict and punish may very well stand with pardoning grace; but to punish under any notion of satisfaction, save only that of Christ, cannot.

OBJECTION II. "'Death is the wages of sin;' (Rom. vi. 23;) and yet the righteous, though all their sins are forgiven in Christ, are not delivered from death."

SOLUTION 1. At the last day they shall be delivered from death itself. (1 Cor. xv. 26, 55.)

2. In death, [they] are delivered from the sting and curse of death. (1 Cor. xv. 56; Heb. ii. 15.)

3. In that they die, this is out of God's love; (Isai. lvii. 1, 2; 2 Kings xxii. 20;) and that because,

(1.) It frees them perfectly from sin and misery. (Eph. v. 26, 27; Rev. xiv. 13.)

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* BELLARMINUS *De Purg.* lib. i. cap. 10.

(2.) It makes them capable of further communion with God in glory, which they then enter upon. (Luke xxiii. 43 ; Phil. i. 23.)

Thus much as to their first assertion ; we proceed to the second.

II. They tell us, that "for the preventing or removing of these temporal punishments, both here and in purgatory, notwithstanding the fulness of Christ's satisfaction and merit, there must be human satisfactions made to God by believers themselves, and that for themselves or others." At this hole creep-in a world of Popish vanities : hence severe penances, frequent fastings, late vigils, tedious pilgrimages, bloody corporal lashings, voluntary poverty,—all these are human satisfactions before death. After death, Masses, prayers, dirges, indulgences, pardons,—these for them that at their death are pinioned up, and carried bound to purgatory ; and this only for venial sins, such as break no square at all betwixt God and souls ; such as do not deserve the loss of God's favour, nor exclusion from heaven to purgatory ;—I say, whose flames and exquisite torments differ nothing from those of hell but only in duration ; the one being but for a time, the other everlasting.

As to this fine device of human satisfaction by believers for themselves or others, we demand,

(I.) In Christ's humiliation, was there a fulness, an all-fulness of satisfaction, to make an ample amends to God's enraged justice, yea, or no? If it be denied, doubted, or disputed, by the Socinian or Papist, we thus prove it. The fulness of Christ's satisfaction is,

1. *Most clearly typified in the Old Testament.*—In those three famous instances :—the burning of the sacrifices by fire from heaven, (Lev. i. 9 ; Judges vi. 17, 21 ; 2 Chron. vii. 1—3,) which made them ascend toward the place of God's glorious possession ; the completeness of the daily bloody sacrifice ; (Exod. xxix. 38—42 ;) and the sweetness of the things required in the meat and drink offerings. (Exod. xxix. 40, 41 ; Lev. ii. 2, 15.) All these [are] types of the fulness of Christ's satisfaction.

2. *Plainly asserted in the New Testament.*—"Christ hath given himself for us an offering and a sacrifice to God for a sweet-smelling savour." (Eph. v. 2.) Wherein observe these two things :—

(1.) *The sufficiency.*—"An offering and a sacrifice to God."

(2.) *The fragrancy and acceptableness unto God of the offering and sacrifice of Christ.*—Christ's offering and sacrifice of himself was as acceptable unto God, as the sweetest odours are unto men's sense of smelling.

3. *Really evidenced by Christ's exaltation, as an evident sign or token thereof.*—Christ was thrown into the prison of the grave, as our Surety, for our sins ; and no possibility of delivery of him thence, but by paying the utmost farthing we owed unto God's justice. But now, as the prophet saith, "He was taken from prison and from judgment," (Isai. liii. 8,) raised from the dead, taken up into heaven, placed at God's right hand, (1 Cor. xv. 4 ; Mark xvi. 19,) there admitted into the glorious exercise of an authoritative intercession : (Heb. vii. 25 :) a most convincing argument that he hath paid off all our debt, given full recompence to God's displeased holiness, sufficient satisfaction to his justice provoked by our sins. Hereupon that of our Saviour : "The Comforter" will "convince the world of righteousness, because I go to my Father ;"

that is, the Spirit shall convince the world, not only that Christ was righteous, or innocent in his own person, and therefore unjustly numbered among transgressors; but that there was righteousness enough in him for the justification of the whole world of his elect. And the argument whereby he proves it, is, "Because I go to my Father." (John xvi. 8, 10.) Our sins and God's justice would have kept Christ still in his grave, and never admitted him into heaven, till he had fulfilled all righteousness; that is, till he had performed all the duties, and suffered the whole curse, of the law, as touching the substance thereof, for those for whom he lived and died a Surety. On this it is that Paul firmly grounds his triumphing confidence, and bids defiance to sin, law, death, and devils. (Rom. viii. 33, 34; with Rom. iv. 25.)

4. *Plain from the infinite worthiness of his person.*—And that whether you consider Christ's humiliation under the notion of *a price*, or *sacrifice.*

(1.) *As a price which he paid for us, of great and inestimable value, by reason of the worthiness of his person.*—"The precious blood of Christ;" (1 Peter i. 18, 19;) the blood of God; (Acts xx. 28;) a full and sufficient price of ransom (Psalm cxxx. 7, 8) from the guilt and dominion of sin, from the curse and rigour of the law, all steps and degrees of salvation, (from all sins, all evil that is in sin,) all the sad and miserable consequents and effects of sin; and a sufficient price of purchase to obtain love, kindness, life, righteousness, favour, and acceptance, together with all the gracious and glorious fruits thereof.

(2.) *As a sacrifice, which he offered for us, an all-pleasing sacrifice, by reason of the infiniteness of his person.*—"By one offering [he] for ever perfected those that are sanctified." (Heb. x. 14.) The great acceptableness of this sacrifice unto God proceeds from the dignity of the priest offering,—the eternal Son of God, in whom God was infinitely well pleased; (Matt. iii. 17;) from the sacrifice offered,—the blood shed was the blood of God; (Acts xx. 28;) from the altar on which it was offered,—the divine nature. (Heb. ix. 14.)

(II.) Tell me, then, Is there in Christ's humiliation an all-fulness of satisfaction to divine justice, yea, or no? If so, what need then in the least of this fig-leaf of human satisfaction? To what purpose do we light up a dim taper and a smoky candle, when we have before us the clear and full light of a mid-day sun? If Christ's satisfaction be of infinite price, why may it not serve for the expiation of the guilt of temporal, as well as eternal, punishment? If there be an all-sufficiency in Christ's satisfaction, what need the supplement of ours?

OBJECTION I. "Did not Paul 'rejoice in his sufferings' for the church, 'and fill up that which was behind of the afflictions of Christ in his flesh, for his body's sake, which is the church?'" (Col. i. 24.)

SOLUTION. A great difference betwixt suffering for the good of others, and satisfying for the fault and guilt of others. A Paul may do the former; a Christ only can do the latter. And this was the sole cause of Paul's rejoicing,—the great benefit that accrued to the church by his suffering. True, indeed, Paul is said to "fill up," &c., not as if there were any thing lacking or defective in the sufferings of Christ; (Heb. x. 14; vii. 25;) but by "the sufferings of Christ," our apostle means, not

Christ personal, but Christ mystical, that is, the body Christ, or true believers, that is, Christ in his members, who are usually called Christ. (Acts ix. 4; 2 Cor. i. 5; Heb. xi. 25.) When Christ had done suffering in his person, he left it as a legacy to his members that they should suffer with him and for him. (Acts ix. 16; xiv. 22; 2 Tim. iii. 12.) Well, then, Paul suffers for the church. But how? so as to satisfy God's justice for them? O nò. Paul rejects this sense with indignation: "Was Paul crucified for you?" (1 Cor. i. 13.) But as he is said sometimes to suffer for Christ, (2 Cor. xii. 10,) not, surely, to satisfy for him, but to glorify him; so he suffers for the church's edification and establishment; and so he elsewhere explains himself. (Phil. i. 12; 2 Tim. ii. 10.) Hence it is, that he is said to labour in the word "even unto bonds." (2 Tim. ii. 9.) Nor doth Paul think by his sufferings to redeem others from their suffering; but by his example to excite them to the same constancy. Wherefore he saith, he suffered all things for the elect, not that they should expect satisfaction for their sins in the merit of his sufferings, but that they might obtain the salvation that is in Christ.

Objection ii. Here the Papists gravely reply upon us: "Not to supply the wants or defects of Christ's satisfaction; but to apply it unto us. It is one of the instruments ordained by God for the application of Christ's satisfaction to us, in the taking away of temporal punishment."

Solution. *Quid verba audiam?** Show us the least tittle of ground for this harangue in the book of God.

1. A new satisfaction [is] no more required to apply the satisfaction of Christ, than a new death, redemption, resurrection is, to apply the death, redemption, and resurrection of Christ.

2. [It is not required] by their own limitation and restriction of the use of Christ's satisfaction. They limit the use of Christ's satisfaction to the taking away of the fault only, and that of mortal sins alone, and eternal punishment due for them: and how then can human satisfaction apply the satisfaction of Christ for the taking away of temporal punishment?

3. These pretended human satisfactions are no instruments of application of Christ's satisfaction: for such instruments are all ordinances of God, branches of his worship; so are not the pains of purgatory. Besides, all means of applying the satisfaction of Christ proceed from the grace, mercy, and favour of God; pains of purgatory, from God's justice, and are of a destructive nature.

4. These pretended human satisfactions are very injurious unto and derogatory from Christ's satisfaction; in that,

(1.) *They make Christ's satisfaction to be imperfect,* in that it adds thereunto a supply of human satisfaction.

Objection iii. "So far from derogating from the dignity of Christ's satisfaction, that they rather make to the greater honour thereof, because it deriveth all our power of satisfying from Christ's satisfaction. It is no derogation from God's omnipotency, that he works by second causes; that in working the greatest miracles, he makes use of the meanest servants. No impeachment [of] but rather an honour to Christ's satisfaction to have it advanced so far, as that by virtue thereof the members of Christ are made in part satisfiers of divine justice."

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* "Why should I listen to mere verbiage?"—Edit.

SOLUTION. One tittle of scripture-proof for this, or else the Protestant's negation is as authentic as the Papist's assertion.

(2.) *It communicates to man power of satisfying, which is the peculiar and incommunicative prerogative of Christ alone.*—This appears from two grand fruits of Christ's satisfaction, proper and peculiar thereunto, namely, *redemption* and *reconciliation.*

(i.) *Redemption.*—Christ alone hath redeemed us. (Gal. iii. 13.) Now if redemption be not communicated, *ergò* not satisfaction; for redemption is founded on satisfaction. Now Papists themselves acknowledge no mediator of redemption beside him. (Heb. i. 3; ix. 15.)

(ii.) *Full and perfect reconciliation with God.* (Rom. v. 10; Col. i. 21, 22; 2 Cor. v. 19; Psalm li. 9; ciii. 12; Isai. xxxviii. 17; i. 18.) —These and like places [are] to be understood exclusively. "Reconciled to God," that is, only by Christ's blood and death. No chastisement whatever beside that of his can pacify God's wrath against us, or can procure our peace with him. (Isai. liii. 5.) Papists acknowledge that nothing which sinful man can do or suffer is able to purchase the return of God's favour and friendship: so then if men's best works and greatest sufferings cannot reconcile us unto God, neither can they satisfy the justice of God, because reconciliation of God to man follows satisfaction to his justice; and if God be once fully and perfectly reconciled, [there is] no place for any other punishment, though but temporal, because the friends of God and members of Christ cannot be condemned.

OBJECTION IV. "But human satisfactions are to us very considerable." *Bonus odor lucri,* "The vast and sweet profits," the large incomes and revenues, which these bring to the dispensers of them! This *fabula meritorum* ["fable of merits"] (like that *fabula Christi,* ["fable of Christ,"] as one of their popes said, and he spake like himself) is not easily to be parted with. Methinks I hear their good brother Demetrius clapping them on the shoulder, and crying, *Euge, macte!* "Go on, noble souls; go on and prosper!" "Alas! silver shrines for the great Diana are in danger; yea, her Holiness herself is in danger; and not she, or not so much she, as we; 'our craft is in danger to be set at nought.'" (Acts xix. 24, &c.)

SOLUTION. Pardon me, if here I make no reply; but ingenuously confess, with that learned and worthy brother,* in his late excellent and sinewy tract on Rom. viii., that I cannot answer it. But, this being taken away, "I assure myself," saith he, "this controversy would soon be at an end." It is the satisfying of corrupt men in their pride, and avarice, and filthy lucre, rather than the satisfying of a punishing God, that is at the bottom of this controversy.

Thus much as to the second Romish position.

III. "There have been," say the Papists, "now are, and still will be in the church some eminent and transcendent saints, such as the Virgin Mary, John Baptist, St. Peter, St. Paul, Ignatius Loyola, St. Dominic, St. Francis, and many signal martyrs and confessors, that, by the assisting grace of God vouchsafed to them in this life, and the wise improvement of their own free-will, have been enabled perfectly, and personally, and perpetually to keep the whole law of God; and by this have merited eternal life for themselves, and greater degrees of glory. Nay, more; not only so, not only done all the good which the Lord required, or only just so much as the law demanded; not only given the Lord 'good measure, pressed down, and shaken together,' but even 'running over;' (Luke vi. 38;) that is, by lending an obedient ear to God's evangelical counsels," (which are things of greater moment by far with Papists than God's moral precepts,) "they have even done more than the law demands, more than was needful to be done by them for the obtaining of eternal salvation, and have suffered more grievous torments than their sin deserved; and by both, have most plentifully merited for others." *

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* DR. JACOMBE.

The vanity and rottenness of this third suggestion I suppose I have sufficiently evidenced in the proof of my first and second proposition; and therefore hasten to the next assertion of the Papists, which is,

IV. "These redundant and overflowing meritorious actions and sufferings of eminent saints, being mixed and jumbled together with the superabundant satisfaction of Christ," (concerning which Clement VI. tells us, that one drop of Christ's blood was sufficient for the redemption of all mankind, as if all the rest might have been well spared,) "are," say they, "deposited in the church's hands as a common stock and treasury."

V. And lastly. "The key of this church-treasury is committed by God to the whole and sole care and dispose of his Holiness the pope himself, the whole treasury to be disposed of by him and his delegates, and to be applied to poor, penitent, and contrite sinners, that so by the pope's Bull and Indulgences they may enjoy the benefit of those merits, and be delivered either from church-censures on earth, or the pains of purgatory, next door to hell."

To both these I shall briefly say but this much: *Et risum teneatis amici?* † or rather, *Quis talia fando temperet a lachrymis?* ‡ This, this was the thing that first raised the spirit of that German Elijah,§ to put his life into his hand, and in the strength of his God to go out against the Romish Goliath. Pope Leo had gratified his dear sister Magdalene with a large monopoly of German pardons. Aremboldus, her factor, was a little too covetous, and held the market too high. The height of his over-rated ware caused the chapmen, and, among the rest, Luther, a little more narrowly to inspect their worth; and they were soon found to be (what indeed they are) a novel and irrational vanity, an upstart opinion; not known, say Cornelius Agrippa, Polydore Virgil, and Machiavel, to the churches, till the year 1300, in Boniface VIII.'s days; who was the first that extended indulgences to purgatory, and the first that devised the jubilee, which is indeed the mart or market for the full uttering of them.

But, to let pass the novelty, do but seriously weigh the sinfulness, of this opinion. It is grounded on a supposed merit in saints. Now merit is that which purchaseth a thing *de novo* which he had not before, and to make that due which one had not before, but may now lay just claim to. If so, how deeply derogatory is this opinion to the fulness of Christ's merit to purchase all reconciliation and acceptation both of our persons and services, together with an everlasting inheritance in the kingdom of heaven! (Dan. ix. 24—26; Col. i. 19, 20; John xvii. 2; Heb. ix. 12, 15.) If the merit of Christ be of infinite value, and that by it he hath purchased in behalf of us, his members, a full right unto eternal life and happiness, then their good works do not make the same newly due. If they make it any way due, [it is] either in whole, or in part: if *in whole*, then Christ hath merited nothing for them; if *in part*, then something of eternal life there is which Christ hath not merited. Either way there is a manifest derogation from the merits of Christ.

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* *Concil. Trid.* sess. vi. cap. 18; BELLARMINUS *De Justificatione*, lib. iv. cap. 10.
† HORATIUS *De Arte Poet.* 5. "Can you, my friends, refrain from laughing?"—EDIT.
‡ VIRGILII *Æneid.* ii, 6. "Who can abstain from tears at such a tale as this?"—EDIT.
§ Luther.

As for that *ignis fatuus* of purgatory, I refer you to the learned labours of my reverend brother, that in this book professedly treats of that subject.

Use II. Exhortation. I have done with the self-advancing Papist, A few words more to the self-abhorring reformed Protestant, and I have done.

1. *"Be" sincerely "careful to maintain" and practise "good works," and that with all your might, even to the end of your days.* (Titus iii. 8.) —Dorcas was "full of good works." (Acts ix. 36.) Yea, "provoke one another to love and to good works." (Heb. x. 24.) Let not this thought—that you cannot, when you have done all, either merit, or super-erogate by them—tempt you to neglect the holy, faithful, humble, constant performance of them. Do them, then; but do them "for necessary uses," (Titus iii. 14,) for the noble ends by God prescribed. Not for this end, as if by them to merit or super-erogate; leave that design to the pharisaical Papist; but in all your obedience, active, passive, aim directly,

(1.) *At the evidencing of the truth and liveliness of your faith;*[*] *to show your faith by your works.* (James ii. 18.)—Abraham's faith was made perfect by his works. (Verses 21, 22.) Not as if Abraham's faith received its worth, value, and perfection from his works; but "[was] made perfect," that is, made known and discovered, as God's strength is said to be perfected in our weakness. (2 Cor. xii. 9.) Or thus: his faith, co-working with his obedience "was made perfect;" that is, bettered and improved, as the inward vigour of your spirits is increased by motion and exercise.

(2.) *At the manifestation of your thankfulness.*—Thus David: "What shall I render unto the Lord for all his benefits toward me? I will take the cup of salvation, and call upon the name of the Lord." (Psalm cxvi. 12, 13.) To "show forth the praises of Him, who hath called you out of darkness into his marvellous light." (1 Peter ii. 9; i. 5—11.)

(3.) *At the strengthening of your assurances of God's special love toward you.*—"Hereby ye shall know that you know him, if ye keep his commandments;" that in you "verily the love of God may be perfected," and that "hereby you may know that you are in him." (1 John ii. 3, 5.)

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[*] *Opera non sunt causa quòd aliquis justus sit apud Deum, sed potiùs sunt manifestationes justitiæ.*—Aquinas. "Works are not the cause why any one is just before God, but rather are manifestations of a justified state."—Edit.

(4.) *At the edification of your brethren, that your zeal may provoke very many.*—As that of the brethren of Achaia did those of Macedonia. (2 Cor. ix. 2.) "Let your light so shine before men," not that they may magnify you, but "glorify your Father which is in heaven." (Matt. v. 16.)

(5.) *At the adorning of your profession of the gospel, and stopping of the mouths of adversaries.* (Titus ii. 5—13; 1 Tim. vi. 1; 1 Peter ii. 15.)

(6.) Chiefly and principally *at the glory of God.* (1 Cor. x. 31.)—Let your conversation be so honest, that, whereas they speak against you as evil-doers, though their corruptions accuse you, their consciences may acquit you; "that they may by your good works, which they shall behold, glorify God in the day of visitation." (1 Peter ii. 12; Phil. i. 11; John xv. 8.) "Glorify God," I say, whose "workmanship you are, created in Christ Jesus unto good works, which God had before ordained that ye should walk in them," (Eph. ii. 10,) that so, "having your fruit unto holiness, you may have the end," or consequent, not the merit, of your works, namely, "eternal life." (Rom. vi. 22.)

2. *As, when you have done all, you are but an "unprofitable servant," and therefore must not presume to come to God in the opinion of your own worthiness, yet be not afraid to come to God because of your unworthiness.*—The worst of men should not keep off from God because they are unprofitable, since the best cannot profit him. If we have done much, it is nothing to the Lord; and if we have done nothing, it is no bar to the Lord's doing much for us. God will not turn us back because we bring him nothing; nay, he invites us to come without any thing, "without money," or money-worth. (Isai. lv. 1.)

3. *When you have done all, and are most fully laden with good works, beg earnestly of God to work and keep in you low and humble thoughts of yourself, of all you do or suffer for him.*—They of whom God hath the highest thoughts, have the meanest thoughts of and put the lowest rate upon themselves. No man ever received a fairer certificate from God than Job did: "There is none like him in the earth, a perfect and an upright man;" (Job i. 1, 8;) and yet no man could think or speak more humbly and undervaluingly of himself than Job did: he "abhors" himself, and "repents in dust and ashes." (Job xlii. 6.) And, "Whom, though I were righteous, yet would I not answer, but I would make supplication to my Judge." (Job ix. 15.) And, "Though I were perfect, yet would I not know my soul: I would despise my life." (Verse 21.)

To make and keep thee humble under thy greatest attainments,

USE III. DIRECTION. 1. *Often look up and consider the infinite purity and holiness of God.*—The more we know God, the more humble we are before him. "Now mine eye hath seen thee," that is, "Having now a clearer and more glorious manifestation of thee to my soul than ever; I now, perceiving thy pure holiness, wisdom, faithfulness, goodness, as if they were corporeal objects and I saw them with mine eye, on this very score 'abhor myself in dust and ashes.'" (Job xlii. 5, 6.)

2. *When thou hast done all, remember still, that thy ability to do good*

works is not at all from thyself, but from the Spirit of Christ. (John xv. 4, 5 ; 2 Cor. iii. 5 ; Ezek. xxxvi. 26, 27.)—A continual gale and influence of the Holy Spirit [is] necessary to bring thy richly-laden soul into its port. (Phil. ii. 13 ; iv. 13.)

3. *When thou art at thy* non ultra, "*in thy very zenith*" *of attainable excellences here, remember that all thy acceptation at the hand of God, both as to person and performance, depends wholly and solely on the blessed Jesus, and thy peculiar interest in him.* (Eph. i. 6 ; 1 Peter ii. 5 ; Exod. viii. 28 ; Gen. iv. 4 ; Heb. xi. 4 ; xiii. 20, 21 ; 2 Cor. viii. 12 ; Heb. vi. 10 ; Matt. xxv. 21, 23.)

SERMON XV. (XII.)

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THE DOCTRINE OF JUSTIFICATION IS DANGEROUSLY CORRUPTED IN THE ROMAN CHURCH.

Being justified freely by his grace through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus.—Romans iii. 24.

The apostle, in these words and the following, gives an exact account of the doctrine of justification, dictated to him by the Spirit of truth. And this will be the best ground we can proceed on, to discover the errors by which it is corrupted. That is our present business, to which I hasten ; only first opening the words by a brief touch upon them.

Being justified—To be justified, is to be freely accepted of God as righteous, so as to have pardon and title to life upon the account of Christ's righteousness. We cannot be accepted as righteous, till we be acquitted from guilt. The apostle describes justification by remission of sins. (Rom. iv. 5, 6.) And being accepted as righteous, we are accepted to life : the apostle calls it "justification of life." (Rom. v. 17, 18, 21.) This is upon the account of Christ's righteousness. We cannot be justified upon our own account ; for so we are condemned, and cannot but be so : nor upon other account but Christ and his righteousness ; for there is no justification without righteousness, and none sufficient but that of Christ ; which the apostle includes in "the redemption that is in Christ Jesus."

Freely by his grace—The Lord justifies by his grace, and this acts freely. That which moves him is called, in Titus iii. 4, χρηστοτης και φιλανθρωπια, "kindness and love ;" which in verse 7 is "grace :" "That being justified," τη εκεινου χαριτι, "by his grace." So justification is το χαρισμα, "the free gift ;" (Rom. v. 16 ;) ἡ δωρεα εν χαριτι, "the gift by grace." (Verse 15.) This grace, as it is free mercy, so it acts like itself, δωρεαν, "freely ;" (the word used in Matt. x. 8 : Δωρεαν ελαϐετε, "Freely ye have received" it ;) he gives it freely to those who have no merit to deserve it: there is none in us; what there was, was in Christ. It is

Through the redemption—Redemption is deliverance by a price, or valuable consideration. This price was the blood of Christ, (Rom. iii. 25; v. 9; Eph. i. 6, 7,) his death, (Rom. viii. 33, 34,) his obedience, (Rom. v. 19,) his righteousness. (Verse 18.)

We may view the text distinctly in three parts:—

I. *Believers are "justified."*

II. *"Freely by his grace."*

III. *"Through the redemption that is in Christ."*

Against each of these the Papists have advanced several errors of pernicious consequence, and thereby dangerously corrupted the whole doctrine of justification.

I. That a sinner may be saved, the scriptures declare that he must be both justified and sanctified: the Romanists, as if one of those were but requisite, call that "justification," which in scripture is "sanctification;" and that which in scripture is "justification," they admit not, as distinct from inherent righteousness.

The apostle Paul, who most insists upon the doctrine of justification, delivers these two as distinct things. (1 Cor. vi. 11; and elsewhere.) He ascribes justification commonly to the blood of Christ; (as in the text, and Rom. v. 8, 9;) sanctification to the Spirit of Christ. (Titus iii. 5.)

However, the Papists' promiscuous use of the words might be tolerated, if they did not confound the things, and contend that we are formally justified by that which is the form and essence of sanctification, namely, inherent righteousness. The danger is that which the apostle would have the Jews avoid, when he expresseth his hearty desire that they might be saved: "For they being ignorant of God's righteousness, and going about to establish their own righteousness, have not submitted themselves unto the righteousness of God." (Rom. x. 3.) The Papists trust to their own righteousness for acceptance and life, and will be justified in the sight of God by that which indeed is imperfect and culpable, and, so, liable to be condemned; and being convinced that they cannot be justified by an imperfect righteousness, therefore they will have their inherent righteousness to be perfect: not so perfect as it will be in heaven;[*] but so as to be free from sin, and to answer the demands of the law,[†] since they know, otherwise, it would not justify them. And this fancy of a sinless perfection runs them into many absurd and pernicious conceits.

First. For they are hereby obliged to maintain, that no corruption in their natures after baptism, no aversion from God, no inclination to evil, though habitual and fixed, has any thing of sin in it; no, nor any vicious habits acquired by frequent acts of sin:[*] all is sinless that is in the soul when grace or charity is once therein. And so there is no need of mortification, no possibility of it; for there is nothing of sin in them to be mortified, no habit or disposition, natural or accessary, upon which the charge of sin can be truly fixed. And as they leave no need of, no place for, mortification, so after they have discarded the scripture-justification, to make way for a sanctification to justify them, they deal no better with that neither; whether it be taken for the first rise of holiness, which is properly regeneration; or for the growth and increase of it, which is the sanctification that the scripture calls for commonly under this notion;—they will have it to be a second justification. As for the first sanctification, by their principles, it excludes all sin, and is, so far, perfect, or nothing; and so indeed is a mere chimera, such a thing as God never gave, never promised, as no mere man on earth ever had. (1 John i. 8.) Yet this and nothing else must justify them, and make them worthy of eternal life: and thus they will be justified and saved by a mere fancy, or nothing.

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[*] *Quod dicebamus, justitiam et charitatem in hâc vitâ non esse perfectam, comparatione duntaxat ad illam patriæ reputandum est.*—DOMINICUS A SOTO *De Nat. et Grat.* lib. iii. cap. 4, p. 134.

[†] The Council of Trent calls it *justitiam candidam et immaculatam* ["white and spotless justice"].—Sess. v. cap. 67. In the Trent Catechism it is *divina qualitas in animâ inhærens, quæ animarum vestrarum omnes maculus delet.* "A divine quality, inherent in the soul, which takes away all stains and spots from your souls."—EDIT. *Ea (charitas) siquidem est verissima, plenissima, perfectissima justitia.*—BELLARMINUS *De Justif.* lib. ii. cap. 16, p. 806. "Since it (grace) is a most true, full, and perfect righteousness."—EDIT.

As for growth and increase in holiness, which is the sanctification that the scripture makes so necessary, and calls for with so much importunity, this they make superfluous and unnecessary. No man needs design or endeavour it; for what needs he look after more of that which he hath already in perfection? They have it in such perfection, as [that] there is no culpable defect in it.[†] It is no sin to have no more; (else it would not be sufficient to their justification;) and what necessity is there to labour for that which it is no sin to want? Their doctrine of justification by a righteousness of their own inculpably perfect obliges them to hold, that what grace they receive at first, though in the very lowest degree, is all that God commands and makes necessary; if he commanded more, the want of more would be culpable. So that every degree of holiness or charity above the least of all, is only *sub consilio*, "mere matter of counsel;"[‡] which they may neglect without contracting so much as the guilt of a venial fault.[§]

Thus all progress in holiness is hereby superseded: after the first step they sin not, though they never make another. And all the degrees of holiness above the lowest are unnecessary: they may be without all of them, safely and inculpably. In short: if the want of all other degrees but the least of all, be a sin; if the lowest degree of all be not righteousness in perfection; by their principles, they are not justified, and cannot be saved. And so the main stress of their salvation lies upon a gross and palpable delusion, that such a righteousness is perfect as is furthest of all from perfection, and in a degree next to nothing.

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[*] *Habitus justitiæ contrarius est habitui injustitiæ; quia non est peccatum, sed vitium, ex malis actibus contractum; quale etiam in justificatis reperiri potest.*—*Ibid.* p. 805. "A habit contrary to righteousness is a habit of unrighteousness: for it is not a sin, but a vice, contracted from evil acts; such as may be found even in justified persons."—EDIT. *Dispositio vel habitus acquisitus vitium est, non peccatum.*—*De Amiss. Grat.* lib. v. cap. 19, p. 337. "A disposition or acquired habit is a vice, not a sin."—EDIT. *Omnes siquidem leges præcipiunt vel prohibent actus, non habitus.*—MELCHIOR CANUS *De Pœnit.* p. 870. "Since all laws command or prohibit acts, not habits."—EDIT.

[†] *Nulla enim est charitas simpliciter imperfecta: sufficit autem quilibet gradus charitatis, ut quis servet verbum, id est, præcepta, Domini.*—BELLARMINUS *De Purgat.* lib. xxii. cap. 3, p. 1381. "For no grace is simply imperfect: but any degree of grace is sufficient for any one, in order to his keeping the word, that is, the precepts, of the Lord."—EDIT.

[‡] *Si non pecco (ex sententiâ S. Thomæ) si amem Deum nisi uno gradu amoris, certè non teneor in rigore ad pliùs amare: implicat enim contradictionem, quòd non peccem, non faciendo quod facere teneor: ergò, si addam alterum gradum amoris, amo plùs quàm teneor, atque eo modo facio actum supererogationis et consilii.*—Idem *De Monach.* lib. ii. cap. 13, p. 1162.

[§] *Nec ullæ (leges) divinæ consultoriæ etiam ad veniale obligent.*—NAVARRI *Manuale*, cap. xxiii. n. 49, p. 564; et cap. xxi. n. 43; SYLVESTRI *Summa*, in verb. *Inobedientia*, s. 2.

Secondly. They seem to include remission of sins in justification; but it is not that pardon which the gospel offers, but another thing under the disguise of the same word; and particularly, such as lies cross to every part of the text. Their pardon is not an act of God, absolving a guilty person upon the account of satisfaction given; but an act or consequent of infused grace or charity within us, abolishing sin, and not otherwise taking away the guilt but by taking away the being of it.[*]

The best account I can give of it, in brief, is this, collected out of their chief authors. They observe in sin the fault and the guilt: and the guilt, either as it is the desert of sin, and the offender worthy of punishment; or as it is an obligation to punishment, and the sinner bound to suffer it. The former is, with them, *reatus culpæ;* the latter, *reatus pœnæ;*[†] and all this is taken away by charity, or infused grace. The fault in sin is the aversion, or the soul's turning away, from God: but charity, or inherent grace, brings it back again, and joins it to him; and thereby the fault is remitted.[‡] Now the fault being gone by virtue of inherent grace, the guilt must vanish too: for where there is no fault, there is no desert of punishment; and where there is no desert of it, there can be no obligation to it. So that, infused grace having left sin no being, by necessary consequence the guilt is taken away together with it.[§] Accordingly Bellarmine shows particularly how this charity takes away all that belongs to sin,—the aversion from God, the stain of sin, the desert of punishment, and the obligation to it. And the sum of all is this: The formal effect of habitual charity is the abolishing of sin:[||] and, with him and others, remission of sins, and infusion of grace, are but one and the same motion; whereof these are the two terms; as it is in the diffusion of light, and the dispelling of darkness.[¶]

So that this doctrine leaves sinners no hopes of pardon in this life, or for ever: for hereby sin is not pardoned, till by inherent charity it be quite expelled, which is not in this life; or till the sinner be rendered not worthy of punishment, merely by virtue of such charity, which will never be.

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[*] *Charitas culpam delet per actum suum proprium: pœnam autem tollit per opera satisfactoria quæ ipsa charitas imperat.*—BELLARMINUS *De Purgat.* lib. ii. cap. 3, p. 1381. "Grace destroys the guilt by its own proper act: but it removes the punishment by the works of satisfaction which grace itself commands."—EDIT.

[†] *Reatus culpæ, qui est dignitas odii, indignitas gratiæ, et meritum pœnæ: reatus pœnæ;—id est ordinatio sive obligatio ad luendam pœnam.*—Idem *De Amiss. Grat.* lib. v. cap. 19, p. 337.

[‡] *Quando per gratiam remittitur culpa, tollitur aversio animæ a Deo, in quantum per gratiam anima Deo conjungitur.*—AQUINAS, *Tertia*, quæst. lxxxv. art. 4. *Ideò ex hoc dicitur culpa mortalis remitti, quòd per gratiam tollitur aversio mentis a Deo.*—Idem, *ad primam*, artic. 4, quæst. lxxxv.

[§] *Per consequens simul tollitur reatus pœnæ.*—Idem, *ibid.* *Non possunt non tolli, si donum illud præcesserit*, says Bellarmine of the guilt and offence of sin, *De Justific.* lib. xii. cap. 16, p. 806. "They cannot be otherwise than taken away, if that gift has preceded."—EDIT.

[||] *Habemus primum effectum formalem justitiæ, id est, charitatis habitualis, divinitùs infusæ, esse, de medio tollere ac delere peccatum.*—Idem, *ibid.*

[¶] Idem, *ibid.* lib. ii. cap. 2, p. 766; and SOTO (after Aquinas) *De Nat. et Grat.* lib. ii. cap. 18, p. 110.

However, those who understand what pardon is, by the light of scripture, will soon discover that this is not the gospel-pardon. To go no farther than the text, it clashes, as I said, with every part of it. For, First, by their account, pardon is by a physical or super-physical act of charity within us; whereas the first word in the text, δικαιουμενοι, shows that pardon in justification is a judicial act of God toward us. The perpetual use of the word in scripture assures us of this: it implies a judicial proceeding; and is set opposite to condemning or accusing. For a judge to acquit one at the bar, accused in order to condemnation, is not to qualify him; (that would be to prevent misdemeanours for the future;) but to discharge him from what he is accused of, as past: nor can they give any instances in scripture of such use of the word as will bear their notion. Indeed, it is against the usage of the world and common sense, that a man should be said to pardon one, by enduing him with good qualities. Secondly. The pardon in justification is free; a gift of undeserved grace, as the next words express it. But their pardon is not free, neither in itself, nor in that which they make the rise of it,—inherent charity. They deface the freeness of it in both, by a conceit of their own merit; and so transform it into another thing than the pardon of the gospel is; which shall be made apparent when we come to the second part of the text. Thirdly. The gospel-pardon is entirely through the redemption that is in Christ, as the next words represent it; but their pardon excludes this redemption, or leaves it but a minute and remote influence into it, if any at all.

The Lord, by Christ's undertaking, is moved to show mercy to sinners: he shows it by infusing charity into their hearts. This takes away the fault or being of sin; and, that being gone, the desert of punishment vanisheth, and, by consequence, the obligation to it. So we must pass several stages before we can discover what the redemption of Christ hath to do in the pardon of a sinner; and when we have gone so far, may be at a loss too, as they order the matter. But that will better be showed in the last proposal.

Moreover, though they will have their pardon do more than mere remission can do, yet they make it fall short of that which is most proper for pardon to do. It quite dissolves not the obligation to punishment; but leaves the sinner, when he is said to be pardoned, to suffer, as if he were condemned. He must, for all his pardon, be damned to a temporary hell; (for such is their purgatory;) and there he must be punished in the severest manner and measure: with the greatest suffering of all, *as to loss*,—the want of the vision and fruition of God; and the most exquisite tortures, *as to sense*,[*]—such as are equivalent to the torments of hell:[*] and all this, it may be, for a hundred or a thousand years, they know not how long. All the pardoning mercies of God, and the redemption of Christ, cannot secure him from this.[†] Surely this pardon looks nothing so like remission as condemnation.

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[*] *Pœna damni est maxima pœnarum. Omnis qui in purgatorio degit, cruciatur saltem hâc pœnâ damni, quæ est omnium maxima.*—AQUINAS *in Quartum*, dist. xx. xli., art. 2. "The punishment of loss is the greatest of all punishments. Every one who dwells in purgatory is tormented at least with this punishment of loss, which is the greatest of all."—EDIT. *Vide* BELLARMINUM *De Purgat.* lib. ii. cap. 14: *Si ibi est verus ignis, erit omninò acerrimus; cùm ad hoc solum sit institutus, ut sit instrumentum Justitiæ Divinæ: si non sit ignis verus, erit aliquid horribilius, quale Deus parare potuit, qui potentiam suam in hoc ostendere voluit.*—P. 1400. "If there be in purgatory a real fire, it will assuredly be most fierce and sharp; since it was ordained solely to the end that it might be an instrument of the Divine Justice: if there be not a real fire, there will be some punishment yet more horrible; such as God can prepare, who wills in this to show his power."—EDIT.

Thirdly. What we said last, respects those sins which they call "mortal;" but there is with them another sort of sins which go under the notion of "venials," and which in number exceed the other vastly and incomparably. And these sins, by their doctrine, are not pardoned, or need no pardon; and so justification, the free grace of God, and the redemption of Christ, are excluded hereby, as needless, and unconcerned in them.

The pardon in justification frees the sinner from eternal punishment; but they teach, that these sins (all of them together) deserve not eternal punishment: God cannot justly inflict it for them; it is not due to them. If the guilt of all the sins in the world of this sort were charged upon one man, or if there were no covenant or promise of God for pardon, says their great cardinal, (that is, if there were no gospel, no Christ,) yet a sinner could not be punished for them eternally:[‡] so that there is no place for, no need of, the pardon of the gospel as to these sins. Then for the temporal punishment of them, the sinner either *must* or *may* suffer it himself, and so satisfy for it: if he *may* satisfy for it, there is no need of pardon; if he *do* satisfy for it, there is no place for pardon. He that suffers what punishment the law will have inflicted for his offence, neither is nor can be said to be pardoned.[§] So that plainly, by their doctrine, venial sins have not, or need not, pardon of any sort, either in respect of eternal or temporal punishment.

And yet these venial sins, which need no pardon, are many of them, *for their quality*, great and heinous; *for their number*, far the greatest of all.

As to their quality, their casuists, who are dictators in this business, make what sins they list to be venial. Whereas, by their common reckoning, there are seven mortal sins; even divers of these, by their handling, are shrunk into small faults. They make covetousness and prodigality too,[||] ambition,[¶] vain-glory,[**] gluttony[††] and drunkenness,[*] (if it do but half-brutify a man,) the neglect of the public worship of God,[†] of all worship indeed which can be truly called so, and the neglect of charity and mercy to men, [‡] except in such cases which rarely or never fall out,—also common swearing,[§] great irreverence to the Divine Majesty, [‖] abhorring of divine things, [¶] yea, divers sorts of blasphemy and perjury,[**] murder, [††] with others of like nature,—to be but venial faults. They assign several ways wherein the highest impieties against God, and greatest outrages to men, may pass under this gentle notion, and so need no pardon. This might be clearly showed out of the writings of the leading men amongst them, of several orders, and such as have the chief conduct of their consciences, though the Jesuits were left out; but it requires a large discourse, and I must not here digress a little.

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[*] *Nam, ut rectè explicat cardinalis Cajetanus, pœna illa quæ luenda restat post culpæ remissionem est illa ipsa pœna sensûs quam in gehennâ pati debuisset peccator, remotâ solùm æternitate.*—Idem *De Pœnit.* "For, as cardinal Cajetan rightly expounds it, that punishment which remains to be endured after the remission of guilt, is the very same punishment of sense which the sinner ought to have suffered in hell, eternity alone being excluded from the account."—EDIT.

[†] The pope (surely his Holiness has left Him no mercy) can do it when he list: *Si quæratur utrùm possit spoliare purgatorium pro libito suo, dico quòd non voluntate suâ precisè, sed mediante illo infinito thesauro.*—SYLVESTRI *Summa*, in verb. *Papa*, quæst. 6. "If it be asked whether the pope can despoil purgatory at his pleasure, I answer that he cannot do so by his own will precisely, but by means of that infinite treasury."—EDIT. But he is wise, however; and considers [that], if he should spoil purgatory, he would spoil something else, which is more regarded at Rome than another world.

[‡] *Negamus posse Deum justè punire peccatum quodlibet, etiam veniale, pœnâ omnium gravissimâ, quæ est mors æterna.*--BELLARMINUS *De Amiss. Grat.* lib. i. cap. 14, p. 92. *Etiamsi omnia peccata venialia simul colligerentur in unum, nunquam efficerent id quod facit unum lethale.*—Idem, *ibid.* cap. 13, p. 91. *Etiamsi nullum esset pactum Dei nobiscum de remissione pœnæ adhuc, tamen perspicuum esset, peccatum veniale ex suâ naturâ non inducere reatum pœnæ sempiternæ.*—Idem, *ibid.* cap. iv. p. 95.

[§] *Non enim remittitur quod totaliter punitur.*—BELLARMINUS *De Purgat.* lib. i. cap. 7, p. 1359.

[||] AQUINAS, *Secunda Secundæ*, quæst. cxviii. art. 4; NAVARRI *Enchir.* cap. xxiii. n. 18.

[¶] CAJETANI *Summa*, in verb. *Ambitio.*

[**] AQUINAS, *ibid.* quæst. cxxxii. art. 3.

[††] CAJETANUS, *ibid.* in verb. *Gula, et Emunditia.*

And as these sort of sins are great otherwise, so that they are *the greatest of all for number*, is no question. Their church enjoins but confession once a year; and presumes that any wicked person may give an account, in a little while, to his confessor of the mortal sins he commits in a whole year; but of venial sins no account can be given, being so numerous, that they are beyond remembrance or notice. So that by their doctrine there are very few sins, in comparison, that need pardon; and so few that need either the free grace of God, or the redemption that is in Jesus Christ. These corruptions are dangerous and evidently damnable. I have insisted the longer thereon, because in this point, about pardon, the Romanists are conceived to come nearer the truth and us than I fear they do indeed.

II. Proceed we now to the second part of the text, "Freely by his grace." When the Lord justifies a sinner, he does it most freely: it is an act of mere grace; it is no way due to us before he vouchsafe it. He owes it not, but gives it, when he is no way pre-engaged by any desert in us: merit in us is utterly inconsistent with this gracious act. These two are opposite in their nature; and the apostle plainly expresses the opposition in Rom. xi. 6, and iv. 4. If it be due by virtue of any act or work of ours, it is debt; if it be debt, it is not grace, the grace of God herein is no grace: "If by grace, then it is no more of works: otherwise grace is no more grace. But if it be of works, then it is no more grace: otherwise work is no more work." "Now to him that worketh is the reward not reckoned of grace, but of debt." The apostle's discourse cannot be answered with reason, nor evaded with any conscience: and yet the Papists will presumptuously crowd merits of all sorts into justification. And by this means, too, they corrupt this doctrine dangerously and intolerably: they do it against all evidence of scripture; they do it to the foul defacing of the glory of free grace, and the redemption of Christ; they do it with great hazard to their own souls.[‡‡] For if they will not be justified freely, if they will stay till they deserve it, they are likely to be condemned. Yet they will venture and stick not to ascribe all that they include in their several justifications to some sort of merit:—inherent grace, and pardon of sin, to congruous merit; title to glory, and increase of grace, (which they make a second justification,) to merit of condignity.

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[*] Navarrus, *ibid.* cap. xiii. n. 2; et cap. xxi. n. 1.

[†] Idem, cap. xxiv. n. 5; Cajetanus, *ibid.* in verb. *Eleemosyna.*

[‡] Lopez, *Instruct. Consc.* cap. xlii. p. 227; *et* Sylvestri *Summa,* in verb. *Juramentum,* ii. 48.

[§] Jacob de Graff, *Decis. Aur.* lib. ii. cap. lii. n. 10.

[‖] Sylvester, *ibid.* in verb. *Malitia.* p. 170.

[¶] Idem, *ibid.* in verb. *Blasphemia,* quæst. iii. 4.

[**] Dominicus a Soto *De Just. et Jur.* lib. viii. quæst. ii. art. 3, pp. 269, 270.

[††] Idem, *ibid.* lib. v. quæst. i. art. 8.

[‡‡] *Nec esset gratia, si non daretur gratuita, sed debita redderetur.*—Augustini *Epist. cv.* "Nor would it be grace, if it were not bestowed gratuitously, but were rendered as due."—Edit. Aquinas himself: *Manifestum est quòd omne meritum repugnat gratiæ, quia, ut apostolus,*

Inherent, which they call "justifying," grace, and count it (after the council of Trent *) unanimously the formal cause of justification, by their doctrine, falls under merit. They mince it, indeed, calling it "merit of congruity;" but it is big enough, how small soever they would have it seem, to bid defiance to the grace of God in the text.

There are some preparatory works which, they say, must go before justification,† (as, dogmatical faith, some sorrow for sin, fear, hope, &c.,) to which justifying grace is due in congruity, though not in justice; and this dueness they express in the definition of "congruous merit." "It is," says Navarrus, (after Aquinas, and their common Gloss,) "a good human act of one without the grace of God, to which spiritual or temporal reward is in some respect and congruity due." ‡ Now if justifying grace be due on our account, before the Lord vouchsafe it, he gives it not freely, but only pays what he owes, and is before obliged by us to let us have; and Bellarmine says, this merit is not founded on the promise of God, but in the worth and dignity of the work.§

This sort of merit is generally owned by the Romanists. Soto tells us,‖ it is asserted by Scotus, Durandus, Adrian, and, in a manner, all the School-doctors whom they call "Nominals;" and this is one division of their Schools. He says also,¶ that Aquinas, the leader of the other division, following the common opinion, affirms it likewise; though he would have us think that he afterwards retracted it. But Bellarmine, not acknowledging any such retractation, together with Aquinas, reckons up to us by name the chief of the Schoolmen as of this persuasion.**

It is true, there is some difference among them about the name: some would not have it called "congruous merit;" but all, as Bellarmine,†† Vega,‡‡ and after him Sancta Clara,§§ tells us, agree in the thing. And it is the thing, not the word, that is so injurious to the

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Rom. xi., &c.—Prima Secundæ, quæst. iv. art. 56. "It is clear that all merit is repugnant to grace, because, as the apostle says, in Rom. xi.," &c.—EDIT.

* Sess. vi. cap. 7.

† *Vide Concil. Trident.* sess. vi. cap. 6.

‡ *Est actus humanus bonus factus ab aliquo extra gratiam Dei existente, cui de quâdam congruitate et secundùm quid debetur aliqua merces spiritualis vel temporalis, ut sentit Glossa.—Enchirid.* prælud. vii. n. 3, p. 40.

§ *Quod objiciebatur, meritum de congruo non fundari in dignitate operis sed solâ promissione Dei; respondemus, contrarium esse verum.* And a little after: *Nos existimamus potiùs fundari meritum de congruo in aliquâ dignitate operis, quàm in promissione.—De Justific.* lib. i. cap. 21, p. 753.

‖ *De Naturâ et Gratiâ,* lib. ii. cap. 3, p 65; *et* MEDINA, *in Primam Secundæ,* quæst. 109.

¶ *Cùm S. Thomas, (Secunda Sent.* dist. 27, 28,) *opinionem communem insequutus, affirmasset tum quòd homo ex naturalibus posset se disponere ad gratiam, tum quòd dispositio illa esset meritum de congruo.*—SOTO, *ibid.* p. 66.

** *Magister Sententiarum,* ["the Master of the Sentences,"] St. Thomas, Bonaventure, Scotus, Durandus, Gabriel, and others.—*De Pœnitentiâ,* lib. ii. cap. 12, p. 945. Sancta Clara tells us, it is *certè communis et recepta sententia Scholarum.—De Naturâ et Grat.* problem xxi. p 125. "It is certainly the common and received opinion of the Schools."—EDIT.

†† *Quod attinet ad Catholicos, quæstio videtur esse ferè de solo nomine meriti, &c.—De Justif.* lib. i. cap. 21, p. 752.

‡‡ *Rectè advertit Vega de re, Non est inter doctores Catholicos quæstio.*

§§ *Itaque de nomine solùm est quæstio, an ea debeant vocari meritum de congruo.*—SANCTA CLARA, *ibid.* p. 129.

grace of God, and wherein the corruption and the danger lie; and therein they conspire.

I need bring no particular testimonies to show, that by their doctrine pardon of sin falls under this sort of merit: for pardon and inherent grace are by them involved together, and made one and the same motion. And I have stayed the longer on that which is evidence for both, because some question, whether this congruous merit be commonly owned by their writers. I think it might as well be questioned whether the proper merit of condignity be their common doctrine; for there are some among them who dislike this, and scarcely more the other, so far as I can compute the numbers.

As for the other particulars, title to glory, included in the *first*, and increase of grace, which they call a *second* justification, the council of Trent has made it an article of their faith, that good works are truly meritorious of both; and denounceth those accursed who deny it: and their writers unanimously since understand it to be merit of condignity, as Aquinas expressed it before.* So that these things are due from God upon the account of their good works in strict justice, and not alone in congruity. It is not my business to argue against their doctrine of merit; only let me suggest this which the text leads me to.

Their opinion of merit makes the special grace and mercy of God needless. For if a man by what he doeth can make heaven due from God in point of justice, he needs not his mercy to save him; so long as he is sure the Lord will not be unjust, he is not concerned to regard whether or not he be gracious and merciful. As in a like case, when a man's cause requires nothing but justice, if he be sure the judge will do him justice, there is no need at all to be beholden to him for his mercy. Thus grace and mercy being excluded as needless and superfluous, all obligements to love and gratitude, to all ingenuous obedience and worship, are taken off, and all sense of religion likely to be razed out of the souls of men. I may forbear telling you that this is of dangerous tendency.

III. Come we to the third part of the text. The justification of a sinner is "through the redemption that is in Jesus Christ." That doctrine quite overthrows the justification of a sinner which removes from it this redemption: But so doth the Popish doctrine, and thereby tends to make Christ of none effect. For without that redemption, he is not, he cannot be, the Saviour of any man. Their errors here strike deep, and tend to undermine the foundation of Christianity. Let me give you an account hereof in respect of *the satisfaction, the merit,* and *the application of this redemption.*

1. *The satisfaction of Christ is unnecessary, by their doctrine; there is no need of it for the justifying of a sinner; he may be pardoned and freed from eternal punishment without it.*—For if the pardon of sin be the abolishing and utter extinguishing of it, as they teach,† and it be by

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* *Quùm justus homo per opera sua bona, quatenus movente Deo facta sunt, vitam æternum de condigno mereatur, ipsum etiam gratiæ et charitatis augmentum mereri dicendum est.—Prima Secundæ,* quæst. cxiv. art. 86. "Since a just man, by his own good works, so far as they have been done by divine impulse, procures eternal life through merit of condignity, it must also be said that he merits an increase of grace and charity."—EDIT.

† BELLARMINUS *De Justif.* lib. ii. cap. 7, p. 783, initio. *Dicere, Deum peccata remittere, non tamen prorsùs tollere, hominis est vocem remissionis ignorantis.*—SOTO *De Nat. et*

infused grace or charity that sin is thus abolished; (as darkness by the approach of light, and one contrary by natural consequence at the presence of another; which is their doctrine,* if I understand it;) then there was no more requisite to free a sinner from guilt and liableness to eternal punishment, but only that Christ should purchase for him habitual grace. Now, to purchase this, his merit would serve, and there would be no need of satisfaction.† And there are those who seem to acknowledge the former, when they deny the latter.

Then *as to the temporal punishment*, they leave no place at all for Christ's satisfaction; this is quite excluded here, though this punishment be no less in their account than the torments of hell, eternity excepted: the sinner must or may satisfy for himself; and therefore Christ did not satisfy. Otherwise, the Lord would take payment twice for one debt, and require double satisfaction for every sin, and punish it *ultra demeritum*, "more than it deserves," which would be cruelty; yea, he would not be satisfied when he had satisfaction, which would be unreasonable. Nor is this my inference only; they do as good as acknowledge it. For they grant that Christ did not satisfy for temporal punishment, but mediately, by procuring grace for sinners, that they might satisfy for themselves.‡ And if he satisfied no otherwise, he satisfied not at all; no more than I can be said to travel a hundred miles, when I do not stir out of doors, because I help another to a horse, who performs such a journey.

Thus by their doctrine of justification and pardon, the redemption of Christ, as to satisfaction made thereby, is reduced in a manner to nothing. For venial sins, to which, they say, temporal punishment only is due, they cannot with any reason pretend that satisfaction by him is necessary. For mortal sins, (a small parcel of the infinite multitude, venials considered,) habitual grace (which Christ might merit, though he did not satisfy) is sufficient to abolish fault and guilt, and so to procure remission as to eternal suffering.

Or if habitual grace were not sufficient for this, yet still they make the redemption of Christ insufficient, and so no satisfaction. For notwithstanding all that he hath done and suffered, the Lord is not appeased to those that believe; he will punish, he will inflict the torment of hell, for a time at least; how long, none of them can tell; but, without question, they say, till his justice be satisfied, till that be done by themselves or others, which Christ alone can do; and that will be long indeed, and not end but with eternity. So that it is plain by their

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Grat. lib. ii. cap. 19, p. 111. *Omninò idem planè valet, peccata esse tecta, atque sublata esse et nulla prorsùs relicta.*—PERERIUS *in Rom. iv.* disput. 3. *Admonemus (peccata) dimitti esse, non solùm non imputari, non solùm non puniri; sed penitùs etiam tolli, penitùs celari.*—MALDONATUS *in Matt. vi.* 12, p. 145.

* *Quo fit ut gratia gratum faciens ex diametro opponitur peccato, atque adeò formaliter per modum contrarietatis expellat ipsum; ut author est* S. THOMAS, *Prima Secundæ*, quæst. cxiii. art. 2; SOTO, *ibid.* p. 109; BELLARMINUS, *ibid.* cap. 2, p. 766.

† *Aliquod meritum est sine satisfactione et e contrario.*—Idem *De Purgat.* lib. i. cap. 10, p. 1370. "There is some merit without satisfaction, and on the contrary."—EDIT.

‡ *Satisfacit mediatè pro pœnâ etiam temporali, quatenus gratiam præbet per quam ipsi nos Domino satisfacimus.*—BELLARMINUS *De Pœnitentiâ*, lib. iv. cap. 15, p. 1076; *et De Purgat.* lib. i. cap. 10: *Non quòd immediatè ipsa ejus satisfactio tollet pœnam temporalem nobis debitam, sed quòd mediatè eam tollat; quatenus, videlicet, ab eâ gratiam habemus, sine quâ nihil valeret nostra satisfactio.*—P. 1369.

principles, that the Lord is not yet satisfied by the redemption of Christ: it was not as much as justice required, it was not enough, and so could not be satisfaction. And therefore Bellarmine concludes, suitably enough to their principles, that, of the several opinions which are amongst them concerning Christ's satisfaction and man's, "this is the most probable,—that there is no actual satisfaction but one only, and this is ours." *

2. *The merit of this redemption is also by their doctrine made unnecessary for the purchasing of eternal life, to which we are accepted in justification.*—For they teach that men may (and must, if they will have it) merit it for themselves. Now there is no need of the merit of redemption, if men can and do merit heaven: for merit is the worth of what it is said to deserve; it must be, by their computation, equal or proportionable in value to it.† Now if Christ bring the worth of heaven, and we must bring the worth of it too, the Lord lets none have heaven till he have double the value of it, till he receive twice as much for it as it is worth. So that heaven, upon this account, will be a very hard bargain, however the Lord declares it to be a gift.

There is no avoiding this, but either by making the merit of Christ needless, or the merits of men. The Papists in this case choose rather to make the merit of redemption unnecessary. And indeed, when they think it advisable to speak out, they say expressly, that there is no need of the merit of Christ, that we may get eternal life. Thus Vasquez, one of their most eminent writers. "Seeing the merits of a just man," saith he, "do condignly merit eternal life, as an equal recompence and reward; there is no need that any other condign merit, such as is the merit of Christ, should intervene, that eternal life may be had." ‡ But how then must we understand them, when they tell us that Christ did merit eternal life for us? They inform us by their doctrine of satisfaction,—as Christ satisfied for the temporal punishment due to sin mediately, by procuring grace to satisfy for it ourselves; so he purchased life for us mediately, in that he was worthy to obtain grace for us, whereby we merit life ourselves.§ But by this account he did not merit life for us at all, no more than he can be said to confess or repent of our sins, because he obtained grace for us to confess and repent thereof ourselves. This is but to own the merit of redemption as Pelagius owned the grace of God, when he said [that] it was grace for Him to form us with wills able to act sufficiently, and perform the office of grace, without it. ‖

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* *Tertius tamen modus videtur probabilior,—quòd una tantùm sit actualis satisfactio, et ea sit nostra.—De Purgat.* lib. i. cap. 10, p. 1069.

† *In opere bono ex gratiâ procedente sit quædam proportio et æqualitas ad præmium vitæ æternæ.*—BELLARMINUS *De Justific.* lib. v. cap. 17. *Æqualem valorem condignitatis habent.*—VASQUEZ.

‡ *Cùm opera justi mereantur vitam æternam tanquam æqualem mercedem et præmium, non opus est interventu alterius meriti condigni, quale est meritum Christi, ut eis reddatur vita æterna.—In Primam Secundæ*, quæst. cxiv. disput. ccxxii. cap. iii. n. 30.

§ *Nunquam petimus a Deo per merita Christi ut nostris dignis operibus et meritoriis reddatur merces æternæ vitæ; sed ut per Christum detur nobis gratia, quâ possemus dignè hanc mercedem promereri.*—Idem, *ibid.* They use this illustration:—A farm being given to a son, he may, by the commodities reaped out of that farm, buy any thing that it shall please his father to set to sale.—DR. BISHOP in ABBOT "Of Merits," p. 640.

‖ They said, (as Augustine represents them,) *posse sufficere naturam humanam, quæ condita est cum libero arbitrio; eamque esse Dei gratiam, quia sic conditi sumus, ut hoc voluntate possimus.—De*

Besides, secondly, their principles do not allow them to say, that we have inherent grace by the merit of Christ. And that being with them the formal cause of justification, if it was not procured for us by his redemption, this is quite excluded from being interested in justifying us. And indeed all the interest of Christ's redemption in our justification, and salvation too, is reduced by them to this one point,—his purchasing inherent grace for us, as appears by the premisses. So that if this be disclaimed, there will be nothing ascribed to Christ.

Now it cannot be expected, that while they profess themselves Christians, they should, in plain terms, make Christ a cipher; but they do it by consequence too plainly. Their other principles render Christ's meriting inherent grace for us to be needless: and surely he would not do and suffer so much for a needless thing. By their doctrine of congruous merit, a man destitute of inherent (or, as they call it, "justifying") grace may do that which will make it due to him from God. Now that which a man can make due to himself needs not at all the merit of Christ to make it due. The Lord will certainly let him have his due without the mediation of any other merit.

Yea, if we should bate the word "merit," and *debitum*, or "dueness," too, as Soto would have it, yet if a man can do that upon which justifying grace will necessarily and infallibly follow, there is no need that Christ should purchase it; for it is altogether unnecessary that Christ should merit that for us which we can make sure to ourselves, so as to have it necessarily and infallibly. Now that a man can do thus much, to make such grace sure to him, the Dominicans (the best friends that the grace of God can find amongst the Romanists) do affirm; Dominicus a Soto, a principal and the leading man amongst them, asserts it, and that upon the express testimony of Aquinas, whose conduct they are wont in their divinity to follow as "angelical:" "Out of necessity, not that of constraint, but that of infallibility, grace is given to him that prepares himself for it by some help of God." * They hold, that when a man doth

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Gestis, contra Pelag. cap. 35. And Jerome: *Ita Dei gratiam ponunt, ut non, per singula opera, ejus nitamur et regamur auxilio; sed ad liberum referunt arbitrium; ut in eo Deo referendæ sint gratiæ, quòd tales nos condiderit, qui nostro arbitrio possimus et eligere bona et vitare mala: et non intelligunt, ista dicentes, quòd per os eorum intolerabilem blasphemiam diabolus sibilet.—Ad Ctesiphontem*, p. 253. "They so define the grace of God, as that, in each of our works, we do not depend upon, nor are we governed by, its aid; but they refer them to free-will; so that therefore thanks are to be returned to God, because he has so made us, that we can by our own will both choose the good, and avoid the evil: and, whilst uttering these sentiments, they do not perceive that the devil, by their mouth, is hissing forth intolerable blasphemy."—EDIT.

* *Quòd ex necessitate, non quidem coactionis, sed tamen infallibilitatis, detur gratia se per auxilium Dei præparanti.—De Nat. et Grat.* lib. iii. cap. 13, p. 165. And this divine assistance, others of them say, a graceless person may merit: *Profectò longè probabiliùs diceretur, per opera bona moralia, quibus aliquis ante acceptam gratiam faceret quod moraliter potest, eatenus primam gratiam ex congruo illum mereri, quatenus conveniens et congruum est ut, cùm talis facit quantum in illo statu moraliter potest, Deus etiam præstet id quod suarum est partium; hoc est, ei homini auxilia actualia augeat, quibus adjutus possit faciliùs gratiam consequi, atque adeò consequatur, si sibi non desit.*—GREGORII DE VALENTIA *Liber de Grat. Divin.* pars iv. cap. ult. "With much more probability, indeed, might it be said that, by the moral good works in which, before the reception of grace, any one exercises what moral power he possesses, he merits through congruity primary grace, since it is fitting and congruous that—when, being such as he is, he does as much as in that state he morally can—God also should perform *his* part; that is, increase to that man his actual aids,

his endeavour, God will not deny him grace; (there is their congruous merit;)[*] and think they salve all, by saying [that] this endeavour must be from divine assistance. But Pelagius acknowledged that, no less than they; and Augustine, with other his opposers, take notice of it: yet because he would have grace to be given according to merits, (though by merits was understood, not that which deserved it, but any thing done by a sinner in respect of which grace is given, as Bellarmine confesseth,)[†] they condemned him, as evacuating the redemption of Christ, and the grace of God.

In fine: if a man by their principles could not merit justifying grace for himself, yet still, by their doctrine, there would be no need of Christ's merits; for they teach that any other just man may merit it for him *de congruo*, [" with merit of congruity,"][‡] and do so much on his behalf as [that] it would be indecent and incongruous to the bounty of God to deny him grace. And this is enough to make him sure of it infallibly; seeing the Lord is as far from acting undecently or incongruously, as he is from dealing unjustly.

I need not tell you, these errors are dangerous; unless you need be told, that there is danger in making Christ signify little or nothing in the justifying of sinners.

3. The last thing propounded is *the application of this redemption*, that is, of the blood of Christ, or his obedience, or his righteousness; for those are used by the apostle as terms of the same import. If we be accepted as righteous, it must be upon the account of some righteousness. We have none of our own that can acquit us before the Lord's tribunal: that of ours will neither satisfy for what is past, nor serve us for the future; *it* cannot of itself be a good title to life *which* has in it just ground for condemnation. The righteousness of Christ is all-sufficient for all the exigencies of our condition. But, that it may be our justification, it must be our righteousness: (Rom. v. 18:) and how can that be? We need no other man to tell us than Bellarmine himself. "The sin of Adam," says he, "is communicated in such a manner as that which is past can be communicated; that is, by imputation."[§] If the cardinal had not been a mere servant to his hypothesis, he would have followed this so far as the reason of it leads him; and then it would have brought him to acknowledge no less of the righteousness of the Second Adam

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by the assistance of which he may be enabled the more easily to acquire grace, and so may actually acquire it, if he be not wanting to himself."—EDIT.

[*] *Peccator per bona opera facta extra charitatem meretur de congruo primam gratiam: ibi est enim quædam congruitas, quia facit quod in se est.*—BONAVENTURA *in Secundam*, dist. xxvii. n. 39.

[†] *Gratiam autem secundùm merita nostra dari intelligunt patres, cùm aliquid fit propriis viribus, ratione cujus detur gratia, etiamsi non sit illum meritum de condigno.—De Gratiâ et libero Arbitrio*, lib. vi. cap. 5, p. 659.

[‡] *Merito congrui potest aliquis alteri mereri primam gratiam.*—AQUINAS, *Prima Secundæ*, quæst. 114, art. Bellarmine will have this past all doubt: *Sicut certum est, non posse unum alteri ex condigno gratiam promereri; ita non dubium est, posse id ex congruo fieri.—De Justificat.* lib. v. cap. 21, p. 969. Bonaventure will have this to be *meritum digni* [" merit of worthiness "].—*In Primam*, dist. xli. n. 8. *Est dignitas cum indignitate, sicut cùm vir justus meretur peccatori primam gratiam: dignitas enim est ex parte viri justi.—In Secundam*, dist. xxvii. n. 39. "There is worthiness with unworthiness, as when a just man merits primary grace for a sinner: for the worthiness is on the part of the just man."—EDIT.

[§] *Nobis verò communicatur per generationem eo modo quo communicari potest id quod transiit; nimirùm, per imputationem.—De Amiss. Grat.* lib. v. cap. 17, p. 332.

than of the sin of the first: both are past; and [there is] no other way to communicate what is past but by imputation.

This imputation is it which they will deny, and yet cannot but confess. And in their great champion we may see manifestly the evidence of truth struggling with the power of interest and prejudice; and prevailing so far as to force from him three or four acknowledgments of this imputation, in that dispute where he sets himself with all his might to oppose it.*

There are these severals considerable, about the imputing [of] this righteousness: First, *substitution:* Christ satisfied in our stead; that is, he tendered that which was due from us. Secondly, *acceptance:* the Father accepted what Christ performed in our stead as performed on our behalf. Thirdly, *participation:* we have the fruits and advantages of his undertaking no less than if we ourselves had satisfied. Now the first of these the Romanists assert; the third they acknowledge; and the second they cannot deny, unless they will deny that the Father accepted Christ's perfect performance on the behalf of those for whom he undertook it by his own appointment. And as this performance, so stated, is that we mean by "Christ's righteousness;" so this acceptance, as declared in the gospel in reference to those that believe, includes all that we mean by "imputation." Nor need we contend for more than they cannot, without something like blasphemy, deny; namely, God's acceptance of Christ's satisfaction.

Then doth God impute the righteousness of Christ to a believer, when he accepts what Christ performed for him, as if he had performed it; as we say, then a creditor imputes the payment of the debt to the debtor, when he accepts of what the surety pays for him, as if himself had paid it. There is ground enough in scripture to use this for illustration at least; (Heb. vii. 22.; Matt. vi. 12;) and by the light hereof, a mean capacity may see a clear answer to the greatest objections made by the Papists against Christ's righteousness imputed.†

OBJECTION I. "If Christ's righteousness be truly imputed unto us, then we might be called and accounted 'redeemers of the world.'"

ANSWER. He might as reasonably say, "The debtor may be called and accounted the surety, because the surety's payment is accepted for him."

OBJECT. II. "If Christ's righteousness be imputed to us as if it were ours, then we ought to be accounted as righteous as Christ."

ANSWER. He might as well argue, [that] the debtor is as rich as the surety, because the surety pays his debt.

OBJECT. III. "If by the righteousness of Christ imputed to us, we may be said to be truly righteous; then Christ, by our unrighteousness imputed to him, may be truly called 'a sinner.'"

ANSWER. Which is just as if he should say, "If the acceptance of the surety's payment acquit the debtor, then the surety, because the debt is charged on him, though he contracted it not, is as bad a husband and as much a bankrupt as the debtor."

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* *De Justific.* lib. ii. cap. 17, p. 785: *Ss. quarto refellitur.* Et cap. 10, p. 793: *Et hoc modo non esset absurdum, siquis nobis diceret, nobis imputari Christi justitiam et merita, cùm nobis donentur et applicentur, ac si nos ipsi Deo satisfecissemus.* "And in this manner it would not be absurd, if any one should say to us that the righteousness and merits of Christ are imputed to us, since they are bestowed upon and applied to us just as if we ourselves had satisfied God."—EDIT. Et p. 794.: *Ss. respondeo et Ss. hac igitur falsa, &c.*

† Without lessening the difference betwixt debts and punishments, a surety as to either will serve our purpose.

I need bring no particular arguments for this. All the scriptures, where there is mention of Christ's dying for us, his sufferings, cleansing us with his blood, his obedience to death, &c., (since it cannot be denied but all this was well-pleasing to God, and accepted by him, as it was performed on the behalf of believers,) are undeniable proofs, that his righteousness is imputed.

And it is a wonder to me, that any who acknowledge the satisfaction of Christ should have the confidence to say, there is no evidence for this imputation in the sense expressed; but their causeless prejudice against the word makes them, it seems, so sullen, that they will not take notice of the things we mean, though they meet with it everywhere in scripture.

In short (I fear I have transgressed already, and must omit much of what I intended): If Christ's righteousness be not imputed, it is not accepted; if it be not accepted, it is not performed; and so there will be no satisfaction, no redemption in Jesus Christ. This is Bellarmine's own inference when he is disputing against Osiander,—to deny God's accepting Christ's righteousness for us, which is, by the premisses, his imputing it to us, is to "overthrow the whole mystery of man's redemption and reconciliation." *

USE. FOR APPLICATION.

Let me admonish you, as you tender the honour of Christ and the comfort and happiness of your souls, to receive and preserve the doctrine of justification pure and untainted as the apostle delivered it. Beware especially of the Popish corruptions, whereby they have adulterated and wherewith they have overwhelmed it. Whereas it is, as delivered in scripture, the foundation of our hopes, and the spring of our comforts; they have made it a sink into which a great part of their other corruptions do run and settle, or the source from which they rise and are fed. I might make this good by an account of particulars; but those I have touched already are too many. They tell you, to be justified is to be sanctified, and so sanctified as to need no further sanctification after the first infusion; no growth in grace, no increase of holiness, no progress therein, nor mortification neither; no need of, no reason for, it. Their principles are so indulgent, as to free you from such trouble. But then you must not take notice of the many commands of God which enjoin these, and make them necessary, nor of the hazard that attends such neglects: they will assure you, there is none under the notion [under] which they represent them.

They tell you, you must be justified by your own righteousness, and that a perfect righteousness within you; that is it you must trust to. And if you think much to be justified as never any sinner in the world was, and know not how to compass a righteousness absolutely perfect

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* From his opinion, says he, *certè sequitur, ut Christi justitiam Deus non acceptet*; which cannot be admitted, *nisi quis velit totum mysterium humanæ redemptionis et reconciliationis evertere.*—*De Justific.* lib. ii. cap. 5, p. 778.

within you ; they will inform you, that any degree of charity, the least, the weakest, is righteousness in perfection. Thus you may be justified in their way, if you will but have patience till your inherent righteousness in this world be perfect and spotless, or till the lowest degree of it be absolute perfection. If you think it impossible to be justified upon such terms, they will tell you there is nothing more easy : any of their sacraments will help you to it ; for they all confer justifying grace, and that by the mere external act. You may have it, though you never mind what you are a-doing, when you are at sacrament, to get it. An easy way to heaven indeed, if it were as easy to be saved as deluded !

They will have you believe that their doctrine of justification is that which we must approve, since it includes pardon ; and yet they have no pardon by their doctrine while there is one speck of sin in their souls, and so not in this world ; and the other is no world for it. And though they fancy, that fault, and stain, and desert, and the very being of sin, is abolished when they have so full pardon ; and will have none that is not lawful ; yet are they not pardoned for all that, but plainly condemned, and into infernal fires they must go, and be there tortured, after they are so fully pardoned, till themselves have fully satisfied, and paid the utmost farthing, or others for them. And if they cannot do that which Christ only can do, namely, satisfy the justice of God for all sorts of sins, as to part of the punishment due to some, and the whole punishment due to others, their purgatory will prove hell, everlastingness not abated ; and *they* will find themselves damned eternally, and cast into hell, *who*, by their doctrine, were betrayed into that state, under a pretence of being punished there a while, in order to salvation. And if the demerit of sins which they call "venial" prove greater than they believe, (without and against scripture,) they are in hell while they dream they are but in purgatory ; for the partition between hell and purgatory is but the distinction made in their fancies betwixt mortal and venial sins, as to their demerit.

Thus are they in danger to be pardoned : and no wonder, since there is not one sin in five hundred which, by their doctrine, needs Christ or his blood for its pardon : there is no need of "the blood of sprinkling" (Heb. xii. 24) for the infinite numbers of their venials ; they have a sprinkling of their own [that] will serve, a holy water, conjured into such divine powers, as to wash away a world of sins, fault and punishment both.* This is the "fountain" (one of them) which themselves have "opened for sin and uncleanness ;" (Zech. xiii. 1 ;) and the other, opened by Christ, may be shut up, unless there may be some use of it for another sort of sins, but those very few in comparison.

Indeed, it is the intolerable injury they offer to Christ, his redemption, and the free grace of God, which makes their doctrine of justification most intolerable. To strip the redemption which is in Jesus Christ of its merit or satisfaction, without which it is no redemption ; to make the mercy of God needless, or the free exercise of it impossible, and his grace to be no grace; is the way not to be justified, but condemned. This is to seek pardon of former offences by new crimes, as if one would not receive a pardon without interlining it with something of treasonable import against him who offers it. Yea, it seems an attempt to blot out of the pardon all that is pardoning; and to affront and deface that upon which all the hopes of a condemned sinner depend, and without which no flesh can be justified. Whenever the Lord justifies any, he doth it "freely by his grace, through the redemption that is in Jesus Christ:" they that will not be thus justified, are in danger to be condemned.

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* *Remissio venialium, qui est effectus aquæ benedictæ, sine collatione gratiæ et sanctitatis confertur. Non pœnas culparum modò, sed, id quod mihi probabilius est, culpas quoque veniales, remittet.*—MELCHIOR CANUS, *De Sacris*, pars i. p. 751. "The remission of venial sins, which is the effect of the blessed water, is conferred without the communication of grace and holiness. It will remit, not merely the punishment of sins, but, as seems to me more probable, even venial sins themselves also."—EDIT.

SERMON XVI. (XIII.)

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IT IS NOT LAWFUL TO GIVE RELIGIOUS WORSHIP TO ANY CREATURE WHATSOEVER. IT IS NOT LAWFUL TO MAKE AN IMAGE OF GOD. IT IS NOT LAWFUL TO WORSHIP GOD AS REPRESENTED BY AN IMAGE, OR TO DIRECT OUR WORSHIP OF HIM TO AN IMAGE. IT IS NOT LAWFUL TO WORSHIP IMAGES, BY DOING IT CORPORALLY, AS IDOLATERS DO, THOUGH WE PRETEND TO KEEP OUR HEARTS TO GOD. THE PAPISTS PRESUMPTUOUSLY LEAVE THE SECOND COMMANDMENT OUT OF THE DECALOGUE.

GOD NOT TO BE WORSHIPPED AS REPRESENTED BY AN IMAGE.

Then saith Jesus unto him, Get thee hence, Satan: for it is written, Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve.—Matthew iv. 10.

The first eleven verses of this chapter contain the history of the combat, or conflict, between Christ and Satan; and in it you may take notice of these particulars:—

(I.) You have *the preparation to the combat:* "Then was Jesus led up of the Spirit into the wilderness to be tempted of the devil. And when he had fasted forty days and forty nights, he was afterward an hungred." (Verses 1, 2.) "Then," that is, immediately after Christ had been baptized in an extraordinary manner, and solemnly declared by "a voice from heaven," that he was "the beloved Son of God, in whom he was well pleased;" and after "the heavens were opened unto him, and he saw the Spirit of God descending like a dove, and lighting upon him," (Matt. iii. 16, 17,) and was "full of the Holy Ghost," as St. Luke records it; (Luke iv. 1;)—"then," that is, immediately after this, "he was led up of the Spirit into the wilderness to be tempted of the devil." We should have thought that the next news might have been of his taking a solemn journey to Jerusalem, and in the temple there publicly to have declared, that he was the great doctor and prophet of his church, and that they were accordingly to hear him. But God's thoughts are not as our thoughts: the text tells you, "Then," that is, immediately upon this, "he was led by the Spirit into the wilderness to be tempted of the devil."

(II.) You have *the combat or conflict itself*, from the third verse to the eleventh: the devil takes an occasion hereupon to set upon him, and to assault him with these dreadful temptations. The First temptation or assault you have in verse 3: "If thou be the Son of God, command that these stones be made bread." As if he had said, "There was a voice pretendedly from heaven, that thou art God's 'beloved Son, in whom he is well pleased;' but if so, is it likely that God should take no further care of his own Son whom he loved, than to expose him to the want even of necessaries for the present life? So that, either thou art not the Son of God, and that pretended voice from heaven is but a delusion; or if thou beest so, let it appear by working of this miracle,—'command that these stones be made bread.'" The reply or answer made by our Saviour to this temptation you have in verse 4: "But he answered and said, It is written, Man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God;" where our Saviour shows, that this was a notorious imposture, and a fallacious way of reasoning,—that either he must perish in the wilderness with famine, or else he must prove himself to be the Son of God by working a miracle, and commanding stones to be made bread: "for it is written, Man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God."

This temptation not taking effect, and the devil [being] foiled and nonplussed by the force and dint of the scripture, he makes a Second assault upon him: "Then the devil taketh him up into the holy city, and setteth him on a pinnacle of the temple, and saith unto him, If thou be the Son of God, cast thyself down: for it is written, He shall give his angels charge concerning thee: and in their hands they shall bear thee up, lest at any time thou dash thy foot against a stone." (Verses 5, 6.) I know that St. Luke observes not the same order in the recording of these temptations as St. Matthew doth; but it is likely that was the third and last temptation, when Satan had that rebuke given him by our Saviour: "Get thee hence, Satan;" for immediately upon this "the devil leaveth him, and angels came and ministered unto him;" (verse 11;) and therefore I call this the second assault or temptation.

The Third and the last temptation or assault, which seems to be most dangerous, you have in verses 8, 9: "Again, the devil taketh him up into an exceeding high mountain, and showeth him all the kingdoms of the world, and the glory of them; and saith unto him, All these things will I give thee, if thou wilt fall down and worship me." In St. Luke, he pretends a reason for it: "And the devil said unto him, All this power will I give thee, and the glory of them: for that is delivered unto me; and to whomsoever I will I give it." And, "If thou therefore wilt worship me, all shall be thine." (Luke iv. 6, 7.) But the devil was a liar from the beginning; and there were three notorious lies in this pretence of the devil's:—1. "All this power will I give thee, and the glory of them;" whereas he had no such power or glory to bestow. 2. The second was, "For that is delivered unto me;" but God never made the devil the heir of all things, but his own Son: "He hath in these last days spoken unto us by his Son, whom he hath appointed heir of all things." (Heb. i. 2.) 3. The third was, "To whomsoever I will I give it:" as if Satan could give the kingdoms of the world to whom he pleased; a power which God hath reserved for himself, and hath not conferred on any creature whatsoever: "Blessed be the name of God for ever and ever: for wisdom and might are his: and he changeth the times and the seasons: he removeth kings, and setteth up kings." (Dan. ii. 20, 21.) We read that Satan is sometimes transformed into an angel of light; (2 Cor. xi. 14;) but here he would be transformed into God himself; as also in that which follows, namely, that he would be adored and worshipped: "If thou therefore wilt worship me, all shall be thine," or, as you have it in the text, "All these things will I give thee, if thou wilt fall down and worship me."

Now in these words you have the reply or answer that our Saviour makes to this temptation: "Then saith Jesus unto him, Get thee hence, Satan: for it is written, Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve;" where you have two things considerable.

1. You have *something premised, or something prefatory unto Christ's answer:* "Get thee hence, Satan;" which may be understood two ways:—

(1.) Either as *vox detestantis,* "a note of abhorrence and detestation," of the devil's horrible impudence and blasphemy, in that he would have Christ to fall down and worship him; or,

(2.) As *vox imperantis,* "a word of power and authority," commanding him out of his presence: "Get thee hence, Satan;" and thereby sufficiently declaring himself to be the Son of God; which was the thing in question. The devil had twice put an "if" upon his sonship: "If thou be the Son of God, command that these stones be made bread;" (verse 3;) and, "If thou be the Son of God, cast thyself down." (Verse 6.) Now our Saviour will have this to be out of question, and therefore commands him to be gone: "Get thee hence, Satan;" and the next news is, "Then the devil leaveth him, and, behold, angels came and ministered unto him." (Verse 11.)

2. You have *the answer itself:* "For it is written, Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve;" where again you have two things to be taken into consideration:—

(1.) You have *our Saviour's urging scripture in the case:* "It is written."—The word of God is armour of proof against Satan and his temptations; and hence the apostle makes it one main part of the Christian armour: "Take the helmet of salvation, and the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God;" (Eph. vi. 17;) and our Saviour makes use of this sword in the text: "It is written." But where? See Deut. vi. 13: "Thou shalt fear the Lord thy God, and serve him;" and Deut. x. 20: "Thou shalt fear the Lord thy God; him shalt thou serve, and to him shalt thou cleave." Where I would note, that our Saviour doth not quote the very words that are in Deuteronomy: it is said there, "Thou shalt fear the Lord thy God, and serve him;" our Saviour says, "Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve:" and yet notwithstanding, "*It is written,* Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve." And I would the rather take notice of this, because there is a generation of men amongst us that tell us, upon occasion, that we do not speak scripture-language; and their reason is, because we do not speak scripture-words. But, friends, take this for a principle: If we speak scripture-sense, though not the very words of scripture, yet we may be said to speak scripture-language. Thus our Saviour here, speaking scripture-sense, speaks scripture-language: "It is written." "Fear" is a word of great latitude and extent, and comprehends in itself that homage and honour and reverence that we owe to God; and therefore our Saviour calls it "worship," and says, "It is written, Thou shalt *worship* the Lord thy God," &c. Thus it is also in the like case: if the word "person" be scripture-sense, it is scripture-language; if the word "sacrament" be scripture-sense, it is scripture-language.

(2.) You have *the scripture that is urged,* in these words, "Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve."—Satan would have our Saviour to fall down and worship him; our Saviour replies, "It is written, Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve." And the meaning and import of it is this: That which is proper and peculiar unto God, ought not to be given unto any creature whatsoever: But worship is so: And therefore ought not to be given to any creature whatsoever. Satan is a creature; and if there were no more in the case than that, even that is reason sufficient why he ought not to be worshipped: "Then saith Jesus unto him, Get thee hence, Satan: for it is written, Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve."

Thus I have given you an account both of the preparation to the combat or conflict between Christ and Satan, as also of the combat or conflict itself.

(III.) Thirdly. You have *the issue of the whole transaction between Christ and Satan:* "Then the devil leaveth him, and, behold, angels came and ministered unto him." (Verse 11.)

My text contains the answer, or the repulse, that was given by our Saviour unto Satan's third and last assault: "Then saith Jesus unto him, Get thee hence, Satan: for it is written, Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve."

PROPOSITION.

The proposition that I would commend unto your consideration from the words, is this, that *religious worship ought not to be given to any creature whatsoever;* or thus: *God alone is and ought to be the object of religious worship.* I say, "God alone is and ought to be the object of religious worship." Honour and worship is God's due and right, and irreligion is a piece of wrong and injustice: and, indeed, if divine honour was not given to God as his due and right, worship would be a piece of benevolence from the creature unto God.

In the prosecution of this point, I shall, by God's assistance, observe this method:—

I. *I shall give you a brief description of worship, and show you what worship is.*

II. *I shall lay down some distinctions for the due stating, and the right understanding, of this proposition.*

III. *I shall endeavour to prove the proposition;* namely, that "religious worship ought not to be given to any creatures whatsoever;" or, that "God alone is and ought to be the object of religious worship."

IV. And the fourth particular shall be *the use and application.*

I. For the first of these, I shall endeavour to dispatch in a few words; namely, *to give you a brief description of worship, and show you what worship is.*

Worship is that honour or reverence that we give unto a person or being, regard being had to the dignity and excellency of that person or being that is to be worshipped; and it consists of three acts:—

1. *An act of the mind,* whereby we rightly conceive of the dignity and excellency of that person or being that we worship.

2. *An act of the will,* whereby, upon occasion, we are ready and willing to pay all offices of respect to that person or being.

3. *An act of the body,* whereby we express that respect or honour that is in our minds, unto that person or being, by some outward bodily act; as prostration, uncovering of the head, bowing the knee, or the like.

And this is all I shall say to the first particular, *what worship is.*

II. Our next work is, *to lay down some distinctions for the due stating and right understanding of this proposition;* namely, that "religious worship ought not to be given to any creature whatsoever;" or, that "God alone is and ought to be the object of religious worship:" as,

1. *We must distinguish between civil worship and religious worship.*—Now although religious worship ought to be given to God alone, yet civil worship may and ought to be given unto creatures. This is a duty from inferiors to their superiors, from children to their parents, from servants to their masters, from subjects to kings and magistrates: these "gods" (Psalm lxxxii. 6) must have civil worship. Thus it is said of Judah, when Jacob, on his death-bed, blessed the twelve tribes: "Judah, thou art he whom thy brethren shall praise: thy hand shall be in the neck of thine enemies; thy father's children shall bow down before thee." (Gen. xlix. 8.) Judah's honour was to wield the sceptre; and therefore the rest of the tribes, his "father's children," in a civil sense, were to worship him, and bow down before him. Thus, when Joseph came into the presence of Jacob his father, it is said, that "he bowed himself with his face to the earth;" (Gen. xlviii. 12;) this was civil worship.

And, indeed, this worship, considered apart and in a separate way, seems to be proper unto the creature, and so not fit to be given unto God. If any should say, "But is not God to receive all honour, and glory, and worship? and if so, why should civil worship be excluded?" I answer: Because this is not the way to honour God. If we should worship God no otherwise than as we worship a creature, this would be to blaspheme him, under a pretence of giving him that honour that we owe him. We may observe even amongst the creatures, that the homage or honour that we give unto the creature hath always respect unto the greatest excellency of that creature: as, suppose a king were present, a duke, or a marquess, or an earl also; if a man should give him only that respect that is due unto a duke, or a marquess, or an earl, this were, in effect, to degrade him of his kingly power. If we give only the honour unto God that a creature may challenge as his due, this strikes at the very Godhead itself, and we do what lies in us to degrade him of his supremacy and transcendent glory.

2. *We must distinguish between inward worship and outward worship.*—There is inward worship in faith, and love, and hope, and fear, and other elicit acts of the mind; this is the inward homage that we owe unto God. And then there is outward worship, which consists in the outward expression of that inward homage and subjection that we owe to God; which is done, as you heard before, by some outward bodily act; as, prostration, uncovering of the head, bowing of the knee, and the like.

Now, though the worship of God consists mainly and principally in the former, (for there may be a pretence of outward homage and reverence, and yet nothing of worship; as, the soldiers bowed the knee to Christ, and yet mocked him, Matt. xxvii. 29,) yet outward worship is necessary: inward and outward worship do mutually depend upon each other: he that doth not pray, nor read, nor hear, nor receive sacraments, doth neither love God, nor fear him, nor trust in him. And, besides, outward worship is a most effectual help and assistance unto the principle of inward worship, strengthening the habit of it, and exciting of it unto all suitable actions: for though "bodily exercise," as it is single, and divided from the heart, doth, as the apostle saith, "profit little;" (1 Tim. iv. 8;) yet when it joins with it, it profits much, and makes us far more lively in the service of God than otherwise we should be. And we may find by experience, that when we pray only inwardly in our spirits, we have not that life and enlargement in our minds and affections as when we also pray outwardly with the voice. And, upon these and such-like grounds, it is advised by some, that prayer, though secret, should be vocal, because it excites affection, and quickens devotion. Thus, though inward worship be the main of worship, and that which may most properly be called "worship," yet outward worship is necessary. The second commandment hath a special respect unto outward worship; namely, that we perform unto God that outward worship which he hath appointed in his word. And that which the devil would have of our Saviour here is outward worship: "All these things will I give thee, if thou wilt fall down and worship me." If any shall pretend that it is external veneration that they give unto other things beside God, whereas that which is inward, and which may most properly be called "worship," they reserve for God; the vanity of such a pretence will appear, if we consider, that it is not a necessary requisite unto false and idolatrous worship that the inward devotion of the mind should accompany the external adoration of the body: for if so, it will follow, that a man, being commanded under a severe penalty, might give outward adoration to any image, either of the true [God] or false gods, and yet be guiltless: and who durst ever say so?

III. We will take it for granted, that religious worship admits of degrees; namely, that there is religious worship in a higher degree, and religious worship in a lower and inferior degree. (For, I suppose, that the veneration and adoration that our adversaries of the church of Rome give unto images and relics, and things of that nature, is not civil, but religious, though in a lower and an inferior degree.) Now this being taken for granted, I affirm, *that "God, and God alone, is and ought to be the object of religious worship," in the latitude of it; and that "religious worship," in the lowest and most inferior degree, "ought not to be given unto any creature whatsoever;"* and that will appear from these following considerations:—

1. It appears *from the words of the text, "Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve."*—Now, if we are to worship God alone, and serve God alone, then "God, and God alone, is and ought to be the object of religious worship, and religious worship ought not to be given unto any creature whatsoever." If it be objected, that "the text doth not say, 'Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God only,' but, 'Him only shalt thou serve;'" that "there is indeed an honour and a service that is due unto God alone, which to give unto any creature would be idolatry: 'Him only shalt thou serve;' but there is a worship which is due unto the creatures according to their respective excellences: as, to saints, holy things, and holy places; and we may worship them, though we may not serve them:" But if this were the sense of this scripture, the devil might have excepted against the answer made by our Saviour as insufficient; he might have said, "Thou mayest worship me, though thou mayest not serve me;" and that this scripture did not forbid all worship; yea, that some religious worship might be given to a creature in a lower and inferior degree, though the supreme worship might not; and all that he desired of our Saviour was, that he would "fall down and worship him." That it was inferior worship, though religious, which the devil required of Christ, is plain; for he acknowledges God at the same time to be his superior, and the giver of that power which he laid claim to: "And the devil said unto him, All this power will I give thee, and the glory of them: for that is delivered unto me; and unto whomsoever I will I give it." (Luke iv. 6.) And yet that is the worship which, Christ saith, God hath forbidden to be given unto any creature; and our Saviour discovers his abhorrence and detestation of any thing of that nature: "Get thee hence, Satan: for it is written, Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve." Nor was it the scope of our Saviour to give countenance to any such distinction as this, as appears from that place of scripture which is here quoted: "Thou shalt fear the Lord thy God, and serve him, and shalt swear by his name. Ye shall not go after other gods, of the gods of the people which are round about you;" (Deut. vi. 13, 14;) where Moses doth not distinguish between the worship that is due to God, and that worship which may be given unto the creature; but describes the worship which ought to be given unto God, and to God alone, and which ought not to be given unto the gods of the Gentiles. And, besides, this ought to be taken into consideration,—we do not find the word "only" in Deuteronomy annexed either to the fear of God, or to the service of God. Now, would it have been fairly and ingenuously done by any that lived under the Old-Testament dispensation, to make this gloss upon the text?—"It is true, we must fear the Lord our God, but not him only;

and serve him, but not serve him only." So that our Saviour adds the word "only" for explication's sake. And, indeed, if God be to be worshipped at all, and served at all, for the same reason he only is to be worshipped, and he only is to be served. So that our Saviour doth not only recite this text in Deuteronomy, but he doth it with advantage, when he tells Satan, "It is written, Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve."

Worship is called "religious," because it binds us to God, and to God alone: and wherever in scripture it is said we must worship God, we must always understand it thus,—we must worship him alone. Thus the angel, in the Revelation, chap. xix. 10, where he tells John, that he must "worship God;" the meaning is, that he must worship God alone. "Give unto the Lord the glory due unto his name;" and then it follows, by way of explication, "Worship the Lord in the beauty of holiness." (Psalm xxix. 2.) It is said of Job, that he "arose, and rent his mantle, and fell down upon the ground, and worshipped." (Job i. 20.) Nothing is said of the object unto whom he did direct his worship; the object of his worship is not expressed, but understood, and presupposed: if he fell down and worshipped in a religious manner, it is to be taken for granted that he worshipped God.

2. It appears yet further, that "God, and God alone, is and ought to be the object of religious worship," and that "religious worship ought not to be given unto any creature whatsoever," *because God hath expressly forbidden us in scripture the worshipping of angels.*—"Let no man beguile you of your reward in a voluntary humility and worshipping of angels." (Col. ii. 18.) The apostle's scope in this chapter is to dispute against those corruptions that were creeping into the Christian worship. These sometimes he calls "the traditions of men," "the rudiments of the world, and not after Christ," (verse 8,) and "the commandments and doctrines of men:" (verse 22:) and, amongst other corruptions, he cautions them against "worshipping of angels." Now if religious worship might be given to a creature, then to these glorious creatures; but this, according to the apostle's sense, is superstition and will-worship. So, verse 23: "Which things have indeed a show of wisdom in will-worship." Now the church of Rome owns and avouches the worshipping of angels, which the apostle forbids. It is true, indeed, the Papists, in their worshipping of saints and angels, give the saints the pre-eminence: "It is by their means," say they, "that indulgences are given out of the church's treasury," or rather put to sale; "they having not only merited their own salvation, but, some of them at least, supererogated for the good of others, in that they have done more and greater things than are enjoined in God's word." And this is an honour that, according to their principles, is not, nor ought to be, given to the blessed angels.

But how extravagant soever the fancies of these men are, or may be, yet I shall aver, that if religious worship might be given to any creature, then unto these glorious creatures; and that not only because they never sinned against God, as the saints have done, but also because unto their care and tutelage are committed God's holy ones, and they are "sent forth to minister for them that are heirs of salvation." (Heb. i. 14.)

But we read not of any such employ assigned by God unto the saints departed.

If any should say, "The worship of angels forbidden in the scripture is the supreme worship that is proper unto God alone: and to give this indeed unto the angels would be superstition and will-worship; but not religious worship in an inferior degree:" what a horrible, bold perverting of scripture is this! And who can reasonably imagine, that the apostle Paul, when he knew that the worshipping of angels was not only good and lawful, but highly commendable, should yet in the general condemn the worshipping of angels, without any distinction at all made in the case?

And whereas it may be said, that "St. Paul doth not in the general condemn the worshipping of angels, but the worshipping of angels as mediators, so as to exclude Christ; for the apostle adds, 'And not holding the Head:'" (verse 19:) it is true, the apostle doth so; but then we must know, that religious worship, though in an inferior degree, given to an angel, is inconsistent with holding the Head, Christ: as a wife that gives the honour of her husband's bed unto another, (and all religious and divine respect is no less,) denies him to be what she calls him, though she call him "husband" never so much. The reason urged in the second commandment against false worship, is, that "God is a jealous God." Now we must understand it thus: He is jealous not only lest he should not be honoured as God, but he is also jealous lest he should not be honoured as one God; for as by the worshipping of him we acknowledge him to be God, so by the incommunicableness of that worship to any creature we acknowledge him to be one God.

And yet, that there may be no mistake in this matter, we deny not but that good men, when angels have appeared unto them in a visible shape, even when they have known that they have been angels, have given honour to them, and, it may be, bowed down before them. But then it is granted on all hands, that the same external gesture may be adapted and fitted to the worship that is civil and that which is religious; and it lies upon our adversaries to prove, that the honour or worship given unto them was religious, and of the very same kind that we give unto God, but in an inferior and lower degree. We read of Abraham, that "he lift up his eyes and looked, and, lo, three men stood by him: and when he saw them, he ran to meet them from the tent-door, and bowed himself toward the ground;" (Gen. xviii. 2;) but that this was a civil, not a religious, respect, appears by the entertainment that he offers to make for them: "Let a little water, I pray you, be fetched, and wash your feet, and rest yourselves under the tree: and I will fetch a morsel of bread, and comfort ye your hearts." (Verses 4, 5.) Indeed, afterwards he knew one of them to be the Angel of the Covenant, the Lord Jesus Christ, who is called "Jehovah" in that chapter, and might worship him with religious worship. But this doth not in the least contradict our principles nor the text; for God must and ought to be worshipped, though we must "worship the Lord our God, and him only must we serve." Unto which I might add, that the servants of God under the law had a fair occasion offered them to invoke and worship angels, which we have not under the gospel; because they frequently then appeared unto them in the likeness of men, which they do not to us; and yet we never read that the people of God under the legal dispensation did invoke them, or pay any religious respect to them. David "saw the angel that smote the people;" yet did he not in the least apply himself to the angel, or worship him, but made his address unto God: "David spake unto the Lord, when he saw the angel that smote the people, and said, Lo, I have sinned: but these sheep, what have they done?" (2 Sam. xxiv. 17.)

3. It appears yet further, that "God alone is, and ought to be, the object of religious worship," and that "religious worship ought not to be given to any creature whatsoever," *because religious worship, though in the lowest and most inferior degree, is such that neither saints nor angels durst own or receive.*—We read how that the devil would be worshipped, but saints and good angels would not. And I shall give you two instances for this: the first, *of a saint;* and the second, *of an angel.*

(1.) The first instance I shall give you is *of a saint;* namely, that of Peter: "As Peter was coming in, Cornelius met him, and fell down at his feet, and worshipped him. But Peter took him up, saying, Stand up; I myself also am a man." (Acts x. 25, 26.) The argument is this: "No man is to be worshipped: But I am a man: Therefore I am not to be worshipped." Nor is it reasonable to believe, that Cornelius would give religious worship in the highest degree, which our adversaries say is proper unto God alone, unto St. Peter; for it is said, that Cornelius was "a devout man, and one that feared God with all his house, and one that prayed to God alway." (Verse 2.) Nor can it justly be imagined that a devout man, and one that feared God, and one that prayed unto God alway, should give religious worship in the highest degree, which they call *latriam,* unto St. Peter, when he knew he was God's minister, and not God.

(2.) The second instance that I shall give you is *of an angel:* "I fell at his feet to worship him. And he said unto me, See thou do it not: I am thy fellow-servant." (Rev. xix. 10.) "See thou do it not:" hereby is signified unto us the heinousness of this sin: as if he had said, "Beware what thou doest; God forbid that a creature should join in co-partnership with God in his worship: 'worship God.'" "See thou do it not;" a speech something like that in Jer. xliv. 4: "O, do not this abominable thing that I hate." "They went to burn incense, and to serve other gods, whom they knew not;" (verse 3;) and God cried out, as it were, with a shriek, "O, do not this abominable thing that I hate!" Thus in the like case, when John fell down at the feet of the angel to worship him, the angel refuses it with abhorrence and detestation: "See thou do it not:" and he gives this reason for it: "I am thy fellow-servant." And the argument is this: No servant of Christ ought to be worshipped: But an angel is a servant of Christ: Therefore an angel is not to be worshipped. "Worship God:" as if he had said, "God, and God alone, is the object of religious worship; and 'I am thy fellow-servant: worship God.'" The angel in this seems to point at that worship which is called *dulia:* "Why should *dulia* be given to him that is δουλος ['a servant']? It is a horrible wickedness to serve and worship thy fellow-servant in a religious manner: 'I am thy fellow-servant: worship God.'"

See again, to this purpose, Rev. xxii. 8, 9: "I John saw these things, and heard them. And when I had heard and seen, I fell down to worship before the feet of the angel which showed me these things. Then saith he unto me, See thou do it not: for I am thy fellow-servant," &c.: "worship God." And whereas some pretend that St. John took the angel to be God, and would have worshipped him with *latria*, which is proper to God alone; and therefore the angel says, "See thou do it not:" this is a mere groundless fancy of their own, and not to be made out by the least iota or tittle in the text. And, besides, it is very much that St. John should be mistaken twice in the case; for he was twice repulsed by the angel: and St. John calls him expressly "an angel:" "I fell down to worship before the feet of the angel:" (verse 8:) and the angel bids him "worship God." (Verse 9.) By which is intimated, that St. John's mistake was not in the person, but in the worshipping of the person; for that religious worship, though in the lowest and most inferior degree, is such, that neither saint nor angel durst own or receive.

4. It appears yet further, that "God, and God alone, is and ought to be the object of religious worship," and that "religious worship ought not to be given to any creature whatsoever," *from the consideration of the nature of worship itself, together with that God that is to be worshipped.*—Religious worship *in solidum*, "as well in one degree as another," is due to God, and proper only unto him. As there is no proportion between God and a creature, because there is an infinite distance between the one and the other; so it follows, that, if it were possible, there should be an infinite disproportion between the honour that we give to God, and the honour that we give unto a creature. And since the Divine Excellency doth differ in kind from that which is, or can possibly be, in any creature, it necessarily follows, that the worship and honour that is given unto God ought to differ in kind from that worship and honour that we give unto the creature; so that to give the same worship unto God and to the creature, differing only in degree, is in effect to say, that the creature is but in a degree inferior unto God. Unto which I might add,

5. In the fifth place, that *if idolatry consists only in giving religious worship in the highest degree unto a creature, then the Arians are falsely charged with idolatry by ancient and modern divines, for giving religious worship unto Christ, who, they say, is but a creature, though the best of creatures.*—I suppose that even our adversaries themselves make no scruple to charge Arians with idolatry. Now it is not easily to be imagined how the Arians should give *latriam*, or religious worship in the highest degree, unto Christ, whom they profess to be a creature, and not God; and if religious worship in an inferior degree may be given unto a creature, why then are they charged with idolatry?

6. Unto which I might also add, that *this will justify at least many of the best and wisest of the Heathens in their superstitious and idolatrous practices, many of the Heathens worshipping the true God by false mediums.*—For instance, the men of Athens: "As I passed by, and beheld your devotions, I found an altar with this inscription, To the unknown God. Whom therefore ye ignorantly worship, him declare I unto you;"

(Acts xvii. 23;) and yet the apostle charges them with superstition: "I perceive that in all things ye are too superstitious:" (verse 22;) the altar was dedicated unto the same God that Paul preached, and yet even in this they were "too superstitious."

Thus I have endeavoured to clear this great truth unto you, that "God, and God alone, is and ought to be the object of religious worship," and that "religious worship ought not to be given unto any creature whatsoever." If it be said, that "religious worship upon occasion hath been given unto a creature; as, for instance, upon God's appearing unto Moses in the burning bush: God said unto Moses, 'Draw not nigh hither: put off thy shoes from off thy feet, for the place whereon thou standest is holy ground.' (Exod. iii. 5.) And thus the Israelites were to worship before the ark, even by the appointment of God himself: 'Exalt ye the Lord our God, and worship at his footstool; for he is holy.' (Psalm xcix. 5.) Now if so, how is this a truth, that 'God, and God alone, is the object of religious worship;' and that 'religious worship ought not to be given unto any creature whatsoever?'" For the removing of this difficulty, I shall say two things.

1. *That in whatever place God is pleased to manifest his special and extraordinary presence, that place, during that time, may be said to be holy, or to be sanctified; and thus it was in the case of the holy ground.*—"The Angel of the Lord appeared unto him in a flame of fire, out of the midst of a bush." (Exod. iii. 2.) Now, that this Angel of the Lord was God himself, appears from verse 4: "When the Lord saw that he turned aside to see, God called unto him out of the midst of the bush:" upon this the Lord said, "Draw not nigh hither: put off thy shoes from off thy feet, for the place whereon thou standest is holy ground." (Verse 5.) And so also as for the ark: God had promised his special presence there, and to "commune" with his people "from above the mercy-seat, from between the two cherubims which were upon the ark of the testimony." (Exod. xxv. 22.) And hence God is said to dwell between the cherubims: "Give ear, O Shepherd of Israel, thou that leadest Joseph like a flock; thou that dwellest between the cherubims, shine forth." (Psalm lxxx. 1.) And hence the shewbread that was placed upon a table before the ark is said to be set before God: "Thou shalt set upon the table shewbread before me alway;" (Exod. xxv. 30;) and this bread was therefore called *panis facierum*, "the bread of faces," and *panis propositionis*, because it was "placed before" the ark. But I shall add, that there is no place under the gospel that can be said to be holy upon the account of God's special and extraordinary presence. If there be any such, let our adversaries show us where it is, and give us sufficient proof of it; and we will frankly comply with them, and grant that place to be holy and sanctified.

2. The second thing that I say is this: *that although Moses was to put off his shoes because the place whereon he stood was holy ground, yea, and that respect was given to the ground because of God's special and extraordinary presence in that place, which was signified by putting off the shoes;* (take this for granted;) *yet how doth it appear that the respect given to the ground was religious, or that religious worship was given to the ground?*—"O," say our adversaries, "because it was holy." Grant it,

the ground was holy; but must it therefore be worshipped religiously? If you form this into an argument, it runs thus: Whatever is holy, ought to be worshipped religiously: But the Lord tells you the ground was holy: Therefore it ought to be worshipped religiously. But who sees not the weakness of the first proposition, namely, that "whatever is holy ought to be worshipped religiously?" Aaron was holy, and the priests under the law were holy; but yet we read not that they were worshipped religiously, or with religious worship, either living or dead; much less did they worship their garments, though they also were holy. We have, or at least we ought to have, a respect for the people of God, as such, as they are religious and holy persons; and yet it doth not follow from hence, that therefore they are religiously to be worshipped. Yea, the people of God are holy, if compared with the holy ground itself, in an eminent and transcendent manner; for "after God," that is, after the image of God, they are "created in righteousness and true holiness." The ground was only capable of relative holiness; but the people of God are enriched and beautified with inherent holiness; and are sanctified, not only in a way of external relation, as the ground was, but inwardly and inherently in their hearts; they are sanctified throughout, both in body, soul, and spirit; and yet they are not to be worshipped with religious worship.

As for that instance concerning the ark, that also is called "holy:" "Exalt ye the Lord our God, and worship at his footstool; for he is holy," (Psalm xcix. 5,) so our translation renders it; or, as it is in the margin of the Bible, "for it is holy:" which way soever you render the words, it is much at one to our purpose; for although the Jews worshipped God at his footstool, or before the ark, which was his footstool, yet it doth not appear that they worshipped his footstool, no, not with religious worship in a lesser or inferior degree. The Israelites might worship God before the ark, and yet not worship the ark. Thus the wise men worshipped Christ wrapped in swaddling clothes, laid in a manger; but yet they did not worship either the clothes or the manger. (Matt. ii. 11.) Thus those that sang "Hosanna to the Son of David," "Hosanna in the highest," worshipped Christ riding upon an ass; but they did not worship the ass itself. (Matt. xxi. 9.) Whatever respect therefore was given to the ground, or to the ark, it doth not appear that it was religious. If any be offended with the word "civil," and take it to be too low a word in a case of this nature, by my consent we will not be angry about words; let them call it, if they please, *super-civilis;* or if they will but acknowledge that it was not the same worship for kind that we give unto God, the strife, as far as this goes, shall be at an end, and we shall be beholden to them for a better word, when they shall be at leisure to furnish us therewith.

IV. APPLICATION.

USE I. *We may take notice from hence of the superstition and idolatry of the church of Rome, in giving that worship that is proper unto God, and unto him alone, unto other things.*—And here I shall not speak to the idolatry of the church of Rome in the latitude of it; but take occasion to make mention of *their worshipping of saints,* and *their worshipping of images.*

(I.) *Their worshipping of saints.*—Our adversaries tell us, that we do them wrong when we say that they give that worship unto the creature that is proper unto God; and do frankly acknowledge that if they did so, they should make a creature a god, and, by consequence, be guilty of idolatry. But how they will or can acquit themselves in this particular, for my part, I cannot understand: for actions, or gestures, or words, directed to any creature, that do imply that creature to have any of God's incommunicable attributes and divine perfections, do questionless give that honour to the creature which is proper unto God; and this is done by those of the church of Rome. For instance: when thousands of Papists in thousands of places at one and the same time pray unto saints, and in particular to the Virgin Mary, doth not this suppose the saints, and in particular the Virgin Mary, to be omniscient and omnipresent? And are not these some of God's incommunicable attributes and divine perfections? And is not the omniscience and omnipresence of God one main ground of religious worship? And is not God to be invoked every where, because he sees and hears whatsoever is done upon the earth, and is present in all places? "I will," saith the apostle, "that men pray every where, lifting up holy hands, without wrath and doubting." (1 Tim. ii. 8.) We have no reason to lift up holy hands to a saint, unless that saint was every where. And whereas some pretend that the saints may see all things in God, *in speculo Deitatis,* "in the glass of the Deity," this glass hath long since been broken by the hand of the learned; nor is there any thing else likely to be seen by it but the rashness of some bold persons, who dare to sport with divine things, and aspire unto a wisdom above that which is written, the scripture not in the least making mention of any such thing. Yea, the humanity of Christ himself, though personally united unto the divine nature, did not pretend to it; for our Saviour, speaking of the day of judgment, doth freely and openly declare to all the world, "Of that day and that hour knoweth no man, no, not the angels which are in heaven, neither the Son, but the Father." (Mark xiii. 32.) Nor can the meaning be that the Son knew not of the day of judgment in this sense, namely, so as to make it known unto the world; for in that sense the Father himself may be said to know nothing of that day and hour, when he is plainly excepted in the case: "Of that day and hour knoweth no man, no, not the angels which are in heaven, neither the Son, but the Father." And seeing *operari sequitur esse,* and "every being doth exercise its operations in such a way as is suitable to its nature and essence," it is a hard matter to conceive that a finite creature can be capable of infinite knowledge, and exercise it accordingly. But I shall not insist upon this, because it is to be managed by another hand; however, I shall take my liberty to add hereunto two considerations, and so pass on:—

1. We Protestants acknowledge that we have an honour for the blessed apostles, and martyrs, and saints, and upon occasion give them their due praises, and celebrate their memorials; but those of the church of Rome, whilst they would most superstitiously give them that honour that is due

to God, most unrighteously deny them that honour that is due unto themselves. Is it an honour to the prophets, evangelists, and apostles, to suppress what they wrote, said, and did, from the greatest part of the Christian world, when our Saviour says, upon occasion of a woman's bringing a box of precious ointment, and pouring it upon his head as he sat at meat, that "wheresoever this gospel should be preached, there should also this that this woman had done, be told for a memorial of her?" (Matt. xxvi. 7—13.) The apostle's counsel is, "Take, my brethren, the prophets, who have spoken in the name of the Lord, for an example of suffering affliction, and of patience." (James v. 10.) Now is it an honour to the prophets for the generality of the people to be kept in such gross ignorance of the holy scriptures, that it is a wonder if millions of them know what kind of persons the prophets were, and whether there were such that ever lived in the world? Is it an honour to the saints departed to aver, that, for some time at least, and it is hard to know how long, they suffer the same pains and torments for substance that the damned suffer in hell, and that all this time they are deprived of the beatifical vision of God's blessed presence in the other world? Absalom had rather die, than to live in exile, and not see the king's face: "Let me see the king's face; and if there be any iniquity in me, let him kill me." (2 Sam. xiv. 32.) And is it a small matter for the saints for many generations to be shut out of the presence of their Heavenly Father, and banished from his sight, who is the "King of kings, and Lord of lords?" (Rev. xix. 16.) Thus the pretended honour that the Papists say they give unto the saints vanishes into air and smoke.

2. That although we have an honour for the blessed apostles, saints, and martyrs, yet we dare not give them religious honour, no, not in any degree whatsoever; for this is due to God, and proper to him alone: when we attribute that to a creature which is proper and peculiar unto God, we make that a god. Thus Jacob to Rachel, importunately desiring children: "Jacob's anger was kindled against Rachel: and he said, Am I in God's stead, who hath withheld from thee the fruit of the womb?" (Gen. xxx. 2.) Thus also when Naaman was sent into Samaria to be cured of his leprosy, and brought a letter to the king of Israel from the king of Syria to that purpose, "saying, Now when this letter is come unto thee, behold, I have therewith sent Naaman my servant to thee, that thou mayest recover him of his leprosy. It came to pass, when the king of Israel had read the letter, that he rent his clothes, and said, Am I God, to kill and to make alive, that this man doth send unto me to recover a man of his leprosy?" (2 Kings v. 6, 7.) Thus it is also in the case of worship; if we give that worship to a creature that is proper unto God, we make it a god: "Thou shalt worship no other god;" and the reason rendered is this: "For the Lord, whose name is Jealous, is a jealous God." (Exod. xxxiv. 14.) God's name is Jealous: and why is his name so? why is his name Jealous? Because, as men are made known and distinguished by their names from other men, so God is made known by his name Jealous, and distinguished from other gods, from false gods. False gods were not jealous, though their lovers and worshippers went a-whoring after other gods: if they worshipped them, and served them, all was well enough, they were not jealous. But the

Lord our God is a jealous God, and will not admit of any co-partner or rival in his love, in his worship: "Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve." Thus much for their worshipping of saints.

(II.) The second thing I shall mention is *their worshipping of images.*—This is expressly forbidden by the second commandment: "Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image, or any likeness of any thing that is in heaven above, or that is in the earth beneath, or that is in the water under the earth: thou shalt not bow down thyself to them, nor serve them." (Exod. xx. 4, 5.) That God had a special regard to religion in this commandment, is plain,

1. Because it is said, we are not to bow down ourselves to them, nor serve them.

2. Because this commandment belongs to the first table, which concerns God's worship and service: and the Papists are transgressors of this commandment; for they make unto themselves images, and fall down and worship them.

And whereas it is urged, that, "suppose the worship of the true God by an image were forbidden by the second commandment, it would follow indeed from hence, that it was unlawful to worship God by an image; but not that it was idolatry:" this is but a pretence; for to give religious respect to any creature whatsoever is idolatry. Now, that the worship given by Papists unto images is religious, appears, because they tell us, that the worship of an image stays not there, but is referred or carried to the prototype, or thing represented by it; and therefore must of necessity be the same in kind that is given to God himself. For he that tells you that he doeth it but improperly, indirectly, in this or that manner, acknowledges he doeth the thing, and only tells you the manner how; and if the manner doth not destroy the thing, then it remains still the same kind of worship, and, for all these distinctions, it is idolatry. And, besides, to comply with any way of worship which is not of divine appointment and institution is not only a transgression of the second commandment, but ought to be accounted one kind of idolatry; and the reason is this, because hereby we give the honour unto a creature which is proper only unto God; for as God alone is to be worshipped, so again he alone can appoint the way or means whereby he will be worshipped. And this is so signally a part of his sovereignty and authority over his creature, that implicitly, and by way of interpretation, we make them our god unto whom we submit in any way or kind of worship which is not of divine institution. And hence the Israelites are said to worship devils: "They shall no more offer their sacrifices unto devils, after whom they have gone a-whoring." (Lev. xvii. 7.) Not that the devil was, at least directly, the object of their worship, but because he hath a great stroke in bringing into the world all kind of false worship; and men in conformity hereunto pay him that observance and homage that is proper unto God, and in that respect may be said to worship the devil.

Our adversaries plead for themselves, that they worship not a false god, nor the image of any false god, but the sacred images of saints and angels, and the blessed Virgin Mary, and the like; and that adoration must and ought to be given to those, and that for their sakes whom they represent. But if religious respect or honour be given to an image for the sake of him whom it represents, this is an unquestionable argument against the worshipping of images; for, seeing it is certain that no religious worship is due unto the saints themselves, much less may it be given to an image for their sakes.

And here I shall take an occasion to give you an account of what the council of Trent says concerning images: "That the images of Christ, and of the blessed Virgin-mother of God, and other saints, are to be kept and reserved, especially in churches, and due honour and veneration to be given to them;" (by "honour and veneration" I suppose they mean more than civil;) "not for that any divinity or virtue is believed to be in them, for which they are to be worshipped, or that any thing is to be asked of them, or any confidence to be placed in them, as was anciently done by the Heathens, who put their trust in idols; but because the honour which is exhibited to images is referred to the prototype, or thing represented by them; so that by the image which we kiss, and before which we kneel or put off our hats, we adore Christ, and reverence his saints, whom the said images represent." (Sess. 25.) Thus that council. Now let us see whether the Jews might not have had the same or the like plea for the purging of themselves from idolatry in their worshipping [of] the brasen serpent in Hezekiah's time. When the brasen serpent had not that healing virtue unto which it was designed by God at first, might not they have said that they gave due honour and veneration to the brasen serpent, not for that any divinity or virtue was believed to be in it, or that any thing was to be asked of it, or any confidence to be placed in it; but in memory of those great and wonderful cures that had formerly been wrought by it, and that by the appointment and institution of God himself; and what they did was rather in honour to God, than unto it; and whatever veneration was given to the brasen serpent, it was for God's sake, and was ultimately to be resolved upon him? Let the Papists look to it whether they have a better plea for themselves, in their pretended due honour and veneration that they give unto images, than the Jews had for their idolatrous practices.

If any should say, "But doth not nature teach us, that the honour or dishonour done to a picture or image, reflects upon the person represented by it? Is it not an honour to a prince to kiss his picture, and a dishonour to abuse it, or deface it? And therefore is it not an honour to God to do the like, and to give due veneration and adoration unto his image?" For answer to this, take into your consideration these following particulars:—

That it is supposed by this querist, that an image or picture may be made of God; which ought to be denied, and not taken for granted: "All nations before him are as nothing; and they are counted to him less than nothing, and vanity." (Isai. xl. 17.) And it follows: "To whom then will ye liken God? or what likeness will ye compare unto him?" (Verse 18.) And why should we make an image of God that is not like him? But our adversaries tell us, that images or pictures made with reference unto God, may be considered two ways: *in a proper sense:* as if a man should conceive God to have eyes, and ears, and hands, and other bodily parts, as we have, and represent him accordingly by an image. And this our adversaries themselves acknowledge to be an infinite disparagement unto the divine nature; because God, being infinite and invisible, can by no means be represented as he is in himself by any corporeal likeness or figure. Or *in a metaphorical and allusive sense*: as representing such things as bear a certain analogy or proportion to some divine properties, and thereupon are apt to raise our minds to the knowledge and contemplation of the perfections themselves: as, when God appeared to Daniel as "the Ancient of days," this was to manifest his wisdom and eternity; (Dan. vii. 9;) and the Holy Ghost as a dove, this was to signify his purity and simplicity. (Matt. iii. 16.) "Now," say they, "to make an image of God in this sense, is no way dishonourable to him, because it is not made to represent the divine nature by an immediate or proper similitude; but by analogy only, or metaphorical signification; and these images are usually called, by way of distinction, 'symbolical images of God.'" Unto which we say,

1. *That the making of any image of God is forbidden in scripture.*—"Take ye therefore good heed unto yourselves; for ye saw no manner of similitude on the day that the Lord spake unto you in Horeb out of the midst of the fire: lest ye corrupt yourselves, and make you a graven image, the similitude of any figure, the likeness of male or female:" (Deut. iv. 15, 16:) where God did not forbid them the making of the images of false gods, or that any veneration or worship should be given unto them. This is plain from the text: "Ye saw no manner of similitude;" the meaning is not that they saw no similitude of any false god, but of the God that spake to them in Horeb. Whereupon the Lord gives them this caution: "Take ye therefore good heed to yourselves, lest ye corrupt yourselves, and make you a graven image, the similitude of any figure," &c.

If it be said, that "they were to take heed lest they corrupted themselves by making an image of God in a proper sense, as is before explained, but they were not forbidden to make a symbolical image of God," it is replied,

(1.) I demand where there is any ground in that text for such a distinction between a proper and a symbolical image of God. The words of the law are comprehensive and general: "Take heed, lest you corrupt yourselves, and make you a graven image, the similitude of any figure:" and the reason rendered by God is, "For ye saw no manner of similitude in the day the Lord spake to you in Horeb." Mark! "no manner of similitude," no, not so much as symbolical.

(2.) Such an image of God is forbidden, that we are to take great heed to ourselves lest we corrupt ourselves in the making of it. Now there is no such great danger for a man to represent God to himself by an image in a proper sense, as if God had eyes, and hands, and feet, as we have; at least, such are not in danger that are any thing acquainted with the holy scriptures, which expressly tell us, that "God is a Spirit," and that he will be worshipped "in spirit and in truth." (John iv. 24.) It is to be feared, indeed, that the poor ignorant laity amongst the Papists may be in some danger by this means: but knowing persons amongst the Protestants, even those of the laity, are not. If it be said, "It is true, the people of Israel saw no similitude on the day that God spake to them in Horeb; but afterwards God made himself known to them by outward figures and similitudes: to Daniel, as the Ancient of days; (Dan. vii. 9;) to our Saviour, in the shape of a dove: (Matt. iii. 16:) and, besides, the parts and members of man's body are sometimes in scripture ascribed unto God, as eyes, and hands, and feet, &c.: and why may not we represent God as he hath been pleased to represent himself?" to this it is replied, that God may, as he pleaseth, make known himself unto his people by some visible tokens of his extraordinary presence; but then consider,

(i.) That which God was pleased to do sometimes for holy reasons best known unto himself is not the rule of our actions: the word of God is a sufficient rule, and the only rule; and if we would know what sin is, and what duty is, we must take our measures from thence. That in matters of worship we may sin, in imitating God himself otherwise than he hath commanded in his word; we have a famous instance for this in Jeroboam: "Jeroboam ordained a feast in the eighth month, on the fifteenth day of the month, like unto the feast that is in Judah;" (1 Kings xii. 32;) and yet you see he is branded for this by the Spirit of God in the scriptures.

(ii.) We never read that Moses and the prophets took care that any figure or image should be made of God, no, not a symbolical image; and it is very strange that they should be so much wanting to themselves, and to the generation wherein they lived, if they were such excellent helps to devotion as some pretend.

(iii.) Though God sometimes by outward figures and similitudes gave notice of his extraordinary presence, yet it was to persons eminent for holiness, and of great and singular wisdom in divine things; as Abraham, Moses, Daniel, and such-like worthies, and such as were able to give a right judgment of things of this nature: but when God spake unto the people in Horeb out of the midst of the fire, they saw no manner of similitude, lest they might corrupt themselves in the making of a graven image, and might have gross and carnal notions concerning God. And, indeed, I cannot but wonder at our adversaries, when they call images "laymen's books," or "the books of the unlearned." Had the use of images been appropriated to the more knowing and learned persons, it would have been more tolerable; there might be some pretence that such persons might from sensible and material representations be raised up to divine and heavenly meditation, even of things surpassing sense: but to conceive that the vulgar and ignorant sort of people, (and the generality of people are so, and ought to be so according to the Popish principles,)—I say, to think that they who are in a manner made up altogether of sense should be taught to worship an infinite, spiritual, invisible Being, by fixing their eyes upon finite, corporeal objects of sense, seems to me to be the first-born of incredibilities.

And whereas it is said that we cannot conceive of God but by forming ideas of him in our minds, which are so many pictures and representations of God: this is true; but then withal we must consider, that these forms and representations of God in our fancies arise from our natural constitution, from our finite and corporeal nature, and ought to be bewailed; and therefore [this] is no argument for worshipping God in any corporeal form; for this may betray us so much the more to gross and undue notions and conceptions concerning God. Nor are our imaginations to guide our understanding; but our understandings must rectify and regulate our imaginations.

(iv.) These outward figures and signs of God's special and extraordinary presence continued only for a time, and for some extraordinary service for which God had designed them, and then disappeared; and it is absurd for any to think that which was by peculiar and extraordinary dispensation should become a constant and ordinary rule unto all generations.

(v.) It is true, that the parts and members of man's body are sometimes ascribed unto God in scripture, as eyes, and hands, and feet, &c.; but it is ridiculous from tropes and metaphors and figurative expressions to form an argument for pictures and images. For if so, we may represent God as the sun, as a fountain, as fire, as a rock; and Christ as a hen, with chickens under his wings; for these are ascribed to God and Christ in scripture; and yet I conceive that Papists themselves would not give any countenance to pictures of this nature. Unto which might be added, that it is not likely that we should be misled into error by such passages as those, when the scripture elsewhere tells us expressly that "God is a Spirit:" but these pretended images of God speak not, nor give us any notice of our danger. Yea, in those very places of scripture, at least some of them, where eyes and hands and feet are ascribed unto God, we may find enough to prove that God is infinite and incomprehensible. For instance: when it is said that heaven is God's throne, and the earth his footstool; (Isai. lxvi. 1;) where at first view it seems to be insinuated, as if God had feet, and made use of the earth as his footstool; yet if we seriously consider the whole as it is ascribed unto God, we shall find that it plainly enough speaks God to be an infinite Being. For when it is said, that the whole heaven is God's throne, and the whole earth his footstool, it would not only be absurd, but monstrously ridiculous, for any to conceive that a body like unto man's should be capable of such qualifications, as at the same time to make heaven its throne, and the earth its footstool. So when God is said to deliver Israel by a mighty hand and a stretched-out arm, there is no man can understand it thus, as if God stretched forth his arm out of heaven upon the earth for the deliverance of his people; but that by God's "arm" is meant God's "power," and that it is called his "hand" or "arm" improperly and after the manner of men. Thus the holy scriptures have well provided for the people of God against errors and mistakes concerning God. But how the pretended images of God may acquit themselves in this particular, our adversaries should do well to advise. And therefore let me caution you in God's name, lest you corrupt yourselves in making any graven image of God; and I do it so much the rather, because men have a great fancy to have a god that they may see with their eyes, or at least some visible representations of God; for they think, if he should be out of sight, he would be out of mind also. And hence Papists, and Popishly-affected persons, are more for being at Mass, than for hearing of a sermon; they had rather see their God, than hear another speak eloquently of him: and therefore take heed, lest ye corrupt yourselves in this kind.

And this is the first thing that I would say to this inquiry,—whether it be not an honour to God that due veneration and adoration be given to his image or picture; namely, that this supposes that an image or picture may be made of God, which we deny.

2. The second thing that I would say by way of reply to this inquiry, is this: *that civil honour may be paid to the images of kings and princes; but it doth not follow from hence, that the images of Christ and of the saints may have a religious respect paid to them.*—The images of kings and princes are civil things, and therefore may have civil honour. If the images of Christ and the saints were sacred, as the other are civil, there might be some colour for what they say; but that they are sacred or holy is to be proved, and till then we leave it to our adversaries to take it into consideration.

3. *That it is granted that the abuse or the defacing of the image of a prince redounds to the dishonour of that prince whom it represents; but I hope no indignity is offered to a prince by breaking a-pieces those pictures that he had expressly forbidden should be graven, or painted, or made, and that under a severe penalty.*—Indeed the abuse of those things that are of divine institution, as of the elements in the sacrament of the Lord's supper, or the water in baptism, doth redound unto God himself; but what is this to an image of man's devising, and that not only without any warrant from God, but expressly against his will and commandments? If a man should break a-pieces or throw into the fire the coin that comes into his hands that is false or counterfeit, though it had the prince's image or stamp upon it, yet it would be no dishonour to the prince to deal so by it, but rather a piece of homage and reverence to his authority.

For the further clearing of this matter in controversy between us and our adversaries of Rome, concerning the veneration and adoration that they say may be given to images, we will consider that images may be worshipped two manner of ways.

1. *Terminativè;* that is, when people "terminate" their worship on an image, as if it were God, without looking any further than it. And this is likely to be the sin of the more brutish sort of the blind Heathens, and of many ignorant Papists to this day. And this kind of idolatry is forbidden by the first commandment. This is plain upon this ground: if the first commandment expressly enjoins us to have no other gods but Jehovah, then to worship an image as God is forbidden by this commandment: so that by "making a graven image," in the second commandment, and "falling down before it," and worshipping of it, something else must be understood than the worshipping of it *terminativè* as God; and therefore,

2. Images may be worshipped *relativè*, and "with respect" to the true God; and in this sense our adversaries of the church of Rome would maintain their worship of images. Now this also is unlawful, and forbidden by the second commandment. In this sense the Papists in our days are guilty of idolatry, and the Jews of old were guilty of idolatry; for the Jews, at least many of them, did not worship the images themselves, but the true God by them; and this will appear by instances out of the sacred scripture.

(1.) The first instance that I shall give you shall be that of the golden calf, of which we read in Exod. xxxii. That the worshipping of the calf was idolatry, is plain: "Neither be ye idolaters, as were some of them; as it is written, The people sat down to eat and drink, and rose up to play;" (1 Cor. x. 7;) where the apostle refers to the people's worshipping of the calf: "They rose early on the morrow, and offered burnt-offerings, and brought peace-offerings; and the people sat down to eat and drink, and rose up to play;" (Exod. xxxii. 6;) and yet the Israelites did not fall into the heathenish idolatry by so doing, that is, they did not worship the calf as God, but worshipped the true God by the calf. I know, the Papists with great bitterness inveigh against the Protestants for teaching of this doctrine; nor do I wonder at it; for what is likely to become of the Popish darling principle of worshipping the true God by an image, if the Israelites, for doing the same thing, according to the judgment of God himself, were idolaters? Now therefore that which will be proved is this, that the Israelites did not worship the calf as God, but the true God by the calf; and that will appear by these following considerations:—

(i.) Because the calf was dedicated and consecrated to the service of the true God, as appears by what Aaron said and did in that case: "When Aaron saw it, he built an altar before it; and Aaron made proclamation, and said, To-morrow is a feast to the Lord," or "unto Jehovah;" (Exod. xxxii. 5;) and Aaron useth the name Jehovah, that he might make the best of a bad matter, that the people might not terminate their worship on the idol, but on the true God. And our adversaries seem to yield to the force of this scripture, when they do acknowledge, that Aaron perhaps, and some of the wiser amongst the Israelites, might not be so sottish as to worship the calf as God. But they should consider also, that Aaron did not speak so much his own sense, but by this means would give notice to the people how to regulate and order their devotion; and if they would be so mad as to worship the calf, in so doing they should have respect unto the true God, unto Jehovah, and worship him by it; and accordingly he makes "proclamation," and says, "To-morrow is a feast to Jehovah."

If it be said, "The idol was called by the name Jehovah, and therefore they worshipped that as God;" we reply, that this is *gratis dictum*, "said, but not proved:" for Aaron doth not say, "To-morrow is a feast to the calf Jehovah," but, "To-morrow is a feast to Jehovah." And suppose it were so, that the calf was called Jehovah, this may be understood of that religious worship and honour which they gave unto the calf, which is so proper and peculiar unto God, that either that is God which we thus worship, or else we make it so. In Psalm cvi. 19, 20, it is said of Israel, "They made a calf in Horeb, and worshipped the molten image. Thus they changed their glory into the similitude of an ox that eateth grass." The meaning is not, that the Israelites thought that God in his nature and being was like unto an ox; but by giving the calf religious honour, by worshipping the graven image, by giving that glory which is due to God unto an ox, they did, in a sense, "change their glory into the similitude of an ox that eateth grass." Thus when Israel is charged with "saying to a stock, Thou art my father; and to a stone, Thou hast brought me forth," (Jer. ii. 27,) this is not to be understood strictly: surely, they had been grosser stocks than those that they worshipped, if it entered into their thoughts that a stock made them, or was their father, or a stone brought them forth; but because they gave some religious respect to those stocks and stones, they did in a sense change the glory of God into a stock, and into a stone; and, by interpretation, say "to a stock, Thou art my father; and to a stone, Thou hast brought me forth."

(ii.) It further appears, that the Israelites did not worship the calf itself as God, but the true God by the calf, as by what Aaron said, so by what the people said: "These be thy gods, O Israel, which brought thee up out of the land of Egypt." (Exod. xxxii. 4.) Now though they say "gods," because the word in the Hebrew is in the plural number; yet, according to the usage of the word in other places of scripture, we must understand by it "one God;" and so the scripture expounds it elsewhere: "This is thy God that brought thee up out of Egypt." (Neh. ix. 18.) They called the calf "God" by an usual metonymy, by giving of the name of the thing signified unto the sign; as the images of the cherubims are called "cherubims," (Exod. xxv. 18,) and the images of oxen are called "oxen." (1 Kings vii. 25.) So then the meaning of this scripture is this: "These be thy gods, O Israel;" that is to say, "This is the sign and token of the presence of thy God, O Israel, that brought thee up out of the land of Egypt." And, indeed, had the calf been God, according to the notion of the idolatrous Heathens, the calf would rather have kept them in Egypt, than have brought them out of Egypt. For look: as those of the church of Rome have their tutelar saints, some to preside over some countries, and some over others; some to be helpful and assistant in one case, and some in another; so the Heathens had their tutelar and topical gods. The gods of Egypt themselves would not stir out of Egypt; much less were they likely to bring Israel from thence. The Heathens thought that the whole world was of too large a compass for one god to take care of; and therefore their notion was, that several countries had several gods; yea, several places, it may be, in one and the same country, had several gods. "Their gods," say the Syrians of the Israelites, "are gods of the hills," (possibly collecting the same from the Jews' usual sacrificing in high places,) and not the god of the plain; "let us fight against them in the plain, and surely we shall be stronger than they." (1 Kings xx. 23.) "It is likely that one god cannot be the god of the hills, and the god of the plain." And hence it is that the people that the king of Assyria sent to the cities of Samaria, and placed there, are said not to know the manner of the God of the land, that is, the God of Israel, as distinct from the God of Judah. (2 Kings xvii. 26.) These were the notions that the Heathens had of their gods; and therefore if the Israelites were such gross idolaters as our adversaries pretend they were, how could they say?—"These are thy gods, O Israel, that brought thee up out of the land of Egypt."

(iii.) It appears yet further, that the Israelites did not worship the calf itself as God, but the true God by the calf, from that text of scripture: "They made a calf in those days, and offered sacrifice unto the idol, and rejoiced in the works of their own hands. Then God turned, and gave them up to worship the host of heaven." (Acts vii. 41, 42.) It is said, that sacrifice notes the highest piece of worship and devotion; this is said; but it is more than evident that the Israelites had a respect to the true God, even when they offered sacrifice unto the idol: for it is said, when the Israelites offered sacrifice unto the calf, that "God gave them up to worship the host of heaven." Now if their idolatry had consisted in worshipping the calf as God, it will be found to be more gross and absurd than to worship the host of heaven; at least, it could not have been an aggravation of their sin that they worshipped the host of heaven above their worshipping of the calf, which is St. Stephen's scope in this place. The meaning therefore of this scripture is this,—that because they corrupted the worship of the true God in worshipping of the calf, contrary to his command, therefore God in judgment gave them up to the worshipping of those that were not gods, namely, the host of heaven.

"But is it not said that 'they forgat God their Saviour?' (Psalm cvi. 21.) And doth not this imply that they had renounced the worship of the true God, and worshipped the calf as God?" I answer, No; this must not be understood as if they did not remember God at all; no, nor yet the great things which he had done in Egypt: but they are said to forget him, because they were not mindful of his precepts, and had no regard unto his laws; and particularly that law, "Thou shalt not make to thyself any graven image." They who do not obey God, do not, as they ought, remember God; and in this sense the Israelites are said to forget God, not because they worshipped the calf as a false god, but transgressed, in worshipping of the calf, the law of the true God.

"But what need had the Israelites of the calf, as a sign of God's presence going before them, when they had already the pillar of cloud by day, and the pillar of fire by night, designed by God for this very end?" But what trifling is this! What need had they to long after the garlic and onions of Egypt, when God had provided for them manna, the food of angels, bread from heaven? What need had David to contrive the death of his good subject Uriah, and after this to marry Bathsheba his wife? Yea, what need have the Papists themselves of crucifixes, when they have the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's supper, memoirs, of divine appointment and institution, of Christ's death and passion? Would it not be ridiculous to say?—"They had no need to do it; therefore they did it not."

And supposing that the people should be so stupid, as some pretend they were, as to think that there was a divine virtue inherent in the calf; yet this doth not prove that they worshipped the calf as God: for if so, the Jews might conclude that the hem of Christ's garment, and the handkerchief and shadow of the apostles, were gods, because a divine virtue seemed to go forth from them; yea, and the brasen serpent might be thought to have been God, because the stung Israelite was healed by looking up to the brasen serpent.

And whereas it is urged that "the Israelites served the gods of the Egyptians whilst they were in Egypt: 'Now therefore fear the Lord, and serve him in sincerity and in truth: and put away the gods which your fathers served on the other side of the flood, and in Egypt;' (Joshua xxiv.

14;) and the scripture, speaking of Israel, tells us, 'They made a calf in Horeb, and worshipped the molten image;'" (Psalm cvi. 19;) in answer to this, we say, that it is not unusual for God to charge a people going on in ways of wickedness and disobedience with that which is suitable enough with what they do and the intention of the work, though far enough off from the design and intention of the worker. Thus the apostle tells us, that covetousness is idolatry, and that there are some that make their belly their god; and yet the persons concerned [are] far enough off either from professing or designing any thing of this nature. Thus the Israelites "made a calf in Horeb, and worshipped the molten image," because they gave religious worship to it; though their design and intention was far different from the idolatry of the Heathens, that worshipped idols, or false gods. Thus I have endeavoured to clear the first instance that may be given of the Jews' committing idolatry by their worshipping of images, though they did not worship the images themselves, but the true God by them; and having been so large in this, there needs but a few words to be spoken to the rest.

(2.) A second instance may be that of Jeroboam, in his infamous sin in setting up calves at Dan and Bethel, whereby he made Israel to sin. Now it was not Jeroboam's design to withdraw the people altogether from the worship of the true God, or the worshipping of those calves as gods; but to worship the true God by them: and that for these reasons:—

(i.) The great design of Jeroboam in this was, that he might secure the ten tribes unto himself, so that they might not think of returning to unite themselves any more to the house of David, which might possibly come to pass by their going up to Jerusalem; as appears from 1. Kings xii. 26, 27: "And Jeroboam said in his heart, Now shall the kingdom return to the house of David: if this people go up to do sacrifice in the house of the Lord at Jerusalem, then shall the heart of this people return again unto their lord, even unto Rehoboam king of Judah, and they shall kill me, and go again to Rehoboam king of Judah:" and hence that saying of his: "It is too much for you to go up to Jerusalem;" (verse 28;) as if he should say, "Ye may worship God nearer home."

(ii.) That it was not Jeroboam's design to withdraw the people altogether from the worship of the true God will further appear, because the idolatry of Jeroboam is distinguished from the idolatry of the Heathens abroad that worshipped false gods; yea, from the idolatry of their idolatrous kings at home, as that of Ahab: "And Ahab the son of Omri did evil in the sight of the Lord above all that were before him:" (1 Kings xvi. 30:) so that Ahab's idolatry was more heinous than Jeroboam's. And what other reason can likely be rendered for it than this, namely, Ahab's setting up of false gods? For whereas it is pretended that "Ahab's sin was greater than Jeroboam's, because Ahab's sin was the worshipping of many gods, whereas Jeroboam's sin was worshipping the calf; as he is a greater and more heinous sinner that commits adultery with many, than he that commits it but with one:" this is but a pretence; for it remains to be proved, that the Israelites did at any time, yea, in the worst of times, altogether renounce the true and living God;

but, in their conceit, yea, in their profession, [did] acknowledge the true God still. And hence it is that you shall read, that Ahab's prophets, that were the prophets of Baal, did yet prophesy in the name of the Lord: "And Zedekiah the son of Chenaanah made him horns of iron: and he said, Thus saith the Lord, With these shalt thou push the Syrians until thou have consumed them. And all the prophets prophesied so, saying, Go up to Ramoth-Gilead, and prosper; for the Lord will deliver it into the king's hand." (1 Kings xxii. 11, 12.) So that the difference between Jeroboam's and Ahab's idolatry lay here: Jeroboam's idolatry consisted in worshipping of the true God by an image; but Ahab's idolatry was not only in worshipping the true God by an image, as Jeroboam's did, but in worshipping other gods beside him, namely, Baal-gods.

(3.) A third instance might be that of Micah and his mother. (Judges xvii.) Though his mother made a graven image, yet that it was for the worshipping of the God of Israel appears by the whole story. She professes, in verse 3, that she had wholly dedicated the silver that was to make a graven image and a molten image unto the Lord; and Micah himself consecrates a Levite for his priest, that is, seeming thereby to have respect to the true God in the worship he had designed; and when he had done so, he professes, "Now know I that the Lord will do me good, seeing I have a Levite to my priest:" (verse 13:) yet upon this account his mother and himself also were idolaters.

USE II. As we may take notice of the superstition and idolatry, so *of the fraud and treachery, of the church of Rome, in leaving the second commandment, or at least the far greatest part of it, out of some of their books.*—For this I shall mention their "Roman Catechism," authorized by the council of Trent, and published by the edict of pope Pius V.; where, speaking of the first commandment, (for Papists make first and second to be but one,) they recite it thus, "Thou shalt have no other gods before me: Thou shalt not make to thyself any graven image," and supply the rest with an "&c." As also a book called *Manipulus Curatorum,* containing in brief the offices of priests, according to the order of seven sacraments, by Guido de Monte, written A. D. 1333, where the second commandment is wholly omitted. As also a book called *Opusculum tripartitum, de Præceptis Decalogi, de Confessione, et Arte Moriendi,* by John Gerson, chancellor of Paris. Now this is a horrible piece of fraud and treachery, and accordingly disowned and decried by the Reformed churches.

Now, for the further clearing and more distinct understanding of this matter, it will become us to take into consideration, that this is granted on all hands,—that there are ten commandments of the moral law, called therefore "the Decalogue;" and that these ten commandments are divided into two tables: but how many belong unto the first table, and how many unto the second,—that indeed is a question. The Protestants, or those that may be called Calvinists, in opposition to the Lutherans, ascribe four commandments to the first table, and six to the second. The Papists and Lutherans, making the first and second commandment to be but one, ascribe three commandments to the first table, and seven to the second; and, to make up the number of ten, divide that which we call the tenth commandment into two,—the one, "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's house;" and the other, "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's wife, nor his man-servant," &c. Now this distinction of the commandments, together with their presumptuous leaving out of the second commandment out of the Decalogue, is not allowed by the churches called "Reformed," for these reasons:—

1. *Because by this means they sacrilegiously take away a commandment of God relating to his worship and service.*—For as by the first commandment we are forbidden to worship false gods, or the images of false gods; so by the second commandment we are forbidden to worship the true God in a false way, or after a false manner; and in particular the worshipping of images, or the worshipping of the true God by an image. Now they of the church of Rome, being aware of this, and that they might have a covert for their idolatrous worship, make the first and second commandment to be but one, and presumptuously leave the second commandment out of the Decalogue.

2. That supposing the second commandment (for so we say it is) was only an appendix to the first, and an explication of it, yet *it is a horrible presumption to leave this explication out of their books, and particularly out of their Catechism.*—The law of God ought to be made known unto the people perfect and entire, as it was delivered by God himself: surely God hath not given to any, no, not to the best and wisest amongst the sons of men, the power of a *Deleatur* ["Let it be blotted out"] with reference to his holy and blessed law. And if that which we say is the second commandment may be rased out of our books because it is an explication of the first, by the same reason we may blot out the whole tenth commandment out of the Decalogue, because it is an explication of the whole moral law, and especially of the second table, according to the notice given us by Christ himself: "I say unto you, That whosoever looketh on a woman to lust after her hath committed adultery with her already in his heart." (Matt. v. 28.)

And whereas it is urged, that "in the rehearsal of the commandments, our Saviour himself doth not keep exactly to the words and syllables as you have them upon record in Exod. xx., nor to the same order: as, when one came to Christ, and said to him, 'Good Master, what good thing shall I do that I may have eternal life?' our Saviour answers him, 'If thou wilt enter into life, keep the commandments;' and when he saith unto him, 'Which?' Christ answers, 'Thou shalt do no murder, Thou shalt not commit adultery, Thou shalt not steal, Thou shalt not bear false witness, and, Honour thy father and thy mother.' (Matt. xix. 16—19.) And thus Moses, reciting the commandments, intersert something when he speaks of the fourth commandment: 'Keep the sabbath-day to sanctify it, as the Lord thy God hath commanded thee,' &c. 'And remember that thou wast a servant in the land of Egypt, and that the Lord thy God brought thee out thence through a mighty hand, and by a stretched-out arm: therefore the Lord thy God commanded thee to keep the sabbath-day.'" (Deut. v. 12—15.) All this must be acknowledged; but then there is a difference between doing this sometimes and upon occasion, and to do it frequently and designedly; and where there are but ten commandments, most sacrilegiously and irreverently to deprive the people of one of them.

3. *No sufficient reason can be rendered why that which we say is the tenth commandment should be divided into two; but rather that it is one, and no more, and that the purport and scope of this commandment is, to forbid the coveting of any thing that is our neighbour's.*—And if we may take the boldness to make the coveting of our neighbour's house one commandment, and the coveting of our neighbour's wife another, we may, by the same reason, make another of coveting our neighbour's servant, and another of coveting his ox, or his ass, and so make twelve or thirteen commandments, or rather as many commandments as the things are that we covet. In a word: the Papists' wilful declining the printing and publishing [of] the second commandment for the people's use doth give any impartial observer sufficient cause to suspect that they themselves take it to be against their cause. And supposing that it should be granted, that three commandments belong to the first table, and seven to the second, yet it looks like a piece of fraud and unfaithfulness to suppress any thing of the law, concerning which our Saviour tells us, that not one iota or tittle of it shall fall to the ground.

Use III. is this. *Learn from hence that there is a sweet harmony and suitableness and correspondency between divine truths delivered unto us in the Old Testament and in the New.*—Moses, in Deuteronomy, teacheth us, to fear the Lord our God, and serve him; our Saviour, in St. Matthew, teaches us, that we must worship the Lord our God, and him only must we serve. Take the word of God; whether you consider the Old Testament or the New, the incomparable fitness and proportion of the truths and doctrines contained in them one unto another is one great character of the divinity of the scriptures; and therefore those doctrines that are urged as matters of faith, and yet have no suitableness and correspondency with those principles which are owned and acknowledged to be divine truths, but justle with them, and may be considered apart and in a separate way from them, are to be suspected for delusions and mistakes. I shall take my liberty here (though not designed for the management of that subject) to instance in the doctrine of transubstantiation. We tell our adversaries, that if we deny our senses in those things wherein it is proper for them to give a judgment, (as we must, in case we believe that the sacramental elements, after consecration, are transubstantiated into the very body and blood of Christ,) then all religion will fall to the ground; we cannot certainly know either what we read or what we hear; nor could they that lived in our Saviour's time certainly know that there was such a person living upon the earth; and all the miracles that he wrought, for aught they knew, might be delusions, and a mere deception of their senses: so that if sense was not to be believed, Christianity itself must have fallen to the ground. This cannot be denied. But then they say that this one instance of transubstantiation ought to be excepted from the general rule, and ought to have its place apart, and in this particular case our senses ought to be over-ruled. Now this, amongst other things, makes the doctrine of transubstantiation to be suspected, because it hath not a suitableness to other matters, whereby the verity of Christian religion was proved and made good unto the world. Look as it is in other cases: consider the works of God; there appears a marvellous correspondence between them: the world hath its parts so united one to another, that neither the heaven, nor the earth, nor any of the elements, can be taken away without the ruin of the whole. And thus it is with the principles of Christian religion, and especially the great truths of Christianity; take away one, and you in a manner take away all the rest. For instance: the doctrine of the Trinity hath many principles of Christianity that fall-in with it: the incarnation of the Son of God falls-in with it; the death and passion of the Son of God fall-in with it; the satisfaction of the Son of God made unto divine justice falls-in with it. But you may take away the doctrine of transubstantiation, and all the principles of Christian religion will remain unshaken, yea, untouched, the doctrine of the sacraments not excepted: the sacrament of baptism will not suffer in the least by it; no, nor the sacrament of the Lord's supper itself: for if baptism be a sacrament without transubstantiation, why may not the Lord's supper also? But this I take notice of only *in transitu* and "by the way," and so pass on.

USE IV. *Let this caution us against superstition and all false worship.*—It is the great interest and concern of the church of Christ, to keep the worship of God pure and uncorrupt. It is to be acknowledged that Satan is a great enemy to the truths of God, as well as to the worship of God; yet his design is rather that the worship of God be corrupted, than the truths of God be perverted: for he knows that it is possible for religion to be depraved in some points, and yet many may keep themselves from defilement, and may not be tainted with the errors of the place where they live, or the church unto which they do belong, provided the worship of God be kept pure and uncorrupt; but if once the worship of God be publicly corrupted by superstition and idolatry, it is next to an impossibility if the infection do not spread over the face of the whole church, and by consequence there can be no communion with that church without sin: and hence the great business of Popery is, coming to Mass. It may be, some Papists, at least such as are moderate, may allow you to adhere to some Protestant principles, if you will come to the Mass; but that is indispensable.

USE V. As this should caution us against false worship in the general, so *against worshipping of God by an image in particular.*—God is very jealous lest his worship should be given unto images; and hence none of the commandments are grounded upon his jealousy but the second, which is against images; and we are very prone to superstition and will-worship in this kind. God expresseth himself most largely in the second and fourth commandments, because men are more than ordinarily inclinable to be transgressors of these two. A man is easily counselled that he must not kill, that he must not steal; but that God is to be worshipped only in that way which he hath prescribed in his word, and that the Lord's day, the Christian sabbath, is to be kept holy,—this must be enforced upon us, and we had need of "line upon line" to further us in these duties; as where the tide is wont to run and bear up with greater force and violence than is usual in other places, the banks that are made for the preventing of the breaking-in of the water, had need to be made so much the higher and the stronger. And whereas it is said that idols may not be worshipped, but images may; it is high presumption to distinguish where God hath not. The second commandment tells us, that we are not to make to ourselves "any graven image, or the likeness of any thing;" and it expressly forbids us to "fall down before it, and worship it:" and surely it must needs be of dangerous consequence, in things that concern God's worship and service, to endeavour to elude the force and power of any law of God by a distinction of our own devising.

USE VI. is *to counsel you to keep yourselves from idols.*—Thus St. John: "Little children, keep yourselves from idols." (1 John v. 21.) Idols! what are they? Some will tell you, that there is this difference between an image and an idol: "An image," say they, "is a representation of something that hath a real being and existence; an idol, of something that is feigned, and hath no being but in the minds and fancies of men: and that is the meaning," say they, "of that place of scripture: 'We know that an idol is nothing in the world.'" (1 Cor. viii. 4.) But this is a strange mistake! It is true, the apostle says, "An idol is nothing:" but how? Not in respect of the matter of it; for so it is something, gold, or silver, or stone: no, nor in regard of the thing represented by it; for an idol doth not always represent things feigned, and such as have no existence but in the imaginations of men, as sphinxes, tritons, centaurs, and the like; but many times things that are real, things that are in heaven, and things that are on earth, as they are mentioned in the second commandment. Nor is it to be imagined, amongst those multitudes of images which were worshipped by the Heathens, but that some of them at least might represent such things as had a real being and existence. And yet all such as were worshipped by them, are expressly by the apostle called "idols:" "Ye know that ye were Gentiles, carried away unto these dumb idols, even as ye were led." (1 Cor. xii. 2.) But the meaning of the apostle is this: An idol is nothing in point of virtue and efficacy; nothing at all conducing unto salvation; and, in particular, that it hath no power at all either to sanctify or to pollute those meats which were offered unto them, of which the apostle speaks in that chapter. An idol is said to be nothing in the same sense as circumcision is said to be nothing, and uncircumcision nothing; (1 Cor. vii. 19;) that is, in point of virtue and efficacy: and so the apostle explains himself elsewhere: "For in Christ Jesus neither circumcision availeth any thing, nor uncircumcision; but faith that worketh by love." (Gal. v. 6.) The *το formale* ["formality"] of an idol consists in this, that it is religiously worshipped; insomuch [that] that which was no idol before, immediately upon its being worshipped becomes an idol: thus the brasen serpent, that was no idol before, upon its being worshipped became an idol; thus it was with the sun, and moon, and stars, when the people worshipped them, and burnt incense to them, they became idols.

Now the counsel that I give you, or rather St. John [gives you], is this: "Keep yourselves from idols:" they that would not be idolaters, must keep themselves from idols, from all things that may be enticements to that sin: in the commandments where a sin is forbidden, all enticements and provocations to that sin are also forbidden. When God says, "Thou shalt not commit adultery," the meaning of this commandment, according to the exposition that our Saviour himself makes of it, is, that we must not "look upon a woman to lust after her." And Solomon, speaking of a harlot, gives this counsel: "Remove thy way far from her, and come not nigh the door of her house." (Prov. v. 8.) And holy Job "made a covenant with his eyes," not to "think upon a maid." (Job xxxi. 1.) When God would forbid the sin of injustice, see how he expresses it: "Thou shalt not have in thy bag divers weights, a great and a small." (Deut. xxv. 13.) It was a sin for a man to have a great and a small weight in his bag: and why so? Suppose a great and a small weight were found in a man's bag, he might say, "How doth it appear that I have sold wares by one weight, and taken up wares by another?" But God would not have them lay such a snare before themselves; and therefore forbids them to have in their bags "divers weights, a great and a small." So it is in this case, when we have a caution given us against idols: "Little children, keep yourselves from idols;" the Holy Ghost seems to meet with a secret objection that might be made by some: "We hate idolatry: but yet to have images to put us in mind of God, and to quicken our devotion, provided we give them not religious worship, as others do,—we hope there is no harm in this." Yes, there is. You must not only keep yourselves from idolatry, but you must "keep yourselves from idols." Those of the church of Rome charge Protestants as if they had a mind to abolish and root out of the minds of men the memory of the blessed apostles, confessors, and martyrs, by inveighing against sacred images and holy relics; but this is just as if a man should take upon him the boldness to say, that because God buried the body of Moses "in a valley in the land of Moab, and no man knoweth of his sepulchre to this day," (Deut. xxxiv. 6,) God's design in all this was to blot out the memorials of Moses from the face of the whole earth.

USE VII. *Let us pray unto God, that he would famish all the gods of the earth.*—Famishing of idols is a scripture-phrase: "The Lord will be terrible unto them: for he will famish all the gods of the earth; and men shall worship him." (Zeph. ii. 11.) The Psalmist, speaking of God's providence over his creatures, tells us: "The eyes of all wait upon thee; and thou givest them their meat in due season:" (Psalm cxlv. 15:) but an idol is none of God's creatures: an idol hath eyes and sees not, ears and hears not, mouth and tastes not. But you will say, "How then can God famish them?" Thus: if we would know what it is to famish the gods of the earth, then we must consider what their meat is: their meat is that worship, and service, and honour, which is given them by the sons of men. Now, when God is made the sole object of religious worship, when men turn from dumb idols to serve the living God, and him only, then God famishes the gods of the earth, takes away their meat from them, and then men shall worship him: and let all good people say, "Amen. So be it."

SERMON XVII. (IX.)

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PUBLIC PRAYER OUGHT NOT TO BE MADE IN AN UNKNOWN TONGUE.

PUBLIC PRAYER SHOULD BE IN A KNOWN TONGUE.

I will pray with the spirit, and I will pray with the understanding also.
—1 Corinthians xiv. 15.

The Spirit of God, foreseeing that in the latter days there would be an apostasy and departure from the faith, and that impious and corrupt doctrines would be published by men of corrupt minds, hath so compiled the holy scriptures, that from thence even those errors which arose long after the time of the apostles may be detected and confuted. With very good reason did Tertullian say, *Adoro scripturæ plenitudinem,** "I adore the fulness of the scripture." The perfection and sufficiency of it must needs be granted by all that understand it, and that will believe the testimony which it gives concerning itself. It is "profitable" *ϖρος διδασκαλιαν, ϖρος ελεγχον*, "for doctrine and reproof." (2 Tim. iii. 16.) It serves to inform and open the eyes of the ignorant; it serves to stop the mouths of gainsayers. Hence we may be furnished with both offensive and defensive weapons: and the armour which is fetched from it is styled *τα οπλα του φωτος*, "the armour," or "the weapons," "of light." (Rom. xiii. 12.) And truly, sin and error being but discovered, that very discovery will have a great influence unto the mortification of the one, and our preservation from the contagion of the other.

I do not at all wonder that the church of Rome should take away the key of knowledge. Open but that door, and that command would more generally be obeyed which you read in Rev. xviii. 4: "Come out of her, my people, that ye be not partakers of her sins, and that ye receive not of her plagues." The Popish leaders are very much against the scripture's being known, because it makes so much against them, and speaks so plainly against their doctrines; and they are jealoüs lest their own men, upon serious reading and consideration, might be brought to say, *Aut hoc non est evangelium, aut nos non sumus evangelici:* "Either this is not the gospel, or we are not gospellers:" "Either this word of God is not true; or if it be true, then Popery is a mere falsehood."

That there is such a great disagreement between the scripture and Popery, might easily be made manifest in all the points of controversy between the Romish church and ours; we having departed from them upon this very score,—because they have rejected the word of God, and left that "faith which was once delivered to the saints."

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* *Liber adversùs Hermogenem*, cap. 22.

But the point now to be insisted on is, *the language or tongue in which prayer that is public ought to be made.*

How near akin is mystical Babylon unto Babel of old in the land of Shinar! We read that there the aspiring builders' language was confounded, and they did not understand one another's speech; (Gen. xi. 7;) and this confusion stopped the building of that tower which was designed to reach heaven. In the devotions of the Romish church, the priest speaks, but the people understand not what is spoken; and this is an impediment unto the people's edification: so that their devotions reach not heaven, but are only a "speaking into the air;" (1 Cor. xiv. 9;) and are as little regarded by God, as they are understood by themselves. The Protestant churches, on the other side, are for prayer in a known tongue: and good warrant they have from the apostle himself; who says, "I will pray with the understanding;" and that "in the church he had rather speak five words," that is, a few words, "with his understanding, that by his voice he might teach others also, than ten thousand words in an unknown tongue." (Verse 19.)

The text informs us of the apostle's practice: which he proposes, surely, not that we should dislike it, and refuse to follow him; but for our imitation. Three things are here to be considered:—

1. What is meant by *prayer?*—It must be understood concerning public prayer, or prayer with others: for the apostle, in this chapter where the text lies, is delivering a decency and order which was to be observed in the public assemblies; he supposes several persons to be present, that might answer "Amen" to the supplications and thanksgivings that were made. (Verse 16.) This interpretation, as Beza observes, is most agreeable with the scope of the apostle and the drift of his discourse.[*]

2. What is meant by *the spirit?*—"I will pray in the spirit;" that is, "by the gift of prayer which the Spirit bestows." This exposition I find in Chrysostom: Τῳ ϖνευματι, τουτεστι, τῳ χαρισματι.[†] Extraordinary abilities of prophesying and praying were given after Christ's ascension and the mission of the Holy Ghost; and the end of all was the church's increase and edification. Here it is not amiss to add, that by comparing other places with this, we must grant that "praying in the spirit" comprehends a great deal more than the bare gift of utterance in this duty, whether extraordinary in an unknown, or more ordinary in a known, language. To pray in the Holy Ghost, implies, and that chiefly, the having our infirmities helped by the Spirit of God; our graces quickened, our affections and desires raised, unto that strength and fervency unto which the Lord, for his Son our Advocate's sake, has promised satisfaction.

3. What is meant by *understanding?*—This must not be referred to the understanding of the apostle; for it is difficult to suppose that he at any time did not understand what himself did speak. But it relates to the understanding of others; as, verse 19: "I had rather speak five words with my understanding, that by my voice I might teach others also."

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[*] *Si de privatis precibus ageret, videri posset a suo proposito aberrare.*—BEZA *in locum.* "If he were treating of private prayers, he would seem to wander from his purpose."—EDIT.

[†] Λογοις λεγομενοις *in* 1 *Epist. ad Corinth.*

To teach with the understanding, in the apostle's sense, is to accommodate what we say to the understanding and capacity of those whom we teach. In like manner, to pray with the understanding, is to pray so, as that those whom we pray with may apprehend what we beg for at the throne of grace, and for what we return thanks unto God; else how is it possible they should be edified?

Upon the words thus opened I build this THESIS, which I am to maintain:—

THESIS.

That public prayer is not to be made in an unknown tongue, but in such a language as is understood by the common people.

In "public prayer" I include confessions of sin, petitions for grace and mercy, intercessions for others, and giving of thanks, which are uttered in the hearing of the congregation: and I affirm, that all such public worship and service is to be performed in such a tongue as the congregation is acquainted with. Hearken to the apostle: "Else when thou shalt bless with the spirit, how shall he that occupieth the room of the unlearned say Amen at thy giving of thanks, seeing he understandeth not what thou sayest? For thou verily givest thanks well, but the other is not edified." (1 Cor. xiv. 16, 17.) Chrysostom upon these words speaks thus: Ιδιωτην τον λαϊκον λεγει· "By 'the man unlearned' the apostle means the layman. Even he must understand the words that are spoken in prayer, that thereby he may be edified."

In the handling of this thesis,

I. *I shall give you the judgment of the church of Rome in the matter:*

II. *Produce arguments to prove that public prayer ought not to be made in an unknown language.*

III. *I shall make it manifest that antiquity is utterly against the Papists in this business.*

IV. *I shall answer the objections of the Romish doctors; and show the weakness of their arguments which they urge for their Latin, and by the people not-understood, service.*

V. *I shall discover "the mystery of iniquity" in this Papal doctrine, which preaches up and encourages to an ignorant devotion.*

VI. *Conclude with a practical application.*

I. *In the first place I am to give you the judgment of the church of Rome.*—And that they indeed hold that public prayer may be made in a language that the people understand not, appears two ways:—

1. *By their general practice.*—Their Mass-book is in Latin; their divine service and Offices, as they call them, are performed in the Latin tongue. But this is certain,—that the Latin tongue is not now the mother-tongue of any nation under heaven. In former ages, indeed, it was spoken in Italy. But that nation has been so often invaded and over-run by foreign enemies, especially by the Goths and Vandals, that there has been a great alteration in their language; the present Italian being vastly different from that language which the Romans of old used. But though Latin be not understood by the common people, yet in Italy and Spain and Germany and France, and other places where the pope

governs and is obeyed, the public service is Latin; and to teach that the people should understand what they pray for, is declaimed against as a piece of heresy.

2. It is not only the practice of that church to have Latin prayers; nor the opinion only of some private doctors, nor the judgment of a provincial or national synod, that thus it ought to be: but *that very council of Trent which they (though without reason) call "holy and œcumenical," or "general," does determine that prayer need not be made in a vulgar language.*—The words of the council are these: *Etsi Missa magnam contineat populi fidelis eruditionem, non tamen expedire visum est patribus ut vulgari linguâ passim celebraretur:* (Sessio xxii. cap. 22:) "Though the Mass do contain a great deal of instruction for the faithful people, yet it did not seem expedient to these fathers that it should be every where celebrated in a vulgar tongue."

Indeed, afterward they command that the pastors *exponant aliquid,* "expound something;" but since "something" is only mentioned, and not what, nor how much, and to be sure not all, we may well say, *Hoc aliquid nihil est:* "This 'something' is as good as nothing." Moreover the ninth canon runs thus: *Si quis dixerit linguâ tantùm vulgari Missam celebrari debere, anathema sit:* "Whosoever shall say that the Mass ought to be celebrated only in a vulgar language, let him be accursed." You see how a Popish council determines that public prayer need not be in a known tongue, and thunders out an anathema against those who are otherwise-minded.

II. *In the second place follow the arguments against the Papists, which prove that public prayer ought not to be made in a language unknown to the people.*

Argument I. *When prayer is made in an unknown tongue, the name of God is taken in vain.*—Aquinas speaks of four ways of taking God's name: 1. *Ad dicti confirmationem,* "when we call God to witness the truth of what has been spoken." 2. *Ad sanctificationem,* "to the sanctifying and separating of a thing to an use that is holy." Thus the water in baptism is separated to a sacramental use, by the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. 3. *Ad operis completionem,* "unto the performing of any work which we undertake." Thus David went forth against Goliath in the name of the Lord of hosts, whose armies that proud giant had defied. 4. *Ad confessionem et invocationem,* "when we make confession of God's name before others, or call upon his name ourselves."

Now, when thus in prayer we take the name of God into our mouths, we must remember the third commandment, and how the great Lawgiver has expressly signified that he will not hold the transgressors guiltless. It is the first petition in the Lord's Prayer, "Hallowed be thy name:" but how can those that understand not the words of prayer, hallow God's name? How can their hearts and their words go together? And if they do not, the worship is vain: "This people draweth nigh unto me with their mouth, and honoureth me with their lips; but their heart is far from me," and "in vain do they worship me." (Matt. xv. 8, 9.) The people in Latin prayers understand not when sin is confessed, nor when pardon and grace are asked, nor when praise is offered: how, then, can their hearts be suitably affected? It follows, therefore, that the Lord's name is taken, and an ordinance used, in vain. Certainly the end of oral prayer is not attained in the church of Rome. The reason of using words in this duty is, that others may understand, and join with us; and also that our own thoughts and hearts by the words may be kept more close to God and intent upon his service: but, in both these regards, Latin prayers, to those that understand not Latin, are just as good as none at all.

ARG. II. *Prayer in an unknown tongue is ignorant worship.*—The Samaritans were blamed by Christ for worshipping they knew not what; (John iv. 22;) and he speaks by way of reprehension to his disciples, "Ye know not what ye ask:" (Mark x. 38:) so that not only the object of prayer must be known, but likewise the matter which we pray for. But in both these regards the poor Papists are miserably ignorant. Their idolatry plainly shows [that] they have not right conceptions of the Godhead. How like are they to the Heathen Romans of old, who, before their conversion to the Christian faith, "changed the glory of the uncorruptible God into an image made like to corruptible man!" (Rom. i. 23;) which is an evident argument, that they are "become vain in their imaginations, and that their foolish hearts are darkened." (Verse 21.) The Papists multiply altars, indeed; but upon all their altars this inscription may be written, which was upon the altar at Athens: Αγνωστῳ Θεῳ· (Acts xvii. 23:) they are dedicated "to a God [whom] they know not."

And as they know not the God [whom] they pray to, so neither do they understand what they pray for. And what is ignorant worship, if this be not,—to make unknown prayers to an unknown God? Surely it is the will of God [that] we should understand what we pray: but the Papists are willingly ignorant; and it abundantly suffices them, if so much time is but wasted in their devotions, and so many words are but pronounced, though they understand those words no more than a parrot does the meaning of those words of ours which it has learned to imitate.

ARG. III. *How can such prayers as are made in an unknown tongue be made in faith? And yet faith is so necessary an ingredient in prayer, that the apostle sticks not to say, "Let not that man," who asks not in faith, "think that he shall receive any thing of the Lord."* (James i. 7.)—We must believe that what we ask is according to the will of God. To this end the word, which is the declaration of God's will, ought to abide in us: "If ye abide in me, and my words abide in you, ye shall ask what ye will, and it shall be done unto you." (John xv. 7.) There must also in prayer be a reliance upon the promises of God; all which are "Yea and Amen in Christ." But how can we either believe that we ask according to the will of God, or rely upon those promises which God hath made, if we know not what we pray?

Faith in prayer, which is true, always pre-supposes knowledge. "How shall they call on him," says the apostle, "in whom they have not believed? and how shall they believe in him of whom they have not heard?" (Rom. x. 14.) He that understands not the tongue in which the prayers are made, cannot certainly tell whether the Lord be praised or blasphemed; whether grace be implored, or liberty begged to continue in wickedness: nay, he cannot tell whether God be prayed to at all. How, then, shall a man in faith be able to join in such manner of supplications? And as this unknown tongue is an impediment to faith, so, when what is asked is not understood, how can the desires be lively? *Ignoti nulla cupido.** The understanding must apprehend the evil, before that evil can be heartily deprecated; and be convinced of the good, before the will is brought to embrace it.

ARG. IV. *The design of prayer is not to work any change* in God, *with whom there is not the least "variableness, neither shadow of turning;" but a change* in us; *that by prayer we may be the better disposed for the reception of what we ask. But how can prayer which is not understood be here available?*—When this duty is rightly performed, it tends to the making of us more sensible of our guilt and vileness, our neediness and insufficiency; and to the setting of a greater edge upon our affections toward those spiritual and eternal blessings which are promised in the new covenant: and by this means we are made more meet for the accomplishment of those promises. But prayer in an unknown tongue leaves men as it found them. And they must needs continue under their deadness, their hearts being straitened and "alienated from God through the blindness that is in them."

ARG. V. *Though to speak in an unknown tongue was in the first age of the Christian church a miraculous gift, and served much for the confirmation of the Christian faith; yet unless there were an interpreter, the use of an unknown tongue was not permitted in the public worship of God.*—"If there be no interpreter, let him keep silence in the church; and let him speak to himself, and to God." (1 Cor. xiv. 28.) Surely, then, it plainly follows, that prayer with the unlearned should not now be made in Latin; since skill in that language is not now an extraordinary gift, but gained by ordinary instruction and industry; and the use of it in prayer, with those that know not the meaning of it, tends not to confirm Christianity, but to hinder true devotion.

ARG. VI. *The use of an unknown tongue in the Lord's service is expressly denied to be unto edification.*—The apostle gives this general rule: "Let all things be done unto edifying." (1 Cor. xiv. 26.) And he before expressly says that the unlearned is not edified by worship in a language which he does not understand, though the prayers or praises be never so excellent. (Verse 17.) The Papists, indeed, that are devout in their way, may possibly imagine they are edified by their Latin prayers: but they would do well to consider that the apostle speaks very plainly, that an unknown tongue is not to edification: and it concerns them likewise to suspect their own hearts which are so deceitful; and to fear lest Satan, by delusory affections and a false peace, impose upon them. But let us suppose that they are really affected at their devotions; certainly no thanks at all to the prayer, the meaning of which they are utterly ignorant of.

Well, then, since prayer is to be unto edification, it must be such as may be understood by the people. The spiritual benefit and advantage of their souls is to be regarded in all public administrations. The apostles had indeed the gift of tongues in the day of Pentecost; but, which is very much to be marked, it was not that they might speak in an unknown, but in a known, language to the people. Therefore you read, that those Parthians, and Medes, and Elamites, and the rest of them, did say, "We do hear, every one in the tongue wherein we were born, the wonderful works of God." (Acts ii. 8, 11.)

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* "There can be no desire for that which is unknown."—EDIT.

I might farther add, that it is repugnant to the very nature of public prayer, that it should be in an unknown tongue. For the people all the while, if they are at any, are at their private, devotions, though in the public assembly: while the priest in Latin is confessing sin, the people's hearts may be giving thanks for mercy; while the priest is asking for one kind of blessing, the people's affections may be carried out after another. Thus there is not that agreeing together in what they ask which Christ speaks of, and which is necessary in public prayer.

Arg. vii. *The apostle, having delivered this doctrine, That prayer and praise should be in a known tongue, adds, at the close of the chapter, not only that he taught the same "in all the churches of the saints,"* (1 Cor. xiv. 33,) *but also, "If any man think himself to be a prophet, or spiritual, let him acknowledge that the things which I write unto you are the commandments of the Lord."* (Verse 37.)

So much for the arguments against prayer in an unknown tongue.

III. *In the third place I am to manifest that antiquity is utterly against the church of Rome in this matter.*—The Papists talk much of the fathers, indeed; but how disobedient they are to them, and how much they dissent from them, may most easily be evinced.

And because the council of Trent hath anathematized all that are against the Popish Latin prayers, I will suppose another council, and several of the most eminent and ancient fathers members of it: and that I may deal the more fairly with our adversaries, I will suppose some of their own most noted and famous doctors admitted into this council: and that yet it may be the more regarded, I shall suppose the apostle Paul himself to be the president of it.

The fathers whom I shall mention are Justin Martyr, Origen, Cyprian, Ambrose, Augustine, Jerome, Basil, and Chrysostom.

The question to be debated is, "Whether prayer is to be made in a known or in an unknown tongue." Let the fathers speak in order.

Justin Martyr, who is very ancient, and lived about the year 160, tells us: Και τῃ του ἡλιου λεγομενῃ ἡμερᾳ, ϖαντων κατα ϖολεις η αγρους μενοντων επι το αυτο συνελευσις γινεται, και τα απομνημονευματα των αποστολων η τα συγγραμματα των ϖροφητων αναγινωσκεται μεχρις εγχωρει. Ειτα ϖαυσαμενου του αναγινωσκοντος, ὁ ϖροεστως δια λογου την νουθεσιαν και ϖροκλησιν της των καλων τουτων μιμησεως ϖοιειται. Επειτα ανισταμεθα κοινῃ ϖαντες, και ευχας ϖεμπομεν· και ϖαυσαμενων ἡμων της ευχης, αρτος ϖροσφερεται και οινος. Και ϖροεστως ευχας ὁμοιως και ευχαριστιας, ὁση δυναμις αυτῳ, αναπεμπει· και ὁ λαος ευφημει, λεγων το Αμην. (*Apol. II. ad Antoninum Pium*, sub finem.) "On the day commonly called Sunday, assemblies are made of citizens and countrymen, and the writings of the apostles and prophets are read. The reader giving over, the minister makes an exhortation to the people, persuading to the imitation and practice of those good things that are propounded. After this we rise all, and pour out prayers: and bread and wine are brought forth. And the minister, to the uttermost of his ability, does send forth prayers and praises unto God; and the people give their consent, saying, 'Amen.'" Behold the scriptures read even to citizens, nay, to country-people, and prayers made which they did understand, and say Amen to.

ORIGEN may speak next: Οἱ λοιποι των Χριστιανων ουδε εν ταις ϑειαις γραφαις ϰειμενοις ονομασι ϰαι τεταγμενοις επι του Θεου χρωνται εν ταις ευχαις· αλλ' οἱ μεν Ἑλληνες Ἑλληνιϰοις, οἱ δε Ῥωμαιοι Ῥωμαϊϰοις. Και οὕτως ἑϰαστος ϰατα την ἑαυτου διαλεϰτον ευχεται Θεῳ, ϰαι ὑμνει αυτον ὡς δυναται· ϰαι ὁ ϖασης διαλεϰτου Κυϱιος των απο ϖασης διαλεϰτου ευχομενων αϰουει. *(Contra Celsum,* lib. viii. p. (mihi) 402.) "The Christians in their prayers use not the very words" (he means the words in the original) "of the scriptures: but they that are Greeks do use the Greek tongue; and those that are Romans, the Roman tongue. And so every one according to his dialect does pray unto God, and praise him according to his ability: and He that is the Lord of every language, does hear the prayers which are put up to Him in every language."

CYPRIAN speaks thus: *Aliter orare quàm docuit Christus, non ignorantia sola est, sed et culpa; quando ipse posuerit et dixerit, "Rejicitis mandatum Dei ut traditionem vestram statuatis." (De Orat. Domin.* p. (mihi) 309.) "To pray otherwise than Christ has taught, is not only ignorance, but a great fault; for he has expressly said, 'Ye reject the command of God, that ye may establish your own tradition.'" Now where has Christ taught the use of an unknown tongue in prayer? It is but Rome's invention and tradition, and that not of a very long standing.

AMBROSE may be heard in the next place: *Si utique ad ædificandam ecclesiam convenitis, ea debent dici quæ intelligant audientes: nam quid prodest ut quis linguâ loquatur quam solus scit, ut qui audit nihil proficiat? (In* 1 *Cor. xiv.)* "If ye come together to edify the church, those things ought to be spoken that the hearers may understand: for what does he profit the people who speaks in an unknown tongue to them?" And afterwards the same father adds: "There were some, of the Hebrews especially, that used the Syriac and the Hebrew tongue in their services; but these aimed at their own glory and commendation, not at the people's benefit." Though the Hebrew tongue was that in which God of old uttered the law upon Mount Sinai, that which Moses and the prophets used; though the Syriac was that in which our Lord himself spake, while he was upon earth; yet Ambrose blames those that prayed in these languages with those people who did not understand them.

After Ambrose, let us hear AUGUSTINE: *Intelligere debemus, ut humanâ ratione, non quasi avium voce, cantemus. Merulæ, psittaci, corvi, picæ, et hujusmodi volucres, sæpè docentur ab hominibus sonare quæ nesciunt: scienter verò cantare, non avi, sed homini divinâ voluntate concessum est. (Enarrat. in Psalmum xviii.)* "We ought to understand what we pray for, that we may, not like birds, but like men, sing unto God. For blackbirds and parrots and crows and pies, and such kind of fowls, are taught to sound forth what they understand not: but to sing" (which certainly in the Psalms of David includes prayer and praising) "with understanding, is granted, not to a bird, but to a man, through the good pleasure of God." From this father's words you may perceive, that the not-understood prayer of a Papist is likened unto the prating of a pie or parrot.

JEROME, who was famous for his skill in languages, and was himself a presbyter of the ancient church in Rome, yet speaks after this manner: *In ecclesiis urbis Romæ quasi tonitru cœleste audimus populum reboantem, Amen: (Præfat. in Epist. ad Galatas:)* "In the churches of the city of Rome, the voice of the people was like heavenly thunder, when they answered aloud, 'Amen,'" at the end of the prayers which they put up unto God. The people understood, and gave their consent unto, the prayers which were used in those days; but the present church of Rome, *heu! quantùm mutatur ab illâ!*"* "alas! how much is it altered from what it once was!"

Again, the same JEROME speaks: *Quòd autem Amen consensum significet audientis, et sit signaculum veritatis, ad Corinthios prima nos docet: in quâ Paulus ait, "Cæterùm si benedixeris spiritu, qui supplet locum idiotæ, quomodo dicet Amen super tuâ benedictione, quoniam quidem nescit quid dicas?" Ex quo ostendit non posse idioten respondere verum esse quod dicitur, nisi intellexerit quod docetur. (Sub finem Comment. in Epist. ad Galatas.)* "Amen signifies the consent of the hearer, and is a sealing of the truth. Paul says, 'If thou bless with the spirit, how shall he that occupieth the room of the unlearned say Amen at thy giving of thanks, seeing he understandeth not what thou sayest?' Whereby he declares, that the unlearned man cannot answer that that which is spoken is true, since he does not understand it."

Great BASIL's mind you may know concerning the proposed question. Having complained before that the children of men do not in His temple give glory unto God, he adds, Ἡ γλωσσα ψαλλετω, ὁ δε νους ερευνατω την διανοιαν των ειρημενων· ἱνα ψαλλῃς τῳ ϖνευματι, ψαλλῃς δε και τῳ νοϊ· *(Homil. in Psalmum xxviii.:)* "Let thy tongue sing, and let thy mind search the meaning of what is spoken; that," according to the apostle, "thou mayest sing with the spirit, and sing with the understanding also."

CHRYSOSTOM agrees with the fore-mentioned fathers fully: Ιδιωτην τον λαϊκον λεγει, και δεικνυσι αυτον ου μικραν ζημιαν ὑπομενοντα, ὁταν το Αμην ειπειν μη δυναται· (λογοις λεγομενοις *in* 1 *Epist. ad Corinth.:)* "Take notice," says he, "how the apostle does always seek the church's edification. By 'the unlearned man,' Paul means the layman; and shows how this unlearned person does sustain a very great loss, when prayers are made in such a language as [that] he, through want of understanding, is not able to say Amen to them."

I shall add unto these passages of the fathers, a Constitution of the emperor JUSTINIAN. Emperors of old were reverenced by the church, though now the pope endeavours to lord it over them. The Constitution is thus: *Jubemus omnes episcopos, &c.: (Novellæ,* Constit. 123:) "We command that all bishops and presbyters do celebrate the holy oblation, and prayers used in holy baptism, not speaking low, but with a clear voice which may be heard by the people, that thereby the minds of the people may be stirred up with greater devotion in uttering the praises of the Lord God." And for this is cited 1 Cor. xiv. 16: "How shall the unlearned say Amen, if he does not understand what is spoken?" And then it follows, "If the priests neglect these things, the judgment of God and Christ will fall on them; neither will we," says the emperor, "when we know it, rest and leave it unrevenged."

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* VIRGILII *Æneid.* ii. 274.

But now let us hear the Romish doctors themselves, speaking to the question in hand.

Cardinal CAJETAN has these words: *Ex hâc Pauli doctrinâ habetur, quòd melius est ad ædificationem ecclesiæ, orationes publicas, quæ audiente populo dicuntur, dici linguâ communi clericis et populo, quàm dici Latinè: (Comment. in* 1 *Cor. xiv.)* "From this doctrine of the apostle Paul it follows, that it is better for the edification of the church, that the public prayers which the people hear should be made in that language which both the priests and people understand, than that they should be made in Latin." Here I cannot choose but cry out, *Magna est veritas,* "Great is truth, and it will prevail!" Behold, a cardinal of the Romish church speaks as plainly against the council of Trent as any whom they nickname "heretics" can!

The next Romish author is NICOLAUS DE LYRA; who, glossing upon the same chapter, speaks to the same purpose: *Si populus intelligat orationem sive benedictionem sacerdotis, meliùs reducitur in Deum, et devotiùs respondet, Amen:* "If the people understand the prayer or thanksgiving which is performed by the priest, their minds will be brought the better and nearer unto God, and with greater devoutness they will answer, 'Amen.'"

The third Romish doctor shall be "the angelical" (as he is called) and highly-magnified THOMAS AQUINAS. His words are these: *Plus lucratur qui orat et intelligit; nam reficitur, et quantum ad intellectum, et quantum ad affectum: (Comment. in* 1 *Cor. xiv.:)* "He gains most who prays and understands the words which he speaks; for he is edified both as to his understanding, and also as to his affections." Again: he saith, *Melius est ut lingua quæ benedicit etiam interpretetur; omnis enim sermo bonus est ad ædificationem fidei:* "It is best that the tongue which blesses should interpret; for good words should be spoken to the edification of faith." Here we may with reason say, *Benè quidem scripsisti, Thoma:* "Thomas, thou hast written what is agreeable to truth."

Thus the fathers and the Popish doctors themselves have delivered their opinions; and all are for praying in a known language.

Nay, I have read, and it is acknowledged by a Jesuit, (AZORIUS, *Instit.* lib. viii. cap. 26, ex ÆNEA SYLVIO,) that above six hundred years ago, when the pope did deliberate and consult whether he should grant unto the Bohemians the use of the vulgar tongue in their public devotions, there was heard a voice from heaven, saying, *Omnis lingua confiteatur ei:* "Let every tongue confess unto God."

But now at last let us be determined by the apostle PAUL, the supposed president of the council: and his mind I shall give you in this paraphrase upon his own words:—

"I thank my God, I speak with tongues more than you all; but I had rather speak five words to be understood by and to edify those that hear me, than ten thousand words in an unknown tongue. If the trumpet give an uncertain sound, who shall prepare himself to the battle? And if I pray, and those that are present understand not the meaning of the voice, how shall they wrestle with God? How shall they defend themselves against the assaults of the evil one? How shall they join in begging for grace to overcome him? I am an apostle, and not a barbarian; and I would not speak words into the air, but so as to benefit them that hear me. I am unwilling [that] the public worship of God should be exposed to the contempt and scorn of infidels, or that they should censure it to be only the raving of madmen, because they know not the meaning of the words that are used. Our God is not the God of confusion, but requires a reasonable service; and these commands concerning prayer and praising so as to be understood, are his commands. Every one who is indeed spiritual will be thus persuaded: they who are otherwise minded are willingly ignorant."

You see, I have proved the Protestant doctrine out of the fathers; nay, it is granted by Popish authors of very great name; and how plainly the apostle is on our side, do but read and judge.

Let the Papists now for shame cease their bragging of antiquity. It was certainly the manner of the elder and purer times to pray in a known language. Thus prayed the apostles; thus prayed our Lord Jesus; thus praised the heavenly host at Christ's nativity, in such words as the very shepherds understood: "Glory be to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good-will toward men." (Luke ii. 14.) Thus the prophets prayed, and David, the sweet singer of Israel; all his Psalms were written in Hebrew, the Jews' mother-tongue. Thus sang Deborah and Barak; thus Moses and the Israelites, after their miraculous deliverance out of Egypt, and Pharaoh's overthrow in the mighty waters. Nay, I must add, there was a time when there was but one language in the whole world,—before the building of Babel; and then there was no unknown tongue to pray in. In the days of Enos, the son of Seth, the grandchild of Adam, it is said, "men began to call upon the name of the Lord:" (Gen. iv. 26:) and this must of necessity have been done in a language which none were ignorant of. Surely, then, the Protestant religion in this regard must be acknowledged of sufficient antiquity, since it is as old as the old world, since it was before the flood of Noah.

IV. *In the fourth place I shall answer the Popish arguments to defend their cause; and shall not fear to produce the very strongest which I have met withal.*

OBJECTION I.

It is objected, that "the apostle does not speak in 1 Cor. xiv. concerning the ordinary divine service, but concerning spiritual songs which by an extraordinary gift were uttered."

ANSWER.

The apostle does mention prayer as well as giving of thanks: and there is as much reason that the ordinary service should be understood, as the extraordinary; because that which is ordinarily used, should by all means be to edification.

OBJECTION II.

It is objected, that "prayer in an unknown tongue is not condemned, but prayer in a known tongue only preferred." *

ANSWER.

First. Suppose this: why does the church of Rome pray after the worse, and not after the better, manner of the two? Secondly. I say, it is condemned by the apostle as not being for edification; for he that could speak in a tongue, if he could not interpret, nor any interpreter present, was commanded to keep silence in the assembly.

OBJECTION III.

It is objected, that "of old the instruction and edification of the people were necessary; and the use of prayer was, that they might be instructed and edified: but now the end of prayer is not so much the people's instruction and edification, as the yielding to God that worship which is due to him." †

ANSWER.

First. The apostles were as careful that God might have his worship, as the Papists; nay, a great deal more careful. Secondly. Disjoin not God's worship and the people's edification: for he is best worshipped "in spirit and in truth;" and the more the mind understands and the heart of the worshipper is affected, God is the more honoured and the better pleased.

OBJECTION IV.

It is objected, that "prayer is not made to the people, but unto God; and he understands all tongues alike: and it is sufficient that the Lord understands what is prayed, though the people are ignorant." And this Bellarmine does illustrate by a similitude. "If a courtier," says he, "should petition for a countryman in Latin to a king, the countryman might be benefited by the Latin petition of the courtier, though he should not understand a word of it." ‡

ANSWER.

1. It might have been said, that God understands all tongues alike in the apostles' days as well as now; the Lord being then and now and always equally omniscient.

2. The use of prayer is not to inform the God [whom] we pray to; for he knows what things we have need of before we ask: (Matt. vi. 8:) but to make ourselves more sensible of our needs, and consequently more meet to be supplied. But how can this be, if prayer be locked up in an unknown dialect?

3. As for Bellarmine's similitude, it will not hold. For the God of heaven is not like the kings on earth, who will hear petitions made by favourites for persons that make no address themselves: but He requires that every particular person should ask if he will receive, and understand what he prays for; and that he should have suitable affections to the matter of his petitions, if he will be heard and answered. Add also,

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* BELLARMINUS *De Verbo Dei*, lib. ii. capit. 16.

† Idem, *ibid.*

‡ *Loco citato*

that if a king should forbid petitions in a strange language, and should command that petitioners should use a tongue [which] they understand, that with the greater earnestness they may beg what they need; to such an one a Latin petition would not be so acceptable: But God has forbid the use of an unknown tongue: Therefore we may conclude that the Popish Latin prayers, in an auditory which understand them not, are to very little purpose. The people must seek and knock, as well as the priest; else they shall not find, else it will not be opened unto them. (Matt. vii. 7.)

V. *In the fifth place I am to discover the tendency of, and "mystery of iniquity" in, this Papal doctrine, which encourages to prayer in an unknown tongue, and teaches people to be contented with an ignorant devotion.*

1. *It gratifies exceedingly the lazy disposition of men.*—Who naturally like a liberty to rest *in opere operato,* "in the work done;" and cannot endure to be urged to the more difficult part of religion; which lies in a conflict with wandering thoughts in duty; in watching over and taking pains with the heart, that it may be intent, considerate, and affectionate in its applications unto God. I know, the Papists boast of their austerities in their devotions: but these are external things; and who has required them at their hands? And I may with good reason affirm that one quarter of an hour spent in prayer, where the very heart is engaged, and understands what it is doing, and seeks the Lord with its whole desire, will be to better purpose than all the prayers by rote that are or can be said by a blind Papist, though he should live to the age of Methuselah.

2. *This doctrine is a notable device to keep the people ignorant, and to make them more dependent upon the priesthood; and hereby they hope more easily to rule them.*—These cruel guides, as they take away the Bible from the people, which is the great means of knowledge; so they will not suffer them to cry for knowledge, so as to know what they cry. What a faithful servant is the pope unto the prince of darkness! and what quiet possession does "the strong man armed" keep, while the gospel is hid, and men pray for they know not what, and consequently obtain nothing!

3. *Many prayers may well be made in Latin merely through shame.*—When I read the scripture, I conclude the Papists are afraid of the light which shines from thence, lest it overthrow their black kingdom; and when I read the foolish, nay, blasphemous, prayers which are made in the church of Rome, I conclude they are ashamed [that] the meaning of them should be known. Thus they pray to the Virgin Mary:—

Sancta Maria,	"O St. Mary,
Quæ totum orbem illuminas,	Who dost enlighten the whole world,
Quæ tuos servientes exaltas,	Who dost exalt thy servants,
Illuminatrix cordium,	Who dost illuminate hearts,
Fons misericordiæ,	Who art the fountain of mercy,
Ab omni malo libera nos, domina.	From all evil, good lady, deliver us."

To St. Dorothy they pray thus:—

Sancta Dorothea,	"O holy Dorothy,
Cor mundum in me crea.	A clean heart create in me."

St. Agnes is prayed unto to keep them in the faith; and St. George, to save them from their sins, that they may rest in heaven with the blessed for ever. These Latin prayers in plain English are most wicked blasphemies; and both God's work and honour, which are peculiar to himself and dear to him, are (to the provoking of him to jealousy) ascribed and imparted to the creature.

VI. *In the last place I come to the* APPLICATION.

USE I.

Bless the Lord that the day-spring from on high hath visited this land of your nativity, and that Popish darkness is so much dispelled.—How thankful were the Israelites, think you, for that light which shined so clear in Goshen, when Egypt was plagued with darkness that was so hideous and palpable? Neighbouring regions, most of them, are blinded by Rome and hell; and see not the things which you see, hear not the things which you hear. You are instructed to whom prayer is to be directed,—unto God; and in whose name,—in the name of Christ, whose mediation and intercession is always prevalent. Supplications are made in a tongue which you understand; that you may be the more affected with what you pray for, and consequently have gracious returns to your prayers from the God of all grace. What cause is here of thanksgiving,—that public administrations are so much more agreeable unto Christ's institution than the administrations of the church of Rome!

Prayers being poured forth with so much fervency, and in such words as all, even the meanest, understand; the scriptures being read in a language which you know, so as that the book of God is not a sealed book to you; sermons being preached with so much plainness and power; finally, sacraments being administered so, as that you may know how to improve these seals of the new covenant to the strengthening of your faith, the inflaming of your love, and the increase of all manner of grace:—All this may well cause you to cry out, with David, "How amiable are thy tabernacles, O Lord of hosts!" (Psalm lxxxiv. 1.) And, "One thing have I desired of the Lord, that will I seek after; that I may dwell in the house of the Lord all the days of my life, to behold the beauty of the Lord, and to inquire in his temple." (Psalm xxvii. 4.)

USE II.

It highly concerns you to fear, and to pray against, the return of Popish blindness.—While Satan and his angels are busy and industrious to extinguish the light of the world; while Rome does join with hell to this end,—that this land may be again overspread with ignorance, idolatry, superstition, will-worship; it is your wisdom and duty, while they are plotting, to be counter-working by your prayers. O cry unto the Lord to secure his own honour and your privileges against these enemies, who are so great invaders of both! Beg with the greatest earnestness (and truly earnest begging was never yet denied) that the gospel may continue, and a spiritual way of worship according to the direction of the gospel; and that Rome's emissaries may never make merchandise of your souls or the souls of your posterity.

USE III.

Let the blind zeal of the Papists make you more frequent in your accesses to the throne of grace.—Though they worship ignorantly, yet how much do they worship! as superstition is wont to urge men to abundant labour. But you that see more reason to pray than they, and have more encouragement from God than ever they understood, should be shamed and quickened unto this duty. The Papists, indeed, if they understood themselves, might well be disheartened, because their worship is will-worship; not of God's appointment, but their own invention. But you should abound in devotion; for God will not be sought in vain as long as you seek him in his own way, and "your labour shall not be in vain in the Lord." (1 Cor. xv. 58.)

USE IV.

Take heed of distraction in prayer, and not minding what you ask, or what you are doing, when at the mercy-seat.—It is great hypocrisy, to be present only in body at the sanctuary; the heart, in the mean while, running away after pleasures, covetousness, vanity: and this exceedingly provokes the Lord to jealousy; and "are you stronger than he?" (1 Cor. x. 22.) Pray, what is the difference between a Papist that understands not, and a carnal Protestant that minds not, a word of what is spoken in prayer? Or, if there be any difference, the Protestant is in the worse case; because, having the means of edification, he is the more without apology that he is not edified.

USE V.

Content not yourselves with bare understanding the words of prayer; but know the Lord [whom] you pray to.—Be acquainted with his power and truth; and how he keeps mercy for thousands; and particularly for you, if you are sensible of your sin and misery, and are willing that from both he should deliver you. Understand also the worth of what you ask; that, spiritual and eternal blessings being highly valued, your desires after them may be vehement, and you may wrestle with the greater strength and resolution till you have obtained them.

USE VI.

Let understanding and faith in this duty of prayer be joined together.—The Popish implicit faith—to believe as the church believes; that is, to believe they know not what—is a wretched piece of carelessness and presumption, and a mad venturing of the soul, which is so precious, upon an empty sound and title. But do you search the scriptures; inquire what God has spoken; and firmly believe his words, which are so faithful and worthy of all acceptation. Let your faith in prayer be strong: and be fully persuaded that—having such promises as God has made, and engaged himself to make good; and such an Advocate in heaven as Christ the righteous—what you ask according to the will of God shall in no wise be denied. In a word: know your duty, and do it; and then conclude [that] as certainly as "God is," so certainly he will be "a rewarder of them that diligently seek him." (Heb. xi. 6.)

Thomas Mortonus, *episcopus Dunelmensis : Non est igitur quod in hâc causâ, lector, hallucineris : neque enim te fugit nos primò antiquitatem novitati, secundò devotionem sanctam et divinam cæcæ et fanaticæ superstitioni, tertiò animæ consolationem spiritualem rigidæ stupiditati, quartò infantiæ prudentiam, quintò torpori consensum, sextò fictis et ementitis periculis commoda penè infinita, septimò sacrosanctam denique Spiritûs Sancti sapientiam humanæ stultitiæ ac temeritati, anteponere. (Apol. Cathol.* pars ii. lib. i. cap. 31, *de vernac. Precibus*, p. 108.)

"There is, therefore, reader, no room for a mistake in this cause: for thou canst not but know that the Protestants prefer, 1. Antiquity, before novelty; 2. Holy and divine devotion, before blind and" (properly so called) "fanatic superstition; 3. The spiritual comfort of the soul, before rigid stupidity; 4. Prudence, before childishness; 5. Consent, before carelessness; 6. Almost infinite advantages, before feigned and imaginary dangers; 7. The holy wisdom of the Spirit of God, before the folly and rashness of men."

SERMON XVIII. (XIX.)

BY THE REV. SAMUEL ANNESLEY, LL.D.

THE POPE AND HIS CLERGY, BY FALSE, PRESUMPTUOUS PARDONS AND INDULGENCES, HAVE HEINOUSLY INJURED CHRIST, THE CHURCH, AND SOULS OF MEN.

OF INDULGENCES.

For by one offering he hath perfected for ever them that are sanctified.—Hebrews x. 14.

The apostle gives the reason why Christ hath now no more offering to make, no more suffering to endure: *For*—That is, Because. *By one offering*—That is, one *in specie*, ["in kind,"] in opposition to the four kinds of legal oblations before mentioned; and one *in numero*, ["in number,"] in opposition to the repeating of them every year. As if he had said, "By Christ's once offering of himself." *He hath perfected*—That is, all things are consummate, there remains nothing to be done, for the satisfying [of] Divine Justice and our reconciliation with God. Christ hath once satisfied; and that *for ever*—That is, to the end of the world, and that which shall be of value to eternity. Plainly: "Christ by his death hath completely done the work once for all." *For them that are sanctified*—That is, either those that are separated from the world in God's purpose and decree; plainly, the elect: or "them that are sanctified," that is, those that are renewed by grace, and consecrated to be vessels of honour unto God. In short: Christ hath not so purchased remission of sins, as to leave some satisfaction to be made by themselves or others. No; he hath perfectly satisfied for them, and perfectly expiated all their sins. Which if so, then from this, as well as from other scriptures, fairly results this

PROPOSITION.

That Papal indulgences are the worst of cheats, and abominably injurious to Christ and Christians.

My work here is to rake in the very sink of Papal filthiness. There is no head of divinity that is not mischievously hurt by this putrid plaster. It was not without God's singular providence that the detecting [of] the pageantry of that flesh-pleasing religion began here; for herein their seeming tender mercies are real cruelties.

To evidence what I assert, I shall in my poor manner endeavour,

I. *To show you what the indulgences are which we justly condemn;*

II. *The unsound hypotheses upon which they stand;*

III. *Demolish the main thesis; and,*

IV. *Raise some profitable instructions above exception.*

I. *Let us begin with the name and definition of "indulgences."*—Which (to pass-by more than thirty different opinions among themselves *) I shall give you in Bellarmine's own words. After he hath, like a wary champion, attempted to reconcile or excuse his own dissenting party, in the close of his eighth chapter, he gives us this entire definition; namely, "Indulgence is a judicial absolution from the guilt of punishment, owing to God, in the penitentiary court; given over and above the sacrament, by the application of the satisfactions which are contained in the treasure of the church." † He had before told us,‡ that the church and the Schools call indulgences "the remissions of punishment," which often remain to be endured after the remission of faults, and reconciliation obtained in the sacrament of penance; which pardons the popes use to grant, at certain times, and not without some just and reasonable cause, out of their fatherly gentleness and condescension toward their children, pitying their infirmity. This is his, and I will at present wave any interfering, description. Let us then examine the hypotheses of this profitable structure.

II. *The unsound hypotheses, or "suppositions," upon which they build this profitable structure, are such as these.*—I will name four of them:—

1. That when the fault is pardoned, the punishment is not pardoned; but there remains an obligation to punishment, (which is changed from eternal to temporal,) for which God must be satisfied, either by patiently bearing his strokes; or by undergoing the penance enjoined by the priest; or by laborious works freely undertaken, such as prayers, fasting, and alms; or by indulgences.

Now the quagmire-foundation of this distinction may thus appear,—both by testimony, by reason, and (which is more than both these) by scripture. I need but touch upon each, it being done more largely by a better hand: and therefore I will produce but one *testimony;* and that is of the archbishop of Spalato: "In pardon, to distinguish between fault and punishment, so as to separate them, is a most vain thing, and not to be admitted, especially in respect of God." §

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* VOETII *Selectæ Disputationes*, pars ii. sect. 2, p. 287.

† BELLARMINI *Disput.* tom. iii. *de Indulgentiis*, lib. i. cap. viii. p. 24, Lugd. 1599.

‡ Idem, cap. i. p. 9.

§ MARCUS ANTONIUS DE DOMINIS *De Rep. Eccles.* lib. v. cap. viii. n. 1.

For *reasons :* "It is against the nature of the thing, that there should be punishment where there is no fault: take away the cause, and the effect must cease. What Bellarmine saith,—that the house will 'stand when the carpenter that built it is dead,'—doth not infringe what we affirm; for we speak here of a meritorious and moral, not of an efficient and physical, cause. Whereas it is further said, 'A king may pardon a malefactor, and yet enjoin him to make satisfaction;' I answer, The king and the party offended are different persons; the king may not give away another's right: we must not confound the court of heaven and the court of earth. I might add, It is against the ordinary manner of speech, to say [that] a judge pardoneth a malefactor whom he punisheth. It is against the justice of God to punish one sin twice. It is against the mercy of God, to be reconciled to a sinner, and to torment him. But beyond all this, it is against *the practice of Christ:* what temporal punishment did Christ lay upon Mary Magdalene, (Luke vii. 48,) upon the paralytic, (Matt. ix. 2,) the great debtor? (Matt. xviii. 24.)" *

2. A second false hypothesis is this:—One righteous man may satisfy for another; and there are some that need no satisfaction for themselves, and therefore theirs may go for others': for example: if Peter fast for Paul, then Paul need not fast; but God pardons him the punishment which he should have satisfied-for by fasting, &c.† The groundlessness of this hypothesis may be thus evidenced:—

Jesus Christ hath perfectly satisfied for our sins; and therefore men are not bound to satisfy in part for themselves. Christ is "the propitiation," (1 John ii. 2,) our "redemption." (1 Cor. i. 30.) "God was in Christ, reconciling the world unto himself, not imputing their trespasses unto them." (2 Cor. v. 19.) I need name no other text than that [which] I am discoursing of: "By one offering he hath perfected for ever them that are sanctified." (Heb. x. 14.) To say, "Christ satisfied, that our satisfaction might be accepted; and ours depends upon his;" this is to illude scripture; as if it had been said, "Christ once satisfied, that we might always satisfy; Christ perfectly satisfied *for* us, that he might imperfectly satisfy *in* us; Christ hath satisfied for eternal punishments, but doth satisfy for temporal when believers themselves satisfy." ‡ O excellent way of answering! Again: if men must in part satisfy for their sins, then they are not freely pardoned. But how easy is it to multiply express scriptures! Take notice but of one epistle: "Justified freely by his grace." (Rom. iii. 24.) "To him that worketh is the reward not reckoned of grace, but of debt." (Rom. iv. 4.) "If by grace, then it is no more of works," &c. (Rom. xi. 6.) Now if none can satisfy for themselves, then they cannot satisfy for others: "If thou be wise, thou shalt be wise for thyself: but if thou scornest, thou alone shalt bear it." (Prov. ix. 12.) But, should we suppose what can no way be granted, how can they speak of the communication of men's good works, while they explode the imputation of Christ's righteousness, and scornfully call it "a putatitious justification?" But more of this in the next.

3. A third absurd hypothesis is this:—that the superfluous satisfac-

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* FRANCISCUS TURRETINUS *De Satisfac. Christi Perfec.* n. 24, p. 330, et seqq. † VOETIUS, *ibid.* p. 289. ‡ ANTONIUS SADEEL *De ver. Peccat. Remiss.* p. (mihi) 97, &c.

tions of Christ and eminent saints are laid up in a treasury, to be laid out for those that want.

The absurdity of this is manifest more ways than I have time to mention. Beside the absurdity of parcelling out the death of Christ, to apply one part of it to one use, and another part to another use;* whereas all and every part of it is offered and applied to every believer: it is further absurd to divide that which is sufficient from that which is superfluous, when what is infinite is indivisible; and to say that one drop of the blood of Christ is sufficient for the saving of a thousand worlds, and to reckon all the rest superfluous, and not so much as one person saved by it that would not have been saved without it, what can be more absurd and blasphemous? I would further inquire, whether under the Old Testament believers were bound to satisfy God for temporal punishments. If they were, let them prove it: if they were not, then God dealt more mercifully with them under the Old Testament than with believers under the New, and the satisfaction of Christ not exhibited is more efficacious than since his exhibition. Once more: if the satisfaction of Christ be more than enough, what need the addition of human satisfactions? They say, "Lest they should be in vain." So, then, it is no matter though Christ's satisfaction be in vain: saints must not lose *their* glory; it is no matter with them though Christ lose *his*. In their account, Christ and saints must share the work of redemption between them. Saints must be our priests, our sureties; we must believe in them, and place our hope in their satisfactions. But before we do so, it is advisable to solve this doubt:—whether the treasury of saints' superfluous satisfactions be infinite or finite. If infinite, then they are sufficient to redeem the world; which, I think, none hath impudence to affirm: if finite, what security may we have, ere we part with our money, that the treasury is not exhausted, upon the large grants already made? But they will tell them, "The bank is inexhaustible." In the next place, therefore, let us consult the treasurer.

4. The fourth tottering hypothesis is this:—that the pope hath the chief power of dispensing this treasury to those members that need it.

Though I might turn off this with that trite maxim, "That which hath no being, hath no accidents;" if there be no such treasury, there need be no controversy about the dispensing of it: and though I might bespeak them to agree among themselves, whether hath greater power,—the pope or a council, before they quarrel with us about what themselves are not agreed [upon]: and though I may well suppose, that the pope's supremacy is already confuted in this Exercise: but, to let pass all this, what a fair dividend do they make of the satisfaction of Christ, while they allow every priest to dispose of it for the pardon of faults and of eternal punishments, but reserve the disposal of that part of it to the pope whereby to pardon temporal punishments!† How egregiously also do they trifle, while they distinguish between satisfaction and the payment of satisfaction! "Satisfaction," they say, "was made by Christ and saints; but the payment of it is by the pope: that was done long since; this is still in doing:" as if the satisfaction of Christ were like a sum of money laid up in a chest, to be laid out upon occasion; whereas we know no other gospel-treasury but what is dispensed by the Spirit of God, by the word and sacraments. It is "the gospel" that "is the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth;" and "therein is the righteousness of God revealed." (Rom. i. 16, 17.) But I shall speak more to this in my next attempt,

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* (PLACÆI) *Theses Salmurienses*, pars ii. p. 72, et seqq.

† Idem, *ibid.* p. 81, &c.

III. *To overturn their main thesis.*—Which is this:—

THE PAPISTS' THESIS.

That the pope, through the fulness of apostolical power, may grant a most full pardon by indulgences.

This is expressed most fully by Clement VI., who speaketh thus: "Of that infinite treasure that is obtained for the church militant, God would not have it to be laid up in a napkin or hid in a field; but hath committed it to Peter, that bears the keys of heaven, and to his successor-vicars on earth, to be wholesomely dispensed upon fit and reasonable causes, sometimes for the total, sometimes for the partial, remission of temporal punishments, both generally and specially due for sins; to be mercifully applied to the truly penitent and confessed."*

In the anatomy of this thesis, I shall endeavour to discover these things; namely, 1. *The falseness of it;* 2. *The novelty of it;* 3. *The contradictions in it;* 4. *The cheats of it;* 5. *Its injuriousness to Christ;* 6. *Its mischief to Christians.*

1. To convince you of *the falseness of this position,* I shall first give you plain scripture-proof that there is no pardon of sin but by the mercy of God, through the blood of Christ, received by faith. "In whom we have redemption through his blood, the forgiveness of sins, according to the riches of his grace." (Eph. i. 7.) "Being justified by faith, we have peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ." (Rom. v. 1.) "Who shall lay any thing to the charge of God's elect? It is God that justifieth. Who is he that condemneth? It is Christ that died," &c. (Rom. viii. 33, 34.) Many more texts might be alleged; but I had rather say only what is enough, than [say] all.

But our adversaries pretend also to scripture-warrant: though Durand confesseth, that concerning indulgences there can but little be said upon certainty, because the scripture doth not speak expressly of them; for that which is said to Peter, "I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt bind," &c., (Matt. xvi. 19,) is to be understood of the power given unto him in the court of penance, and it is not clear that it ought to be understood of the granting indulgences.† But Bellarmine saith, "Although indulgences be not warranted by particular scripture, yet they are in general by the power of the keys; and they may be warranted by divine authority, known by tradition of the apostles."‡ (By the way, let me observe, I do not remember that ever I read any thing in their authors about the pope's power in any kind: but this text is pressed into the service of their design, though ordinarily to as little purpose as any text in the Bible.) But scriptures they bring; let us examine them a little.

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* *Decret.* GRATIANI, tom. ii. *Extrav. Com.* lib. v. cap. 2, p. 352.

† DURANDUS, lib. iv. dist. xx. quæst. 3, p. 791.

‡ *De Indulgentiis,* lib. ii. cap. 10, p. 46.

They argue from those words of the apostle, "Ye ought rather to forgive him, and comfort him," &c. ; (2 Cor. ii. 7, &c. ;) in short : "The apostle gave indulgence ; so may the pope." There is enough in the text to answer their allegation. For example : (1.) Paul never limited a time for his repentance,—that it must be so many days or years. (2.) Paul took no price to pay his debt out of the Corinthians' works of super-erogation. (3.) The penitent gave no money for his indulgence. And, (4.) (Which is more than all the rest,) He saith, "To whom ye forgive any thing, I forgive also." (Verse 10.) This is no-way to be endured,—that the pope hath no more power to forgive any thing than other priests : * I doubt not but, rather than yield that, they will let go that text.

Another text [which] they urge is, "Who now rejoice in my sufferings for you, and fill up that which is behind of the afflictions of Christ in my flesh for his body's sake, which is the church." (Col. i. 24.) Upon which they say, that Paul satisfied for the sins of other believers ; and by this means did contribute to the enriching [of] the church's treasury of satisfactions, which the pope disposeth of by indulgences. But this is presupposing their opinion, not proving of it. They grant our exposition of the text to be right :—(1.) That Paul's afflictions are "the afflictions of Christ ;" that is, he suffered them for Christ, for the name of the Lord. (2.) They made up the last part of the apostle's task, being the remainder of the afflictions [which] he had to sustain. (3.) They contain an illustrious evidence of his gratitude toward the Lord ; that, as Christ had suffered for his salvation, he suffered in his order for the glory of his gracious Master.† So that here is not a word of satisfactions or treasury or indulgences.

Another text [that] they urge is, "That your abundance may be a supply for their want, that their abundance also may be a supply for your want :" (2 Cor. viii. 14 :) as if he had said [that] the church of Jerusalem was poor, and abounded in merit ; the church of Corinth was rich, and wanted merit. Take but the plain meaning of the text, and that will rescue it from such an abuse :—The Corinthians received the gospel from some of the Jewish church ; and therefore they ought to relieve their necessities.

Beside their wresting of scripture, they argue from that article of the Creed, "The communion of saints :" "Therefore those that neither do nor suffer what they ought for themselves, are to be supplied out of what others have done and suffered more than they need." Is not this a consequence of the largest size ? May they not by such arguing prove every thing out of any thing ? Briefly : the church is called a "communion of saints" because, (1.) They are all members of one mystical body. (2.) All the benefits of Christ are communicated to every believer : they are all called, justified, sanctified, saved. (3.) They are to do all offices of charity one for another, while in this world. But what is all this to works of super-erogation ? Let this suffice for this first particular ; and the rather, because the proof of the rest will also prove this. Therefore,

2. *Indulgences are a novelty.*—The ancient church neither knew nor

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* CHEMNITII *Exam. Conc. Trid.* p. 714, &c. † DAILLE *in loc.* pp. 120, 121.

practised any such thing. That they may not say [that] we slander them, hear their own authors. Cajetan, who was employed both as legate and champion against Luther, begins thus: "If certainty could be had concerning the beginning of indulgences, it would help us to search out the truth: but because no written authority, either of the holy scripture or of the ancient Greek or Latin doctors, hath brought this to our knowledge; but this only, from three hundred years;—it is written concerning the ancient fathers, that blessed Gregory instituted the stationary indulgences," &c.* Which should we grant, (though let them tell us where to find it in his writings,) it would not prove them very ancient. And Roffensis himself, as that Italian quotes him,† (for I have him not by me,) acknowledgeth that till people were frighted with (the bugbear of) purgatory, nobody minded indulgences; and *that* he likewise acknowledgeth to be but of late years. To convince those of novelty who slander us with it, I will give you a brief historical account of them, how they crept in, and to what a monstrous height they rose, till they were so top-heavy that their fall broke off several branches of that tree which overspread the western churches. (Dan. iv. 11, &c.)

The discipline of the ancient church was such, that they did neither lightly nor suddenly re-admit unto communion those that denied the faith or sacrificed to idols in time of persecution, or those that at any time fell into heresy or any other scandalous wickedness, till the church was satisfied in the truth of their repentance. To evidence which, they required such public, visible testimonies, such as, they judged, might most probably speak the grief of their heart for sin, the seriousness of their desire of reconciliation, and their full purpose of amendment. The manner of their repentance was thus, as Nicephorus relates it: "After it was looked upon as burdensome for the offender to confess his fault publicly as upon a theatre, they chose a minister that was holy, prudent, and secret, to whom those that had offended might open their case, and receive directions what to do, that their sin might be pardoned. The Novatians took no care of this matter: for they refused to communicate with those that denied the faith in the persecution of Decius; and it is said [that] this rite was instituted for their sake, that they might be restored upon their repentance. There was a certain place appointed for the penitents, where they stood with a dejected countenance, greatly bewailing their sin, till what they might not partake of was ended; and then they threw themselves at *his* feet *that* administered. Then he that was appointed to direct them, ran to them, and, mourning with them, lay down upon the ground; and the whole multitude of the church stood about them, with many tears lamenting over them. Then the minister rose up, and bade the penitents to rise, and, praying for them as the matter required, dismissed them. Then every one betook himself to what was enjoined him,—to macerate themselves by fastings and watchings and frequent prayers and abstinence from delights; which when they had performed, they were received into communion. This they did, to keep the ordinances pure, and the church from reproach. But I think," saith he, "that the church is fallen from that ancient, venerable gravity, and hath by little and little departed from that accurate discipline.” [*]

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* CAJETANI *Opusc.* tom. i. tract. xv. cap. i. p. 46.

† POLYDORUS VIRGILIUS *De Rerum Inventoribus*, lib. viii. cap. 11, p. (mihi) 613.

The church prescribed rules for repentance according to the variety of offences; some for the space of several days, others for several years, and others during life; allowing the bishop to abate or add to the time enjoined, as he saw occasion.[†] It was judged convenient in all cases to try their repentance; and if the penitents did, by their fear and patience and tears and good works, demonstrate the unfeignedness of their conversion, they were to be more gently dealt with.[‡] But they, as wise physicians, still imposed fit remedies; namely, humbling exercises to the vain-glorious, silence to the babblers, watching to the sluggards, hard labour to the slothful, fasting to the gluttonous, &c.[§] And in those things that were imposed, we are not so much to consider the length of the time, as the depth of the grief; such as may satisfy *the church* (pray, mark that: it is the church) in the truth of their repentance; *not God's justice*, so that they might challenge a pardon.[||] We are firmly to believe that the purging away of sin is done by the blood of Christ, through the greatness of God's mercy and the multitude of his compassions.[¶] But they were only enormous sinners upon whom the ancient church imposed severities, to evidence the truth of their repentance. Let Augustine speak for all, who mentions a threefold repentance:—[**]

“The first before baptism; which is conversion; when a man repents of his former course of life, and gives up himself to live in newness of life: and upon these they imposed no ecclesiastical censures.” (Cap. 1.) “The second was a daily repentance; and for sins of daily incursion we are taught to pray, ‘Forgive us our trespasses,’ &c.: of these the church took no notice.” (Cap. 2.) “But there is a more grievous and mournful repentance; in the managing of which, offenders are properly called ‘penitents:’ this is a grievous thing, but that the Almighty Physician can cure such. But, O my beloved,” saith he, “let no man propose this kind of repentance unto himself: if he have fallen, let him not despair; but let no man venture upon sin in hopes of repentance.” (Cap. 3.)

So that you may see, that whoever will be at the pains to compare the satisfactions of the Papists with the satisfactions of the ancients, they will find them far different. In short: “They never used them as necessary for the pardon of sin; neither did they hold that these satisfactions must be made in this life or endured in purgatory: which two things if you take away, you overthrow the tables of indulgence-sellers. But they enjoined them, (1.) That the name of God might not be blasphemed among the Heathen; as if the church were a receptacle of Belialists, where they might sin with impunity. (2.) That they might not partake of other men's sins. (3.) That others might not be infected; for sin is a catching disease. (4.) That offenders might be more feelingly convinced of the greatness of their sin. (5.) That they might do what was possible to pull-up sin by the roots," &c.[*] Whereas the Papists now [act] as the degenerate church of Israel formerly: "They eat up the sin of my people, and they set their heart on their iniquity." (Hosea iv. 8.) The patrons of indulgences look at their gain. The ancients, when they absolved their penitents, exhorted them to sin no more, but to bring forth fruits worthy of amendment of life; they put them upon the exercise of the contrary virtues: but there is nothing of this in Papal indulgences. In a word: the ancients carried on a design of *heavenly* interest in their severities; and the Papists, of *earthly* in their indulgences.

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[*] Nicephori *Hist. Eccles.* lib. xii. cap. 28, p. 279, et seqq.

[†] *Decret.* Gratiani, tom. ii. *Canones Pœnit.* p. 2053, et seqq.; *Concilium Ancyranum*, can. 4—7, 20—22, &c. *in Concil.* Binio *edit.* tom. i. p. 275, et seqq.

[‡] *Concilium Nicænum*, can. 12, 13, *ibid.* p. 343.

[§] Basilius, tom. ii. *Regulæ fusiùs disput.* respons. ad interrog. 50, p. 601.

[||] Augustini *Enchiridion*, cap. 65, tom. (mihi) iii. p. 230.

[¶] Basilius, *ibid. Regulæ Breviores*, respons. ad interrog. 10, p. 627.

[**] Augustinus *De Utilit. Pœnitent.* tom. ix. p. 1284, et seqq.

But the severities of the ancients were by degrees mollified. Our learned countryman gives us the canons of a council, in the year 786; where, in the last canon, it is decreed "that if any one died without penance and confession, he should not be at all prayed for."[†] (Where then were indulgences, as since granted?) But he gives us the canon of another council, in the year 967. Where the council closeth the penitential canons with four concerning the penance of noblemen, (they say expressly in the last canon, that poor men are not to have any such privilege,) there they give this direction for him that is enjoined seven years' fasting: "Let him," say they, "for three days have twelve companions to fast with him; that is, to eat nothing but bread and water and herbs; and let him somewhere else get seven times one hundred and twenty men, to fast every one for him for those three days: and so he will fast so many fasting-days as there are in the whole seven years."[‡] But if yet this be too much, they may have relief by the provision before made for those that are sick. Is it not enough to make a great man sick, to put him upon three days' fasting? Which if it do, "for one penny he may buy off a day's fasting; and for thirty shillings, a year's fasting."[§] Is not this fair? But yet this comes not near the later markets. But I must not multiply particulars: when they had churches to build, hospitals to endow, bridges to repair, or the like; then indulgences were granted, to fetch-in money. And even then, while these good works were proposed, Gregory IX. decrees "that the alms-gatherers appointed be modest and discreet persons; that they lodge not in taverns or unfitting places; that they be not profuse in their expenses," &c. "Because," saith he, (pray mark his words,) "by the indiscreet and superfluous indulgences which some are not afraid to grant, the keys of the church are contemned, and penitential satisfaction is enervated;"[||] and therefore he set limits to the granting of them.

But notwithstanding all the little checks [which] they met with, they were more freely granted in the year of jubilee. In the year 1300, Boniface VIII. instituted a jubilee every hundredth year; wherein he granted not only a full, but "a most full, pardon of all sins, to all those that in such a time shall visit the churches of the prince of the apostles at Rome."[¶] To me the beginning of the Bull seems considerable, that grounds it upon a report that great indulgences were granted (though nobody knows when nor where) to the visitors of those churches. Well, but though there never was any such thing before, yet, now [that] this easy way of pardon is broached, it is pity the time should be so seldom. Clement VI., therefore, in the year 1350, upon the prayers of the people of Rome, reduced the jubilee to every fiftieth year; and for so doing, he doth not go upon report, but founds it upon the law of Moses.* Urban VI. reduced it to thirty-three years:† and Paul II. gives the reason of it; namely, he providently considered [that] men do not live so long as formerly, and desired that very many more might receive benefit by them, &c. Which when he hath done, as also [shown] how that reduction was confirmed by Martin V. and Nicholas V., he then expresseth his greater kindness in reducing the jubilee to every twenty-fifth year.‡ And Alexander VI., in the year 1500, enlarged the jubilee to those that could not, or neglected to, come to Rome.§

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[*] CHEMNITII *Exam. Conc. Trid.* p. 725, et seqq.

[†] SIR HENRY SPELMAN'S *Concil. Brit. in Conc. Calchuth.* can. 20, p. 300.

[‡] Idem, *Canones dati sub Edgaro rege*, p. 474, &c.

[§] *Ibid.* can. 18, p. 473.

[||] *Decret.* GRATIANI, tom. iii. *Decret.* GREG. lib. v. tit. xxxviii. cap. 14, p. 1874.

[¶] *Bullarium Magnum*, tom. i. p. 204.

And thus I have (though with omitting more than I have expressed) brought them down to Leo X., who exercised such an excessive power in this matter, that "there is not," saith Ranchin, "a good Catholic but is sorry for it."‖ Take the matter of fact from that excellent historian Thuanus; who wrote only the "History of his own Time," and therefore might well be more exact. "In the year 1515, Leo X., a man giving himself to all licentiousness, by the instigation of cardinal Lorenzo Puccio, a turbulent man, to whom he ascribed too much,—that he might from all parts scrape up money for his vast expenses, he sent his Bulls of indulgences through all the kingdoms of the (Papal) Christian world; wherein he promised the expiation of all sins, and eternal life: and there was a price set, what every one should pay, according to the grievousness of his sin. To which end he appointed collectors and treasuries throughout the provinces; adding to them preachers, to recommend to the people the greatness of the benefit. These, by sermons artificially composed, and by pamphlets openly published, immoderately extolled the efficacy of these indulgences. These Bulls were executed with too much licentiousness in many places, but especially in Germany; where those that farmed them from the pope did lavish out their power of drawing souls out of purgatory, shamelessly spending it every day in whorehouses and taverns, at dice and most filthy uses."¶

I shall forbear to insist upon the abominable expressions of those that preached up these indulgences; such as this, namely, that "there is no sin so great, but that if a man should (which is impossible) deflower the mother of God, he might by indulgences be pardoned both fault and punishment." Chemnitius mentions several stories, to whom I refer you;** and [I] shall somewhat more largely acquaint you with the very words of some of the "Hundred Grievances" of the princes of the Roman empire, assembled at Nuremberg, in the years 1522 and 1523. The third, fourth, fifth, and sixth Grievances are under the title of "The Burdens of Papal Indulgences."

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* CIACONII *Vitæ Pontif.* p. 903.

† Idem, p. 998.

‡ *Bullar. Mag.* tom. i. pp. 401, 402.

§ CIACONII *Vitæ Pontif.* p. 1343.

‖ "Review of the Council of Trent," lib. v. cap. 1, p. 249.

¶ THUANI *Hist.* lib. i. p. 13.

** CHEMNITII *Exam. Conc. Trid.* pp. 744, 745.

Their third Grievance is about "the increase of the intolerable burden of indulgences; when, under the show of piety, for the building of churches, or an expedition against the Turks, the popes suck the marrow of their estates; and, which heightens the imposture, by their hireling criers and preachers, Christian piety is banished; while, to advance their market, they cry up their wares, for the granting of wonderful, unheard-of, peremptory pardons, not only of sins already committed, but of sins that shall be committed, by those that are alive, and also the sins of the dead. So that, by the sale of these wares, together with being spoiled of our money, Christian piety is extinguished; while any one may promise himself impunity, upon paying the rate that is set upon the sin [which] he hath a mind to commit. Hence whoredoms, incests, adulteries, perjuries, murders, thefts, &c., and all manner of wickedness, have at once their offspring. What wickedness will mortal men be afraid to commit, when they may promise themselves licence and impunity of sinning while they live, and for a little more money indulgences may be purchased for them after they are dead? especially the Germans, who are of a credulous temper, and easy to be persuaded by pretences of piety and a show of religion."

A fourth Grievance was this,—that "the indulgences were sold for defence against the barbarians; but the money was laid out to maintain the luxury of kindred, and to advance their families."

The fifth was this,—that "the pope, and the rest of the bishops and pillars of the Roman church, have always some cases reserved, for which you must make a new bargain and pay more money, or no dispensation."

The sixth was this,—that "if any one have wherewithal to pay, he may not only be indulged the present transgression of these constitutions, (about reserved cases,) but they may be permitted to transgress them for the future; whence those that are dispensed with, take occasion to commit perjuries, murders, adulteries, and such-like wickedness; which all springs from the cursed covetousness of some ecclesiastics."

I might add more out of their seventh Grievance, about the stationary preachers of indulgences; of whom the princes complain that "they devour the very blood and marrow of the poor, and themselves live in more than Sybaritical luxury and delights."* But I will transcribe no more of this: I would not, indeed, have transcribed so much, but that the book whence I have it is but in few hands. And that what I have said may not be tedious, I will refresh you with a story. A nobleman told Tecelius, [Tetzel,] the chief publican of indulgences, that he had a mind to commit a very heinous sin; and he desired *present* pardon of that *future* sin. Tecelius, for a great sum of money, gives him the indulgence: the nobleman pays down the money, and receives his Bull. Afterwards the nobleman took occasion in a certain wood to rob Tecelius, and break open his chests of indulgences: and when Tecelius threatened him with all manner of curses, the nobleman showed him his Bull of indulgences that he paid so dear for, and, laughing at him, told him [that] this was the sin that he had a mind to commit when he was so fully absolved.†

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* *Fasciculus Rerum expetendarum*, fol. 177, 178.

† CHEMNITIUS, *ibid.* p. 745.

It would drive out this discourse into too great a length, to (but particularly) mention the several conferences, disputations, writings, Diets, that passed for above twenty years, ere the council was assembled at Trent; and to mention what was done there at several times for above twenty years more, ere they so much as attempted to debate the business of indulgences; and when it was attempted, how they durst not meddle with that fistula,[*] but shuffled up a decree about them, the last day of their session; in which decree they acknowledge "such abuses in them, that give the heretics," as they call us, "occasion to blaspheme them;" and they acknowledge "such wicked gains in the sale of them, that are very much a cause of abusing Christian people;" and they acknowledge also "other abuses, through superstition, ignorance, irreverence, and otherwise, which they refer to be reformed by the pope, who," they say, "hath alone power to dispense them."[†] And, to give us a demonstration what we may expect for the reforming of the abuses of them, themselves break the law the same day they made it: Cardinal Morone, as chief president, granted to every one that was present in the session, or had assisted in the council, a plenary indulgence;[‡] when they had but then decreed, that the sole dispensing of them belongs to the pope. But I will say no more to the history of indulgences.

3. The next thing I am to show you is, *the contradictions of them.*— And herein I shall take Bellarmine for their oracle, and give you a gleaning of contradictions in five things [which] he saith about indulgences; namely, "To an authentical indulgence, there must be, (1.) Authority in the giving, (2.) Piety in the cause, (3.) A state of grace in the receiver. (4.) The thing pardoned is, not the fault, but the punishment. (5.) The punishment pardoned is neither natural, nor those that are inflicted in any outward court that is contentious, whether ecclesiastical or secular."[§] Now do but observe some few (of many) gross contradictions about all these; for instance:—

(1.) *As to the authority of granting indulgences.*—He saith that Christ, in giving the keys to Peter and the rest of the apostles, gave to them the power of order, and to Peter the power of jurisdiction; so that the pope holds from Peter a peculiar power of jurisdiction: every ordinary priest may pardon sin, deliver the soul from hell; but he cannot discharge them from temporal satisfactions. How many contradictions there are in this, I cannot say; but pray take notice of these:—

(i.) The keys were given equally to all the apostles; therefore not so [particularly] to Peter. I question not but this hath been evidenced to you in a former Exercise.

(ii.) What a contradiction is it to say [that] the pope cannot pardon the penance enjoined by a priest, and yet can pardon what is required by God! that is, he cannot take off the sentence of an inferior court, but he can take off the sentence of a superior! As if a man should say among us, "A justice of the peace cannot discharge a man from the stocks, that is set there by a constable; but he can give a man a pardon for his life, that is condemned by the judge." Whereas this is obvious to all,—that no inferior judge can take off the sentence of a superior. What will not these men dare do, that dare cry up the pope to be superior to God himself?

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[*] "History of the Council of Trent," lib. viii. p. 801.

[†] *Concil.* BINIO *edit.* tom. ix. p. 433.

[‡] "History of the Council," p. 813.

[§] BELLARMINUS *De Indulg.* lib. i. cap. 11, et cap. 7.

(2.) *As to piety in the cause.*—The pretended causes are such as these; namely, the building of churches, the endowing of hospitals, the making of bridges, the warring against infidels or heretics, or some other acts of charity.

(i.) This contradicts the scripture-conditions for pardon of sins: but what care they for scripture?

(ii.) Where is piety in the cause, when the pope upon the day of his coronation, sitting upon a throne set upon the top of the stairs of St. Peter's church, throws indulgences among the people, as one would throw a handful of farthings among a company of beggars, to scramble for them, "catch as catch can?" * But do they say that *piety* is in the cause? The real cause is, to get money. I know, Bellarmine is very angry with us for charging this upon them; but let them answer their own authors in this matter. Matthæus Parisiensis tells us, that when several were drawn in, under Innocent IV., unto the holy war, the pope compelled them to redeem their vows. Leo X. gave out indulgences for the repairing of St. Peter's church; whereas Julius, his predecessor, left an infinite treasure to that end; and the money gathered by indulgences was laid out about the palace of the Medici in Florence, much of it distributed among the cardinals and his minions.† And the indulgences of Saxony he gave unto his sister Magdalene, wife unto Franceschetto Cibo, bastard son of Innocent VIII.; by reason of which marriage this Leo was created cardinal at the age of fourteen years.‡ But what need I mention particulars? See but the *Taxa Cancellariæ Apostolicæ,* and there you have the several sums set upon the several sins. I will name some few;§ namely, "For the carnal knowledge of his mother, sister, or other kinswoman by blood or marriage, or his godmother; five grossus," (grossus is near about a groat of our money; but I will reckon it high enough,) five sixpences. "For the deflowering of a virgin; (six gros.;) six sixpences. For perjury; (six gr.;) six sixpences. For a woman that drinks any potion, or doth any other act, to destroy her live child within her; (five gr.;) five sixpences. For him that kills his father, mother, brother, sister, wife; (d. one. Carl. five;) one crown and five groats." And in the table for dispensing about marriages, when the rates are stated for the first and second degree, there is added, "Note diligently, that favours and dispensations of this kind are not to be granted to the poor;" and the reason is given: "Because they are not," (that is, not capable of paying for them,) "therefore they cannot be comforted." Voetius tells us that the Papists [whom] he conversed with, deny that ever there was any such thing or any such book, and say [that] we slander them:‖ whereas Espencæus tells us that it was openly sold; and he tells us so with this remark: "It is a wonder that at this time, in this schism, such an infamous index of such filthy and to-be-abhorred wickedness is not suppressed." (It was printed at Paris, in the year 1520.) "There is neither in Germany, Switzerland, nor in any other place where there is a defection from the Roman see, a book more to their reproach; and yet," saith he, "it is not suppressed by the favourers of the church of Rome. It teacheth and encourageth to such wickedness as we may be afraid to hear named; and a price is set to all buyers." * Is not this enough to show the piety of them?

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* Du Moulin's "Novelty of Popery," p. 465. † "Review of the Council of Trent," pp. 91, 92. ‡ "History of the Council of Trent," p. 5. § *Taxa Cancel Apost.* fol. 36—38, 41. ‖ Voetii *Selectæ Disput.* pars ii. p. 296.

(3.) The third requisite is, *The receiver of indulgence must be in the state of grace.*—It is ordinarily said [that] they must be confessed and contrite; though others deny the necessity of it. Every way here is a swarm of contradictions. I will name one or two.

(i.) They deny that any one can know whether he be in a state of grace or not. Pray unriddle me this: the decree about indulgences saith that indulgences are very profitable to Christian people, and damns those that say otherwise; and the same council damns those that shall so far own their Christianity, as to affirm their faith to be certainly saving.† But I will quit this, and request you to consider the next.

(ii.) Whether is there any infallible evidence of a person's not being in a state of grace? If there be, what is it? Will the living and dying in all manner of mortal sins,—such as blasphemy, witchcraft, murder, incest, adultery, perjury; reckon up all the wickedness that you can in the world,—will these speak a man to be graceless? Indulgences provide for a full pardon of all these sins. The stationary indulgences of the city of Rome, that is, the indulgences annexed to every church, granted to those that visit them, amount to a million of years. (To gratify Bellarmine for telling me why they grant so many, I will not make any observations upon Gregory's dedication of the church of Lateran,‡ when he gave as many days of indulgence as there fall drops of rain when it rains without ceasing for the space of three days and three nights; and when Gregory feared lest the treasury of grace would be emptied by that profuseness, Christ appeared unto him, and told him [that] He was willing he should grant more indulgences; for the people had need of them: but I will take Bellarmine's word that he hath not read this in any author [whom] he likes; and for the reason before-said I will let it go.) I might reckon up an innumerable company more in several places. But now why so many years? A man can do penance in this world no longer than he lives; and their purgatory, they say, lasts no longer than the day of judgment: what use is there, then, of so many millions of years of indulgence? Bellarmine (I thank him) tells me: "We cannot deny but that some are bound by the penitential canons to some thousands of years' penance: for if to every deadly sin there be due by the canons so many years' penance; as, to some, three; to some, seven, &c.; then he that hath accustomed himself to perjury and blasphemy almost every moment, and most frequently commits murders, thefts, sacrileges, adulteries,—without doubt the popes had respect to such as these, when they gave indulgences for ten or twenty thousand years." § So, then, if they commit all the sins before-mentioned so often, that the penance due for them would amount to millions of years; yet they need fear nothing;

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* ESPENCÆUS *in Titum i.* digr. ii. p. 479.

† *Concilia generalia et provincialia* BINIO *edita*, tom. ix. p. 362; *Conc. Trid.* sess. vi. can. 15, 16, 23, &c.

‡ CHEMNITII *Exam.* p. 739.

§ BELLARMINUS *De Indulgentiis*, lib. i. cap. ix. p. 25.

they are provided of indulgences; they shall go to heaven, as sure as the pope has the key of it. Well, let us lay these things a little together. He tells us, "Those that receive benefit by indulgences, must be in the state of grace;" and he also tells us that "without doubt the pope had respect" (great kindness, certainly!) "for those that accustom themselves to perjury and blasphemy almost every moment, and most frequently commit murders, thefts, sacrileges, adulteries," &c. Now, then, either indulgences profit those that are not in a state of grace, or these Belialists pass for saints with their infallible Judge; either of which is an abominable contradiction.

(4.) *As to what is pardoned by indulgences.*—He saith, "The fault is never pardoned, but the temporary punishment." Here I have two questions to ask, and one story to tell; and all from themselves.

QUESTION I. What mean those clauses usual in indulgences, of pardon of fault and punishment?

QUESTION II. What say they to venial sins? They are faults; and there, they grant, both fault and punishment are pardoned.

But, to let these pass: I will give a story that smells rank, out of "St. Francis's Conformities," a folio stuffed with as prodigious lies as ever paper was stained with. Among other whiskers, take this about indulgences: "While blessed Francis stood in his cell at St. Mary's *de Portiunculâ*, and most fervently prayed to God for sinners, there appeared an angel of the Lord unto him, who bade him go to the church; for there Christ and blessed Mary, with a great multitude of angels, expected him. He presently went; who, when he saw Christ, with his mother standing at his right hand, and a great multitude of angels, he fell upon his face for fear and reverence. And then our Lord Jesus Christ said to him, as he lay prostrate before him and his mother, 'Francis, thou and thy companions are much solicitous for the salvation of souls. Ask what thou wilt about the salvation of nations and the comfort of souls and the honour and reverence of God; because thou art given for a light to the nations and a reparation of the church.' And he lay a while, as rapt up in the sight of God: but at length, when he came to himself, he begged indulgence, for all and every one that came to that place, that entered into that church, of all their sins, universally and generally of all their sins, of which they had made confession to the priest, and received his command. And he besought His blessed mother, the advocate of mankind, to intercede for the grant of this. The most blessed and most humble queen of heaven, being moved with the prayers of blessed Francis, presently began to supplicate her Son; telling him, it became him to have regard unto the prayers of blessed Francis his servant. His Divine Majesty presently said, 'It is a very great thing [that] thou hast asked; but, brother Francis, thou art worthy of greater things, and thou shalt have greater things. But I will that thou go to my vicar, to whom I have given power of binding and loosing in heaven and in earth; and, from me, ask of him this indulgence.' Whereupon he took his companion brother Masseus, and went to pope Honorius; and told him that he had repaired a church to the honour of the blessed Virgin, and he desired that he would grant indulgence there without offerings: who answered, 'That cannot conveniently be done; for he that receives indulgence, must put-to his helping hand. But tell me,' saith he, 'how many years' indulgence wouldest thou have?' He answered, 'I will that whosoever comes to this church, confessed and contrite and absolved by the priest, as he ought, that he be absolved from fault and punishment from the day of his baptism, unto the day and hour of his entering into the church aforesaid; and I ask it in the behalf of Christ, who sent me to thee.' The pope said three times publicly, 'It pleaseth me that thou have it.' So blessed Francis bowed his head, and went out: which when the pope saw, he called, 'O simpleton, whither goest thou? What dost thou carry away of this indulgence?' Francis answered, 'Your word is enough; I will have no other instrument. Let blessed Mary be the paper; Christ, the notary; and angels, the witnesses,'" &c.* Miracles are related by the dozen to confirm this indulgence; I will mention but one: "Upon the day of indulgence, (the first of August,) brother Corradus saw the blessed Virgin with her child in her arms; and the sweet babe† did without intermission, with his own hands, bless all the people that were, out of devotion, present, and imparted to them his grace." Well, you see here both fault and punishment pardoned by indulgences; and yet indulgences can only pardon the punishment: reconcile these.

(5.) A fifth (and the last) thing [that] I shall name, of what is fruitful of contradictions, is, *the kind of punishments that are pardoned by indulgences.*—Bellarmine saith, "They are neither natural, nor those that are inflicted by any contentious court, whether civil or ecclesiastical."

If this be so, then there is nothing forgiven; for what sufferings more are there to be pardoned, but those that are natural or imposed?‡ If any more were due for sins, without doubt God would inflict them upon the damned: But God inflicts no other upon them: Therefore, &c. But Bellarmine tells us, they are those punishments that are inflicted in the penitentiary court, which we voluntarily fulfil, to which we are no way compelled but by the fear of God and the stingings of our conscience. Pray, who gives the priest power to inflict any punishment upon those whose sins are pardoned? But if we are bound in conscience and in the fear of God to perform them, how dare the pope release them? But pray, let us again consider, what are the punishments usually inflicted. They are prayers and alms and fasting. Must not that be a famous church, think you, where fasting and prayer are punishments, and, as it were, laid in the balance with the pains of purgatory; which pains are as grievous as the torments of hell, bating the duration? Let them never boast more of their devotion or charity: they are with them penalties, with us privileges. We are so far from giving any thing to be excused these duties, that we would not be hired out of the performance of them. Should any of our ministers but preach such dispensations, we should account them the devil's apostles, "deceitful workers." (2 Cor. xi. 13.) What? teach men how to sell themselves to work wickedness, and then how to purchase heaven with their wages of unrighteousness! "O my soul, enter not into their secret." But, in short, *we* understand neither the grammar nor the divinity of pardoning, of repentance, *who* think there is nothing but sin or punishment that needs a pardon.[*]

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* *Liber Confor. Vitæ B. et seraph. Pat. Francisci ad Vitam I. C. D. N.*, pp. 198, 199, impress. Bonon. 1590.

† Is he a child still?

‡ *Theses Salmuriensis*, pars ii. n. 11, &c. p. 77.

And thus I have showed you some of their contradictions. The next thing [which] I promised to speak-to was their cheats: and I may well be briefer here; for what is all that hath been spoken of, but a grand cheat?

4. *The cheats of indulgences* will be notorious.—Bring them but forth into the light, and every one may discern them. I need produce but a pattern; for they are all of a piece.

How shall a man be sure [that] he is not cheated of his money, when he cannot know what he buys? And how can a man know what he buys, when they are not agreed among themselves what they sell? For instance: they are not yet agreed, whether an indulgence be a judiciary absolution, or a payment of the debt by way of compensation of punishment out of the treasury, or both.[†] (I may add, "or neither," ere I have done with this particular.) Could they get over this, here is another difficulty in the way; namely, What bond is loosed by indulgence? that is, What sins, what punishments, are we any way freed from? Though Bellarmine (as you have heard) say, "Without doubt the popes had respect to the worst of men;" yet he himself elsewhere saith, "That we are neither absolved nor solved from the guilt of any fault, whether mortal or venial, by indulgences."[‡] Among several reasons given, I will name but one: "As a dead member receives not influence from the other members of the body that are living, so he that is in mortal sin is as a dead member, and receives not indulgence from the merits of living members."[§] I know, Bellarmine saith, "The saints cannot merit for others; but they may satisfy for others; there being in the actions of the righteous a double value; namely, of merit and satisfaction." (Though the distinction is every way a nullity, there being neither merit nor satisfaction: but let that pass for the present.) "Without controversy," saith he, "one man's merit cannot be applied to another."[||] Yet, by his favour, Hadrian, though he speaks less than Bellarmine in other things, he speaks more in this; for he saith, "He that is in mortal sin himself, may merit for another," &c.[¶] He calls paying for the indulgence, "meriting of it:" and, I think, well he may; for his money is well worth it. I might add, they are not yet agreed what is meant by "a year's pardon;" whether three hundred and sixty days of penance, or only all the fasting-days in the year.[**] If the former, what is meant by that usual clause in indulgences, "For so many years, and so many quarantines," or forty days of penance beside those that are contained in the general account of the year? They are not yet agreed about the value and efficacy of indulgences; whether they are worth what they pretend, or not. Some do not stick to say, [that] their holy father may do by his children as a mother by hers; that promiseth her child an apple, if he will do such a thing; but when he hath done it, she doth not give it. Neither are they yet agreed, whether they may not be effectual, though the condition of them be not performed. But why do I inquire into those things that will not bear a scrutiny? I have said enough to evidence that neither seller nor buyer understand the ware of their market; and these two things more may be enough to prove them a cheat :—

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[*] Chamieri *Panstratia*, tom. iii. lib. xxiv. cap. xv. sect. 15.

[†] Bellarminus *De Indulg.* lib. i. cap. v. p. 19.

[‡] Idem, cap. vii. p. 21.

[§] Raynerii *Pantheologia*, tom. i. p. 1146.

[||] Bellarminus *De Indulg.* lib. i. cap. 2.

[¶] Hadriani VI. *Quæst. de Sacram. in quartum Librum Sentent.* fol. 163.

[**] Idem, fol. 162.

(1.) When Bellarmine saith [that] they are all agreed that an indulgence is not valid, unless the cause be just; and he names several things [which] must concur to make it just; but concludes, "It belongs not to the pope's subjects to judge whether the cause be just or unjust; they ought simply to account it just;" and instanceth, how the pope may grant the greatest indulgences upon the lightest cause: for example: when a plenary indulgence is granted to all those that stand before the doors of St. Peter's church, while the pope upon Easter-day solemnly blesseth the people:* we count this condition ridiculous. "O no," saith he elsewhere; "they thereby show their obedience to the pope." Is that it? Mark this, I pray you: by this doctrine, a man may live in disobedience and rebellion against God all his days, and at last so far obey the pope as to go [to] see a fine show, without parting with any one sin; and he shall be saved. Who but those that are given up to "strong delusion, to believe a lie," can believe this? (2 Thess. ii. 11, 12.)

(2.) Neither those that grant, nor those that receive, nor those that plead for, indulgences, dare themselves trust to them. Witness the solemn services performed for them after their death; yea, for the pope himself. Now those that plead for the validity of plenary indulgences, when they are asked, "What need then of funeral obsequies?" they answer, "Some sins may be forgotten," &c. What? and yet the deceased hath had their "full," their "plenary," and their "most full" indulgences! What these mean, take from one of their infallible oracles, Hadrian VI., in his book that was printed at Rome in the very time of his papacy: and so this is as it were out of the chair. He tells us, that a full indulgence respects penance enjoined for mortal sins; a plenary indulgence respects penance enjoined for mortal and venial sins; and a most full indulgence respects the penance that might have been enjoined for mortal and venial sins.† Tolet, almost a hundred years after, gives us a little more light into that gradation of indulgences; and tells us that a full indulgence respects the remission of the punishment enjoined; a fuller indulgence respects that punishment that might have been enjoined according to the canons; the fullest respects that punishment which may be required by the divine judgment.‡ Now, then, if indulgences pardon all manner of sins, mortal and venial, all manner of repentance that God or man can require, and all manner of punishment that God or man can inflict; and yet those that receive these indulgences, when they are dead, need the same means for pardon that those do that never had any indulgences; doth not this evidence that the chief patrons of indulgences do in their own consciences believe them to be a cheat? I shall next show you how they are injurious to Christ.

5. *Indulgences are injurious to Christ.*—And, which is to me consider-

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* Bellarminus *De Indulg.* lib. i. cap. 12, pp. 28, 29.

† Hadrianus, *ibid.* fol. 163.

‡ Toleti *Instruc. Sacerd.* lib. vi. cap. 24, p. 676.

able, they are most injurious to Christ where they seem most to honour him: what they speak of Christ with the greatest reverence, is, at the bottom, full of falsehood, injustice, and blasphemy. For instance: they say, "One drop of the blood of Christ was enough to redeem the world." "Doth not this assertion put an inestimable value upon the blood of Christ?" Examine it a little; and you will find that, Judas-like, they betray him with a kiss. For,

(1.) This takes away the necessity of Christ's death, which the scripture doth so often inculcate.* What need the Son of God undergo such a painful, ignominious, and cursed a death, if one drop of his blood was sufficient? How can we believe that the Father, who delighteth not in the death of a sinner, would delight in the cruel and cursed death of his most innocent, only-begotten Son, if it were not necessary for our redemption? Can we think that God, who will not punish his damned enemies beyond what they deserve, would exact a punishment of his Son so much more than there was need? Is the death of Christ superfluous? I dare not say of the Captain of our Salvation, as David said of the captain of the host of Israel: "Died Abner as a fool dieth?" (2 Sam. iii. 33.) No; death was the debt; and such a death must be the payment as may pay the debt; and that by the sinner, or (through grace) by his Surety.

(2.) If one drop of the blood of Christ be sufficient, and all the rest to be laid up in a treasury, and the satisfactions of saints likewise added; then there needs more to redeem us from temporal punishments than from eternal wrath, and Christ is not a complete Saviour: than which nothing is more absurd in itself, or more reproachful to Christ. To prove this, it is easy to multiply scriptures; but, to produce their own authors, at present I will name but one,† who expressly tells us that "it is only Christ, with the Father and the Holy Ghost, that can with plenary authority grant all manner of indulgence from fault and punishment: and it is Christ alone that can grant so many thousand thousand years of pardon as we find in some popes' grants; for no temporal punishment can endure the thousandth part of that time."

6. *Indulgences are abominably injurious to souls.*—They came in upon the declining of piety, and they are the product of the later and worse times.‡ The plain truth is, indulgences do in the nature of the thing promote wickedness; for it is only wicked men that need indulgences. Those that they account saints, do so much more than they need, that their superfluous good works constitute a treasury for others. Surely, then, we may reckon, that their middling sort, though they have no satisfactions to spare, yet they have so many [that] they need not be beholden to others: so that it is only the worst of men that need indulgence. And what can "more oblige them to redouble their crimes and misdemeanours, to abandon themselves to all manner of vice and lewdness, than to be sure that all the sins [which] they can commit shall be forgiven them? yea, to have them pardoned beforehand, in having indulgences for sins already committed and to be committed, with this express

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* *Theses Salmurienses*, pars ii. p. 71, &c.

† GERSONI *Opusc.* tom. i. *de Indulg.* viii. consid. 5, fol. 191.

‡ FORBESII *Instructiones Historico-Theologicæ*, lib. xii. cap. viii. p. 655.

clause, "Be they never so heinous?" * Marcus Antonius de Dominis may well say that "indulgences are one of the great secrets of the Papacy; they are famous gold-mines, out of which a great power of gold hath been digged for the apostolical see: but they have utterly banished true repentance from the Popish churches." † Navarrus goeth further; (if I may credit Peter Du Moulin's quotation of him; ‡ I having not the book by me;) for although he was the pope's penitentiary, yet, when he writ for indulgences, he could not abstain from saying, "The grant of them is odious; because the collectors seek not the good of souls, but the profit of money," &c. In short: what wicked man is there that gives any credit to their doctrine of indulgences, but will gratify his lusts; that he may have the pleasures of both worlds? For, according to that doctrine, "There are none but fools and friendless can miss of heaven."

But enough, enough, and more than enough, of this mischievous doctrine.

IV. *Let us therefore, in the last place, try whether it is possible to make any good use of so bad a doctrine.*

USES.

USE I. *Let them henceforth be ashamed of their absurd reproaches of the Reformed churches, as if they were not pure enough or strict enough for them.*—What doctrines have we, that the devil himself can charge us with, like theirs of indulgences? Those days are passed with them, wherein it was harder for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of heaven, than for a camel to go through the eye of a needle; (Matt. xix. 24;) for now those need never doubt of salvation. It is for such dull souls as we are, to harp upon such harsh strings as these: "They that trust in their wealth, and boast themselves in the multitude of their riches; none of them can by any means redeem his brother, nor give to God a ransom for him: for the redemption of their soul is precious, and it ceaseth for ever," &c.: (Psalm xlix. 6—8:) and that other word of Christ: "What is a man profited, if he shall gain the whole world, and lose his own soul? or what shall a man give in exchange for his soul?" (Matt. xvi. 26.) We dare not answer these scriptures with that interpretation of Prov. xiii. 8, [with] which *he* doth *that* glosseth upon Gerson in the fore-cited place: "The ransom of a man's life are his riches;" as if a man need do no more but purchase an indulgence, and all is well. We like the apostle's counsel better: "Let every man prove his own work, and then shall he have rejoicing in himself alone, and not in another;" and that for the very reason which the apostle gives: "For every man shall bear his own burden." (Gal. vi. 4, 5.) We are neither to be proud of being better than others, nor trust to share benefits with those that are better than us. The wise virgins had no oil to spare, when the foolish had their oil to seek. (Matt. xxv. 8, 9.) We bless God that we have a Christ to trust to; and not any that may, like Hermannus, be many years worshipped for a saint, and then his bones dug up and burnt for a heretic, by that very Boniface who appointed the first jubilee, and that with a singular respect to the visiting [of] the sepulchres of the saints.[*] Commend which you will,—whether his worshipping, or his burning, of the bones of any [whom] they call "saints;" we think, he might well have acknowledged, with Eugenius, that "what key he had of opening and shutting, through his folly he did not prudently make use of it."[†] Our common people can read in their Bibles that they are "fools" who "make a mock at sin," (Prov. xiv. 9,) playing with it both in the commission and expiation. But we dare not do so; we dare not play the mountebanks in religion,—to make some whiffling about the conscience, and then stupify it with a cheat. We ingenuously confess, we have not better esteem of indulgences than had the citizens of Prague; who put the indulgent merchant into the same cart with some common whores, about whose breasts they hung the Papal indulgences; and so drew him and the whores, with the indulgences hanging about their necks, exposing them to scorn, through every street of the city; and then took the Bulls of indulgences, and publicly and solemnly burnt them.[‡] Such honour may they meet with wherever they come!

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* "Review of the Council of Trent," lib. v. cap. 1, p. 250. † *De Rep. Eccles.* lib. v. cap. viii. n. 13, p. 240. ‡ "Novelty of Popery," lib. vii. cap. 2, p. 467.

USE II. I will no longer forbear acquainting you with that, by way of use, which you might well expect in the opening of the doctrine; namely, *to state how far God may be said to punish sin after he hath pardoned it.*—We deny not but those whose sins are pardoned meet with many bitter calamities in this world; but the question between the Papists and us is, whether they are punishments of sin properly so called.[§] We grant [that] they are *materially* punishments, but not *formally*: that is, the same things, when suffered by wicked men, are punishments; but to *them* they are only fatherly chastisements, not judicial punishments; wholesome medicines, not penal executions. For example: a malefactor hath his hand cut off for striking in a court of judicature; that is properly a punishment: an innocent person hath his hand cut off, because it is gangrened: that is not a punishment, but a kindness. Plainly: a punishment is properly to satisfy revenging justice; a judge (as such) hath no respect to the offender's repentance: but God always chastiseth "for our profit, that we might be partakers of his holiness." (Heb. xii. 10.) We deny not but God chastiseth for sin: but the question between the Papists and us is not about the *impulsive* cause, but the *final*; that is, whether God, in punishing his children, do it to satisfy his justice with another satisfaction beside that [which] he hath received by the death of his Son.[||] The shortest and the plainest answer to this question will be, to clear up those scriptures which they press into their service.

They urge David's case: "Because by this deed thou hast given great occasion to the enemies of the Lord to blaspheme, the child also that is born unto thee shall surely die." (2 Sam. xii. 14.) We grant that, because of David's sin, his child died; but we deny [that] it was properly a punishment. Nathan makes a plain difference between the punishment due to David for the sin which is pardoned,—"The Lord hath put away thy sin; thou shalt not die," (verse 13,)—and the discipline whereby he would take off the scandal of wicked men. God, as it were, put off the person of a Judge, and assumed the person of a Father. Whereas they say, "David prayed against it, and therefore it was a punishment;" the answer is easy. The sick man begs of his physician, that he may have no more nauseous physic, no more corroding plasters, &c.: are his medicines therefore punishments? God would cure David, and prevent others from taking encouragement to sin by his example: to this end God makes use of dreadful physic; yet it is but physic. The like may be said to Miriam's case, who was struck with leprosy: God would have her to be ashamed and repent of her molesting his servants in the discharge of their duty. (Num. xii. 13.)

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[*] PLATINA *De Vitâ Bonifacii VIII.* p. 247.

[†] B. Bp. tom. xv. p. 614, *Eugenius Pontifex Hildegardi.*

[‡] CHEMNITII *Exam.* p. 741.

[§] DALLÆUS *De Pœn. et Satisfac.* lib. i. cap. 2, pp. 4, 5, et seqq. sparsim.

[||] RIVETI *Cathol. Orthod.* tom. ii. tract. iii. quæst. 13, p. 63.

But there are other instances of pardoned persons struck with death for their offences; of whom they jeeringly ask us, "Did God strike them dead, that they might mend their lives?" For example: 1. *Moses and Aaron;* to whom God said, "Ye shall not enter into the land which I have given unto the children of Israel, because ye have rebelled against my word," &c. (Num. xx. 24.) I answer, Their death was not properly a punishment, but matter of instruction to other believers. There is a singular mystery in Moses's death,—to teach that the law brings not into the heavenly Canaan; *that* must be done by Christ. 2. *That of the old prophet;* to whom the very person that deceived him said from God, "Forasmuch as thou hast disobeyed the mouth of the Lord, thy carcass shall not come unto the sepulchre of thy fathers. And when he was gone, a lion met him by the way, and slew him." (1 Kings xiii. 21, 22, 24.) God by the threatening brought him to repentance; and by his death warns us to take heed how we swerve, though never so little, from his command. There was his own amendment to salvation, and the profit of the church by so memorable a monument of God's severity.

But what need I spend time in particular instances? while the scripture speaks of believers in general, that death is to them a privilege, not a punishment; and death itself is inventoried among their treasures; (1 Cor. iii. 22;) that whenever or however it seizeth upon them, it will be their gain and matter of triumph. (Phil. i. 21; 1 Cor. xv. 55.) In a word, therefore, this, dear Christians, would I charge upon you:—Above all things secure your reconciliation with God, and then practically learn to answer God's ends in all your chastisements and trials; set yourselves to hate sin, to be exemplary in holiness, to live in the continual exercise and growth of grace, till God translate you to glory.

USE III. *Let us bless God for being delivered from the devilish delusions of that religion.*—"Religion" did I call it? How do they forfeit the very name, while they industriously strive to make men atheists, that they may make them Papists! And what bait can be more alluring, than that they can afford them indulgence at so cheap a rate? Their Seraphical Doctor tells us of some indulgences granted, to help to build some church, or the like: those that gave a penny toward it, should be pardoned the third part of their repentance; and for another penny, another third part; and for another penny, the last third part:* so that for threepence ("for three halfpence," saith Altissiodorensis.* And among other proofs for the value of indulgences, he brings this:—that the head of John the Baptist was given to the damsel; by which damsel is meant the church of the Gentiles: so that the church of the Gentiles hath the head of John; that is, the head of grace: therefore she may grant indulgence to her subjects. A profound demonstration! So that) he may be discharged from the troublesome work of repentance. This the Seraphical Doctor thinks to be false and ridiculous; and therefore he thus resolves the value of indulgences:—in respect of him that grants them, they are of as much value as he says they are; but in respect of him that receives them, they are of more or less value according as he is disposed: so then, if they are fit for none, they are worth nothing. Angles reckons up six other opinions;† but all such as will rather torment than satisfy an awakened conscience. O what a miserable plunge must that soul be in, that, trusting to indulgences, commits sin with greediness; and never considering till he comes to die, he finds too late that the largest indulgences are only valuable according to the disposition of the receiver, and so he that most needs them shall have least benefit by them! Some of the very popes themselves have been ashamed of these cheats, and would have recalled them; but his kindred opposed it with the same argument that Demetrius did Paul:‡ "By this craft we have our wealth." (Acts xix. 25.) In short: though they tell us that pope Gregory delivered Trajan out of hell, yet we dare trust to none but Christ to deliver us from the wrath to come, and we bless God that we have no other to trust to. We had rather now cry to God for mercy, than too late cry out in our misery, "Good God, upon what a frail spider's web doth hang the vast weight of Papal omnipotency!"§ "Now we feel with a vengeance [that] the pope is not infallible!" But I will close all with what may be more profitable than such fruitless complaints.

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* BONAVENTURA *in Sentent.* tom. iv. p. 323, Venet. edit.

Use iv. In the last place, therefore, *I would seriously caution you against that mock-religion, which is little else than an engine of carnal interest.*—As you love your souls, take heed of all sinful tendencies, of either head, heart, or life, toward those pernicious doctrines, of which this is one of the chief. I freely confess, I see no cause of fear (the Lord keep us from all confidence in any strength of our own!) that ever that religion shall reign in the consciences of those that have been once delivered from it; but it is an easy matter to persuade those that are of no religion to be of that religion. How many are there that walk in darkness in this noon-day light! And it is an easy process from ignorance to error; and to be devout, too, in that religion where ignorance is the mother of it. How many are there that will rather part with heaven than with their lusts! An easy temptation must needs proselyte them to that religion that promiseth infallibly to secure both. In short: indulgences are the softest arguments for delicate sinners, and the Inquisition the most cogent argument for the refractory. To prevent, therefore, the charms of the one, and to establish against the knocking argument of the other, I shall only commend these two things to you :—

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* Altissiodorensis *in Sent. Lib. quartum*, tract. vi. cap. 9, fol. 40.

† Angles *in quartum Lib. Sent.* pars ii. quæst. *de Indulg.* p. 1415.

‡ Platina *De Vitâ Bonifacii IX.* p. 275.

§ Marcus Antonius de Dominis *De Rep. Eccles.* lib. v. cap. viii. n. 28, p. 245.

1. *Do not make light of sin, and you can never be a friend to indulgences.*—Augustine speaks like himself when he saith, "It is most difficult to find out, and most dangerous to define, what sins they are for which we may have indulgence by the merits of the saints our friends." He professeth [that] he could not by his search come to the knowledge of them ; and the lesson he would learn and teach from it, was this : "To avoid all sin, and not at all to trust to the merits of others." [*] We may cry out concerning this doctrine, "Without controversy, great is the mystery of ungodliness!" I grant, there is a great controversy between them and us about it : but yet, when I consider that I do not find two of them of a mind, but that they every one charge one another with something faulty in their particular sentiments about them ; and their darling council, before they made the decree about them, censured all the money-gatherers upon them to be incorrigible, and that they had no hopes of their amendment ; [†] I need not fear to say, "Without controversy, great is the mystery of ungodliness!" For one who is himself guilty of mortal sin at his pleasure to grant, to as many as he please, [‡] guilty of the most prodigious villanies, as large indulgences as they can desire ; [§] if this be not to encourage and propagate wickedness, what is? I would therefore commend this to you : look upon sin to be not only the greatest, but *the only, evil ;* and that not so much as the least can be pardoned without the blood of Christ ; (Heb. ix. 22 ;) and that, as ever you expect benefit by Christ, you must "depart from iniquity ;" (2 Tim. ii. 19 ;) and that whosoever saith, we may venture to "do evil, that good may come," his "damnation is just." (Rom. iii. 8.) Whosoever, therefore, makes the remedies so light, so easy, so obvious, doth not only lessen, but takes away, the terror of the disease, and brings it into contempt. I would, therefore, with all possible importunity, beg of you to set yourselves against every sin ; watch against the temptations, occasions, and first risings of sin ; be as shy of sins of omission and maladministration, as of open wickedness : and then indulgences will be no temptations to you to alter your religion. Then the jubilee, (next year,) which pseudo-catholics esteem as "the pleasant phantasies of Popery, the refuge of sinners, the grief of purgatory, the terror of devils, the mart of Rome, and the triumph of the pope," [||] will be no more to them than a Bartholomew Fair. Do you study the doctrine and practice of faith and repentance, and you will abhor all fellowship with this "doctrine of devils."

2. *Make use of your Bibles ; and while you do so, you will neither be wheedled nor frightened out of your religion.*—Let but scripture-truth be your "shield and buckler," and you need not fear this Romish "pestilence that walks in darkness," and you may also hope that God will preserve you from their barbarous "destruction that wasteth at noonday." (Psalm xci. 4, 6.) "The sword of the Spirit" is the only offen-

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[*] AUGUSTINUS *De Civitate Dei,* lib. xxi. cap. 27, p. 664.

[†] *Conc. Trid.* sess. xxi. cap. 9, p. 401.

[‡] AQUINATIS *Suppl.* pars iii. quæst. xxvi. art. 4, p. 33.

[§] BELLARMINUS, *ibid. sup.*

[||] CHAMIERI *Panstrat.* tom. iii. lib. xxiv. cap. i. n. 5, p. 517 ; et cap. v. n. 11, p. 524.

sive arms in the Christian armoury; (Eph. vi. 17;) and there is no weapon [that] wounds them like this: and therefore they wrap it in a cloth, and throw it behind the ephod. But, my brethren, take it out; "there is none like it." (1 Sam. xxi. 9.) "Hold fast the form of sound words," which the scripture teacheth, "in faith and love which is in Christ Jesus," (2 Tim. i. 13,) and you can never be seduced: for there can be no heresies but by the misunderstanding of scripture; * which we are not to hear only with our ears, but with our minds.† I take it to be a good way to prevent the perverting of scripture, whenever a text is alleged for the proof of a doctrine in question:—first lay by that doctrine, and search what is the genuine meaning of the Holy Ghost in that place; and then consider what the mind of the Holy Ghost is in that question. But I will not be tedious. Bellarmine is the person [whom] I have most opposed: I will make a fair offer; namely, to be determined by his decision of the question, if they will stand to what he hath left upon record; which is as applicable to this business, as to that about which he wrote it; namely, "Concerning those things which depend upon the Divine Will, we are not to assert any thing but what God himself hath revealed in the holy scripture." ‡ Do but stand to this, and farewell indulgences.

SERMON XIX. (XVII.)

BY THE REV. THOMAS VINCENT, A.M.

OF CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD.

THAT DOCTRINE IN THE CHURCH OF ROME WHICH FORBIDS TO MARRY, IS A WICKED DOCTRINE.

THE POPISH DOCTRINE, WHICH FORBIDDETH TO MARRY, IS A DEVILISH AND WICKED DOCTRINE.

Now the Spirit speaketh expressly, that in the latter times some shall depart from the faith, giving heed to seducing spirits, and doctrines of devils; speaking lies in hypocrisy; having their conscience seared with a hot iron; FORBIDDING TO MARRY, &c.—1 Timothy iv. 1—3.

THE church of Rome hath been in her day as famous and truly worthy of renown, as any church which we read of, either in scripture or ecclesiastical history: I mean, in the primitive days of Christianity, whilst she retained her primitive faith and purity. Her fame was great and growing, even whilst the apostle Paul was alive; who, writing unto her, giveth thanks unto God for her, "that her faith was spoken of throughout the whole world." (Rom. i. 8.) This church had the advantage of being seated in the mistress-city of the earth, where the court then was of the chief empire; unto *which* resort being made from all parts of the world, the most of which at that time were subject and tributary unto Rome, her faith and obedience unto the gospel of Christ so openly professed, so generally known and taken notice of at home, were spread abroad, and carried far and near by strangers in their return from Rome into their own countries. Then the church of Rome was truly apostolical, being "built upon the foundation of the prophets and apostles, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner-stone." (Eph. ii. 20.) And so long as she kept this foundation, her building was of "silver, gold, precious stones;" (1 Cor. iii. 12;) so long she did shine with true lustre and glory. But, in process of time, this so famous a church did decline, and by degrees degenerate; so that at length she became an infamous apostatical church, and the seat of Antichrist himself, the greatest enemy (next the devil) whom Christ hath in the world. When she left her foundation, her glorious building of purer metals and precious stones was changed into an infirm and coarse building of "wood, hay, and stubble," which is under the curse, and whose end is to be consumed with fire; (verse 13;) then her golden head fell off, and was strangely metamorphosed into feet of iron and clay, which the stone hewn out of the mountain without hands will dash to pieces. (Dan. ii. 31—45.)

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* TERTULLIANUS *De Resur. Carn.* cap. xi. p. 417. † Idem, *Adversus Gnosticos*, cap. vii. p. 595. ‡ BELLARMINUS *De Amiss. Grat. et Stat. Pec.* lib. vi. cap. 3, p. 345.

This defection and apostasy of the church of Rome was foreseen and foretold by the apostle Paul, in this epistle to Timothy, as also most plainly in his second epistle to the Thessalonians. In the text he that runneth may read a true description of the apostate church of Rome: "Now the Spirit speaketh expressly, that in the latter times some shall depart from the faith, giving heed to seducing spirits, and doctrines of devils; speaking lies in hypocrisy; having their conscience seared with a hot iron; forbidding to marry," &c.

The church of Rome doth assume to herself to be "the house of God, the church of the living God, the pillar and ground of truth," spoken of in the fifteenth verse of the former chapter. If it should be granted that she was so at the first, and when the apostle did write this epistle; (although he spake not of her in particular then, but of the Christian church in the general, of which she was a part;) methinks, since her corruption and apostasy, since her great degeneration into Antichristianism, she might apply unto herself (sure I am, that others do, with firm reason) what is asserted and foretold in the text; which, in every particular, is very applicable unto her.

Now the Spirit speaketh expressly—By "the Spirit," we are to understand the Spirit of God, who speaketh expressly by the mouth of this apostle, a man full of the Holy Ghost; whereby he was infallibly guided in what he here writeth and foretelleth. Or, "*the Spirit speaketh expressly*, that is, in some other place of Divine writ," saith the learned Mr. Joseph Mede upon the place: and he instanceth in Dan. xi. 36—39, which he interpreteth and accommodateth to this scripture.

That in the latter times—"The latter times" is sometimes taken for the last age of the world, which includeth all the times of the gospel. But I rather think, by "the latter times" we are to understand the latter age of the Christian church, which must be removed some considerable time from the times of the apostle, and so is suitable to the apostasy of the Roman church.

Some shall depart, &c.—"Hereby," saith Mr. Mede, "we are not to understand a small number, but only the exception of some particulars: thus *some* is of the same import with *many* in scripture-usage. (John vi. 60, 66, compared with verse 64; Rom. xi. 17; 1 Cor. x. 7—10.)"

Some shall depart from the faith—That is, they shall depart from the doctrine of faith; and thus the Papists do most grossly, as in many other, so particularly in their doctrine of justification by works, so corrupt and contrary unto the doctrine which this same apostle taught in his epistle to the Romans. Or, "some shall depart from the faith;" "that is," saith Mede, "they shall break their oath of fidelity unto Christ that in and through him alone they should approach and worship the Divine Majesty:" and he interpreteth this apostasy to signify no other than idolatry, according to the ordinary acceptation of the word in the scripture, which the church of Rome, above all churches, is guilty of.

Giving heed to seducing spirits, and doctrines of devils—"By 'seducing spirits,'" saith Calvin, "is meant false prophets and doctors, who boast of the Spirit of God, but are acted by Satan, who is a lying spirit in their mouth, as 1 Kings xxii. 22." "By *doctrines of devils,*" saith the same author, "is meant the devilish doctrines of these hellishly-inspired false prophets." *Prophetas aut doctores intelligit, quos ideò sic nominat, quia Spiritum jactant. Satan aliquando Spiritus est mendax in ore pseudo-prophetarum. "Doctrinis dæmoniorum:" quod perinde est ac si dixisset, attendentes pseudo-prophetis et diabolicis eorum dogmatibus.*—CALVINUS in locum. Thus the Papists are under strong delusions, in their giving heed unto and belief of those lies and false doctrines, at first forged by the devils in hell, and vented afterward by the mouths and pens of their ministers upon earth. Mr. Mede interpreteth the διδασκαλιαι δαιμονιων, to be doctrines, not of devils, which they are the authors of, but *of* demons, as the word signifieth, or *concerning* demons, as the inferior deified powers were called by the Gentiles, whom they thought a middle sort of divine powers between the sovereign and heavenly gods and mortal men; whose office was to be agents and mediators between the heavenly gods and men, whose original was the deified souls of worthy men after death, and some of a higher degree that never were imprisoned in bodies, unto whom they consecrated images, pillars, and temples, adoring them there and their relics: and he telleth us, that "the doctrine of demons" comprehends, in most express manner, the whole idolatry of the mystery of iniquity, the deifying and invocating of saints and angels, (those middle powers between God and mortal men,) the bowing to images, the worshipping of crosses as new idol-columns, the adoring and templing of relics, the worshipping of any other visible thing upon supposal of any divinity therein. "What copy," saith he, "was ever so like the example, as all this to the doctrine of demons? And is not this now fulfilled which was foretold in Rev. xi. 2,—that the second and outmost court of the temple, (which is the second state of the Christian church,) together with the holy city, should be trodden down, and over-trampled by the Gentiles (that is, overwhelmed with the Gentiles' idolatry) forty and two months?" The parallel may be read at large in that ingenious piece of Mr. Mede's, called, "The Apostasy of the latter Times," upon this text in Timothy; and I am very prone to think, that he hath more fully expressed and explained the mind of the Holy Ghost in this place, than any that went before him.

The second and third verses of this chapter do set forth the quality of the persons, and the means whereby this defection should enter:—

Speaking lies in hypocrisy—Or "through the hypocrisy of liars." This the same author applieth to the Popish doctrines, which have obtained, 1. By lies of miracles: 2. By fabulous legends of the acts of saints, and sufferings of martyrs: 3. By counterfeit writings under the name of the first and best antiquity.

Having their consciences seared with a hot iron—"And who," saith Mr. Mede, "could have coined, or who could have believed, such monstrous stuff as the Popish legends are stuffed with, but such as were cauterized, past all feeling and tenderness both of conscience and sense itself?"

Forbidding to marry—The applicableness of this to the Papists will appear in what I have now to say; and my discourse must be confined to the latter clause of the text, "Forbidding to marry." From which the QUESTION which I am to speak unto is this:—

Whether the Popish doctrine which forbiddeth to marry be a devilish and wicked doctrine? This I affirm; and this, through God's help, I shall prove. And that my proceeding herein may be the more clear, I shall,

I. *Show how far the Popish doctrine doth forbid to marry.*

II. *Prove that their doctrine which forbiddeth to marry is a devilish, wicked doctrine.*

III. *Answer the arguments which are brought for this doctrine.*

IV. And lastly. *I shall shut up my discourse with some uses.*

I. *How far the Popish doctrine forbiddeth to marry.*

First, *Negatively*. This doctrine doth not forbid all marriage: and yet this I may truly say,—that Popish writers speak so disgracefully and contemptuously of marriage in their argumentations against the marriage of some, that if all were true which they affirm, it would be unlawful for any, as they hope for salvation, to link themselves in the bonds of matrimony.

Secondly, and *Positively*. The Popish doctrine forbiddeth the marriage of the clergy, particularly of bishops, priests, and deacons, and of all that enter into holy orders; and not only of all those men who are employed in the service of the church and ministry, but also of all those women and virgins who have vowed continency, and have entered themselves into nunneries. Beside what is generally asserted by the Popish doctors who write of this point, the canon of the council of Trent, which the Papists universally do subscribe unto, and own for infallible truth, is plainly this: *Ex octavâ sessione Tridentini Concilii, can. ix.—Si quis dixerit, clericos in sacris ordinibus constitutos, vel regulares castitatem solenniter professos, posse matrimonium contrahere, contractumque validum esse, non obstante lege ecclesiasticâ vel voto, et oppositum nil aliud esse quàm damnare matrimonium, posseque omnes contrahere matrimonium, qui non sentiunt, se castitatis (etiamsi eam voverint) habere donum,*

anathema sit; cùm Deus id rectè petentibus non deneget, nec patiatur nos supra id quod possumus tentari. "If any say, that the clergy, who have received holy orders, or regulars who have solemnly professed chastity, may contract marriage, and that such contract (notwithstanding the ecclesiastical law and their own vow) is valid; and that the contrary assertion is no other than to condemn marriage; and that all (although they have vowed chastity) may contract marriage that do not find they have the gift of chastity; let him be accursed; forasmuch as God will not deny this gift unto those who rightly seek it, neither will he suffer us to be tempted above what we are able."

The Popish ecclesiastical laws admit none into sacred orders before they solemnly vow chastity, or, as they interpret it, abstaining from marriage; and it is required of nuns, that they solemnly vow to preserve and persevere unto death in their virginity, or single estate, without any regard unto any unforeseen necessity for marriage; and amongst all the dispensations that are granted by the pope, amongst all the indulgences which he makes sale of, to allow grossly moral evils absolutely forbidden by the Lord, no dispensations or indulgences are granted by him for the marriage of such as are under this celibate vow, although they are not able to contain, and although God doth command such to marry. I shall do the Papists no wrong in saying that they account it a greater crime for ecclesiastical persons to marry, than for them to commit fornication or sodomy. The learned Chamier doth give several instances of Popish writers to this purpose; namely,

HOSIUS, who doth defend "the saying of Pighius, as not only true, but pious, that a priest, through the infirmity of the flesh falling into the sin of fornication, doth sin less than if he should marry; and telleth us, that although this assertion seem foul, yet the Catholics account it most honest:" *Reprehenditur Pighius qui, non verè magis quàm piè, scriptum reliquit, minùs peccare sacerdotem, qui ex infirmitate carnis in fornicationem sit prolapsus, quàm qui nuptias contraxit. Turpis videtur hæc oratio; contra, Catholicis honestissimum.*—HOSIUS, *Confessionis* capite 56.

COSTERUS, who doth assert that "a priest who doth fornicate or nourish a concubine at home in his house, although he be guilty of great sacrilege, yet he doth more heinously offend if he contract matrimony:" *Sacerdos si fornicetur, aut domi concubinam foveat, tametsi gravi sacrilegio se obstringat, gravius tamen peccat, si contrahat matrimonium.*—COSTERUS *De Lætib. Sacerd.*

CARDINAL CAMPEGIO, who doth aver, "that for priests to become husbands, is by far a more heinous crime than if they should keep many whores in their houses:" *Quòd sacerdotes fiant mariti multò esse gravius peccatum, quàm si plurimas domi meretrices alant.*—CARDIN. CAMPEG. *apud* SLEIDANI *Commentar.* libro quarto.

MATTHIAS AQUENSIS, who doth profess his opinion, that "such who marry after their vow of continency, do offend more than such an one as through human frailty doth deviate" (as he terms it, which, in plain English, is, *who through the power of burning lust is unclean)* "with a hundred divers persons:" *Qui post continentiæ votum devovet potestatem corporis cuivis mulieri, magis offendit, quàm iste qui humanâ fragilitate deviaret cum centum diversis personis.*—MATTHIAS AQUENSIS.

Our MOLINÆUS telleth us, that by the rules of the Roman church, a sodomist may exercise the priesthood, and by that abominable vice doth not run into irregularity; whereas marriage is judged altogether incompatible with sacred orders;" and he quotes Navarrus, saying, "The crime of sodomy is not comprehended amongst the crimes that bring irregularity;" and giveth several reasons for it.—DU MOULIN'S "Novelty of Popery," book vii. chap. 5.

And no wonder, when John Casa, archbishop of Benevento, and dean of the apostolical chamber, printed a book at Venice in defence of sodomy. Sleidan saith, that "he wrote a sodomitical book, than which nothing more foul could have been thought upon by man; neither did he blush to celebrate with praises that most filthy sin, too much known in Italy and Greece:" *Ille quem diximus, archiepiscopus Beneventanus, libellum conscripsit planè cinædum, et quo nihil fœdius excogitari possit; nec enim puduit eum, scelus omnium longè turpissimum, sed per Italiam nimis notum, atque Græciam, celebrare laudibus.*—SLEIDANI *Comment.* lib. xi. p. 652. This was that Casa by whom Francis Spira was seduced to revolt from his profession, the cause of such hideous terrors of conscience afterward, and so miserable an end.

It is evident, then, that the marriage of the clergy, and of all under the celibate vow, is forbidden by the Popish doctrine.

II. The second thing is, to prove that *the Popish doctrine which forbiddeth the marriage of the clergy, and of all under the celibate vow, is a devilish, wicked doctrine:* and this I shall do by several ARGUMENTS.

ARGUMENT I. *That doctrine which is a false doctrine, and contrary unto the word of God, is a devilish, wicked doctrine: But the Popish doctrine which forbiddeth the marriage of the clergy, and of all under the celibate vow, is a false doctrine, and contrary unto the word of God: Therefore it is devilish and wicked.*

All such doctrine as is false, is devilish; the devil being the father of lies, especially of lying, false doctrine, whereby he doth blind the eyes of them who believe not, and corrupt the minds of them who are his children and followers. Likewise that doctrine which is contrary unto the word of God, is of the devil; who is the greatest enemy which the word of God hath, because of the great mischief which the word of God hath done to his cause, and the interest of his kingdom. And be sure, that all such doctrine as is devilish, is wicked; the devil being such a foul and wicked spirit as is wholly void and empty of all moral good, and from whom nothing but wickedness doth proceed.

If there be any question, it will be of the minor proposition, which is this,—*that the Popish doctrine which forbiddeth the marriage of the clergy, and of all under the celibate vow, is a false doctrine, and contrary unto the word of God.* I need no other proof that it is false, than that it is contrary unto the word of God; this word proceeding from the Fountain of light and truth, I mean, from God who is all Light, and with whom dwelleth no darkness at all, who is Truth itself, and with whom it is impossible any lie or mistake should be found. The chief thing, then, that is to be proved is this, *that this Popish doctrine is contrary unto the word of God.* And this will appear in that,

1. *This doctrine forbiddeth that which the word of God alloweth.*

2. *This doctrine forbiddeth that which the word of God in some case commandeth.*

1. *The Popish doctrine which forbiddeth the marriage of the clergy, and of all under the celibate vow, forbiddeth that which the word of God alloweth.*—And this is evident in that,

(1.) *The word of God alloweth marriage, and maketh no exception of the clergy, or any under the celibate vow.*—That which God did at first institute and appoint, surely the word of God doth allow. Marriage being God's ordinance, none will deny that it hath God's allowance: and that the word of God maketh no exception of the clergy, or any under the celibate vow, is plain, because the Popish writers can bring no scripture in the whole Bible which maketh such exception. No scripture that doth this *directly*, is urged by any of them. What firm *scripture-consequence* they may plead, will be seen when we come to speak to their arguments for this doctrine. In the mean time it may be evident unto all, that the scripture alloweth the marriage of all, without such exceptions as the Papists make, by one clear scripture which admitteth of no contradiction by any other: "Marriage is honourable in all, and the bed undefiled; but whoremongers and adulterers God will judge." (Heb. xiii. 4.) All that are unclean without marriage, such as whoremongers, all that defile the marriage-bed, such as adulterers; are guilty of a shameful and great God-provoking sin; for which God will judge them, (if they, before, do not make their peace with him, and forsake such wicked practices,) and punish them everlastingly in hell. But "marriage is honourable," and therefore lawful; and that not only in some, but "in all" without any exception.

(2.) *The word of God is so far from excepting the marriage of the clergy, that it doth plainly allow the marriage of such persons.*

(i.) In the Old-Testament times the prophets, priests, Levites, and all those who attended more immediately the service of God, and at the altar under the law, were allowed to marry. Abraham, who was a prophet and priest in his own house, did not take Sarah to be his wife without God's allowance; otherwise, surely, God would not have so signally owned his marriage, as to make promise of the Blessed Seed unto him hereby. Rebekah was a wife of God's choosing for Isaac. God never blamed Moses, that great prophet, for marrying Zipporah; neither was Aaron faulty because he had his wife and children. Isaiah, that evangelical prophet, was married, and had children too, in the time of his prophecy; which the scripture, in the recording of it, doth not impute to him for any iniquity. The priests and Levites generally did marry; and, however some of them are reproved in scripture for divers sins, yet matrimony is never in the least charged upon them for any crime. If then such whose office and employment under the law was to administer about holy things, did marry, and might do it without any sin against God; by parity of reason, ministers and all those of the clergy who administer about holy things in the times of the gospel, have allowance and liberty, without any offence to God, to make use of marriage. The reply of the Papists is frivolous, and scarce worth mentioning. The chief thing that they reply unto is, concerning the marriage of the priests and Levites; "who," they say, "had their courses to attend the service of the temple and altar, and that then they were to separate from their wives, which was at that time as if they had none: whereas the clergy now are to attend the service of God in their work continually, and therefore ought to abstain from marriage altogether." But, beside that they can never prove that the priests and Levites did separate from their wives in the time of their courses, what will they say unto the marriage of those priests and Levites who continually and daily did administer at the altar before the division of them into courses, namely, before the time of David?

(ii.) In the New-Testament times ministers have a plain and express allowance to marry, as will appear by two or three places of scripture.

The first scripture which doth allow the marriage of ministers, is 1 Cor. ix. 5: "Have we not power to lead about a sister, a wife, as well as other apostles, and as the brethren of the Lord, and Cephas?" The words are written by the apostle Paul, who himself was an unmarried man, as he telleth the Corinthians in the seventh chapter of this epistle; yet in this chapter and verse he doth assert his power, which he lawfully might have taken, "to lead about a sister, a wife," which, in another phrase, is the same as if he had said, to marry. And he giveth instance in the use which others of his function had made of their power, not only other ministers, but "other apostles," yea, and the chiefest of the apostles, "the brethren of the Lord, and Cephas," that is, Peter himself, of whose wife and marriage the scripture doth take notice in more than one place. If then some of the apostles did marry, and the other apostles had power to do the like, then any ministers of the gospel have the same power and allowance to marry. This consequence is plain and undeniable, because the apostles were ministers of the gospel; and what was lawful for them as ministers, is lawful for any other ministers: and it is as plain in this scripture that some of the apostles did marry, and that others had power to do the like. The great exception of the Papists against this scripture is, that "this word translated 'wife' is γυναικα, which," they say, "signifieth *a woman*, and therefore that 'the leading about a woman' doth not imply marriage:" and they interpret the meaning of this place, "that the apostles had power to lead about women to be helpers to them, as our Saviour had women following of him, who did minister unto him." But, beside that the ordinary signification of this word is "wife," it may be evident to an unprejudiced mind, that it must signify "wife" and nothing else in this place, because of the word "sister" used before it, of which the word γυναικα is exegetical, or explanatory: for, all truly believing women being sisters, that the apostle might be understood what kind of *sister* he speaketh of, he addeth γυναικα, which cannot be interpreted with good sense *woman*, unless there had been sisters who were men and not women. How could the sister whom the apostle had power to lead about be distinguished from other sisters whom he did not lead about? Were they not women as well as she? Therefore the signification must needs be "wife;" and hereby the "sister" [whom] he had power to lead about, is distinguished from all other sisters whom he did not marry. If any should further reply, that, "supposing the word γυναικα to signify *wife*, the apostle might speak, not of taking a wife himself, but of leading about the wife of another to be his helper:" I answer, that the apostle speaketh of something wherein he had power, and which he did not make use of; and this, in reference unto women, was marriage. But as to other women, he did lead some about, and they were helpers unto him; as, for instance, Priscilla, who, with her husband Aquila, "sailed with Paul into Syria," (Acts xviii. 18,) and he calleth them his "helpers in Christ." (Rom. xvi. 3.) And in the second verse of the same chapter he commendeth Phebe to the Romans, because she had been the "succourer of many, and of himself also;" and in the sixth verse he greeteth Mary, "who had bestowed much labour on him." The apostle, then, frequently making use of the help of other women, and here speaking of the power which he had to lead about a sister, a wife, which he did not make use of, it must be needs understood of his leading about a wife of his own, or of his marriage. When the apostle saith, "Have we not power to lead about a sister, a wife?" two things are implied: First. That he did not "lead about a sister, a wife;" that is, that he did not marry; for he had sisters to be his helpers, as hath been shown. Secondly. That he had "power to lead about a sister, a wife," or that it was lawful for him to marry; this interrogative implying a strong affirmative. And this power which he had, he proved by the marriage of other apostles, and expressly of Peter: for if the great apostle of the Jews (who was Peter) was married, then the great apostle of the Gentiles (who was Paul) might marry too; and if the apostles themselves, the most eminent ministers, might marry, then it is lawful for any other ministers to do it, who are their successors in the ministerial work.

Another scripture which giveth allowance to the marriage of ministers, is Titus i. 6: "If any be blameless, the husband of one wife, having faithful children not accused of riot or unruly." The apostle is here speaking of the elders or ministers who were to be ordained in every city, as in the former verse; and in this verse he showeth how such as are ministers should be qualified: "If any be blameless, the husband of one wife, having faithful children:" here the qualification of "blameless" is used in conjunction with "the husband of a wife," and "the father of children," in the person of a minister. It is evident, then, that a married minister may be "blameless;" and one that is a spiritual father may be a natural father too, without any offence unto God. Indeed, if a minister should have had at that time two wives together, as the custom of the Jews was of old, this would have been offensive unto God; but to be "the husband of *one wife*" then was, and still is, inoffensive in ministers.

The third scripture is like unto this: "A bishop must be blameless, the husband of one wife," &c.; "one that ruleth well his own house, having his children in subjection with all gravity; (for if a man know not how to rule his own house, how shall he take care of the church of God?) Even so must their wives be grave, not slanderers, sober, faithful in all things. Let the deacons be the husbands of one wife, ruling their children and their own houses well." (1 Tim. iii. 2, 4, 5, 11, 12.) It was not without special providence that ministers should have this qualification affixed once and again unto them in their function,—that they must be "husbands of one wife;" which is not so to be understood, as if they must of necessity be husbands, or else they must not be ministers; but that if they be "husbands," it must be but "of one wife" at one time: so that though the scripture doth not command all of them to marry, yet it doth not forbid any, but alloweth every minister to marry, so that he taketh not many, or more than one wife at a time. The Papists are forced to wink hard to keep out the light of these places; and they are greatly put to it to find out shifts for the evading [of] the plain and clear truth, that ministers have allowance by these scriptures to marry. Some of them expound the meaning of the words, "the husband of one wife," to signify the pastoral charge of one church, unto which a minister hath relation as a husband to his wife. But this cannot be the meaning, because the apostle doth here distinguish between the "house" of the minister where he is "the husband of one wife," from "the church of God;" and the "children" of the minister by this "one wife" whom he is to rule over, cannot be understood of spiritual children, but of natural children, as is plain in the fourth and fifth verses: "One that ruleth well his own house, having his children in subjection with all gravity; (for if a man know not how to rule his own house, how shall he take care of the church of God?)" Others interpret the words, "the husband of one wife," to be meant of what the minister to be chosen was before he entereth into this sacred function, not that he hath liberty for "one wife" after he engageth in the ministry; and therefore the Papists, if they admit any married persons to this high function, they force them to abandon their wives. But this cannot be the meaning of the apostle, because he speaketh not of such who *have been* "the husbands of one wife," but of those that *are* so: and as they must be "blameless, vigilant, sober," and retain the other qualifications there required after they are ministers, so they may retain their wives too; there being not the least hint given in this scripture, or any else, that ministers must put away their wives when they become ministers. Amongst the causes of divorce in the scripture, *this*, be sure, is none; and when God hath joined ministers and their wives together, what human power may lawfully put them asunder? Yea, on the contrary, the apostle supposeth in this place that ministers should live with their wives by his directions: First. *In general*, in reference to their "own houses," of which the wife as well as the children are a part, whom he would have to "rule well." Secondly. *In particular*, in reference to their wives, whose qualifications he sets down, that they should be "grave, not slanderers, sober, faithful in all things," that they might be the more meet helpers of their husbands in their work, and the better examples to the flock: and surely then this doth imply, that ministers may, yea, ought to live with their wives after they become ministers.

Thus the Popish doctrine forbiddeth that which the word of God doth allow.

2. *The Popish doctrine, which forbiddeth the marriage of the clergy, and all under the celibate vow, forbiddeth that which the word of God in some case doth command.*—And the case is this: When single or unmarried persons, although they apprehend that they might bring most glory unto God in their single estate upon supposition that they had the gift of continency, yet really do find themselves to be without this gift, after

they have earnestly prayed unto God for it, after fasting, self-denial, watchfulness, and diligent use of all means to keep under their body; and, notwithstanding all this, they do feel in themselves such burning lusts as do defile their minds, disturb them in the service of God, and endanger their commission of the sin of fornication as they have opportunity for it, and meet with any temptation unto it: in such a case, it is the express command of God, that such persons should marry for the quenching of those burning lusts, and the preventing of that filthy and abominable sin of fornication. This is plain: "It is good for a man not to touch a woman. Nevertheless, to avoid fornication, let every man have his own wife, and let every woman have her own husband." (1 Cor. vii. 1, 2.) If the man be in danger of fornication, let him have "his own wife;" if the woman be in danger, let her have "her own husband." And when is it that they are in danger? It is when "they cannot contain:" this supposeth the use of means, otherwise the word would not have been "cannot contain." "I say therefore to the unmarried and widows, It is good for them if they abide even as I. But if they cannot contain, let them marry: for it is better to marry than to burn." (Verses 8, 9.) Now this may be, and too, too often is, the case of some of the clergy, and others under the celibate vow; all which persons, without the exception of this case, the Popish doctrine doth forbid to marry; therefore the Popish doctrine is contrary unto the word of God, in forbidding that which the word of God commandeth.

I know, the canon of the council of Trent, to evade the force of this scripture, doth assert, that "God will not deny this gift of continency unto those who rightly seek it; neither will He suffer us to be tempted above what we are able." Unto which I answer, that God will not deny any gift which he hath promised unto those that rightly seek it. But the Papists will never prove, while their eyes are open, that God hath absolutely promised the gift of continency unto all those that diligently and most rightly seek it. Whatever gifts are necessary unto salvation, God hath absolutely promised unto those that rightly seek them. But this gift of continency in a single estate is not numbered by the scripture, and therefore ought not to be so by any, amongst those gifts: for if so, then none could be saved that are without it; and hence it would follow, that all who are married should certainly be damned: which the Papists themselves will not affirm. This gift of continency God doth bestow upon some of his children, but not upon all his children. When the disciples say unto our Saviour, "If the case of the man be so with his wife, it is not good to marry;" our Saviour answereth, "All men cannot receive this saying, save they to whom it is given." (Matt. xix. 10, 11.) And the apostle, speaking of this gift, telleth us: "I would that all men were even as I myself," that is, unmarried. "But every man hath his proper gift of God, one after this manner, and another after that." (1 Cor. vii. 7.) By "all men," whom our Saviour speaketh of, and "every man," whom the apostle Paul speaketh of, we are to understand, not all and every one of the children of the world, but all and every one of the children of God: all these cannot receive the saying, to be without marriage. When God in conversion doth work a change in their souls, he doth not alter the constitution of their bodies; and there are some both men and women, [who,] although truly religious, yet are of such constitution of body that they cannot contain without marriage, they cannot receive the saying to be without marrying, and withal without burning. Some of God's children have a proper gift of God to live chastely in a single estate, and others have a proper gift of God to live chastely only in a married estate. If then the gift of continency be not a gift which God hath in common promised unto all his children that rightly seek it, (as it is plain that it is not,) then the council of Trent doth assert a falsehood, "that God will not deny this gift unto all that rightly seek it," if they mean by "rightly seeking," *diligently seeking;* for God oftentime doth deny it unto such seekers. If they mean by "rightly seeking," *seeking in faith,* I deny that any can seek this gift in faith absolutely, because there is no absolute promise of it. And so it is true, that God will not deny this gift to those that rightly seek it; and it is false, that any can seek it rightly, that is, in faith absolutely.

What the council doth further assert, "that God will not suffer us to be tempted above what we are able," is true, because it is the express word of God; but it is not rightly applied here. God will not suffer his children "to be tempted above what they are able," by affliction; neither will he suffer them "to be tempted above what they are able" unto sin; no, not to the sin of fornication: but then it must be understood upon supposition *that they make use of all lawful means for the prevention of this sin;* and one both lawful and commanded means is marriage, without which some of them may be tempted above what they are able unto it, so as to be overtaken by it, and live in the practice of it.

I have done with the first argument, which, being the chiefest and most comprehensive, I have been the largest in the handling of. I shall be more brief in the rest.

ARG. II. *That doctrine which, under the show of piety, doth lead unto much lewdness and villany, is a devilish, wicked doctrine: But the Popish doctrine, which forbiddeth the marriage of the clergy, and of all under the celibate vow, under the show of piety, doth lead unto much lewdness and villany: Therefore this doctrine is a devilish and wicked doctrine.*

Whatever it be that leadeth unto much lewdness and villany, is devilish and wicked. "He that committeth sin is of the devil." (1 John iii. 8.) He is led to it by the devil; he is "of the devil;" that is, he is a servant of the devil, or a child of the devil. "Ye are of your father the devil, and the lusts of your father ye will do." (John viii. 44.) But when any are led unto much lewdness and villany under the show of piety, they are led by the devil hereunto more especially: Therefore that doctrine which, under the show of piety, doth lead unto much lewdness and villany, must needs be a devilish, wicked doctrine. That such is the Popish doctrine, is evident:—

1. The Popish doctrine which forbiddeth the marriage of the clergy, and of all under the celibate vow, hath a show in it of piety. The pretence of such prohibition is, that these persons forbidden to marry might be the more mortified, chaste, and holy, that they might be the more free from worldly cares, and more at liberty to addict themselves unto the service of the Lord without distraction. Here is a fair show of piety, not in an ordinary, but in an eminent, degree.

2. This Popish doctrine doth lead unto much lewdness and villany; namely, unto fornication, adultery, incest, sodomy, murder, and the like lewd practices, which have been the product of this prohibition to marry.

But, because I would not have this argument swell bigger than the former, I shall reserve the proof of this to the USE OF INFORMATION concerning the devilish wickedness of the Popish church.

OBJECTION. If it be said, that "there are and have been many of the Popish clergy eminent for their chastity; that the uncleannesses of some cannot be charged upon the generality; that whatever lewdness any of them have been guilty of, it is not the proper effect of this prohibition, but proceedeth from the wickedness of man's heart:" I answer:—

ANSWER 1. Some may be eminent for chastity in the esteem of men, that secretly are guilty of the basest filthiness in the sight of God; and [of] such of them as really do abstain from grosser pollutions, some may thank their constitution more than their vow that they are restrained. But if it should be granted, that some few of them do deny themselves, and keep under their bodies, that they may "possess their vessels in sanctification;" yet this doth not invalidate the argument drawn from the woful effect which this prohibition to marry hath upon so many others.

2. If we cannot charge the generality of the Popish clergy with the grosser sins of adultery, fornication, sodomy, and the like; yet why may we not, without breach of charity, imagine that their own consciences will charge them sufficiently herewith?—(1.) When the most of such sins which are committed by them are done in secret. (2.) When so many of those sins are come to light, and their own historians do accuse them thereof. (3.) When so many of their popes themselves, their fathers and examples, have been guilty so grossly. (4.) When indulgences for stews, for sodomy, for priests keeping concubines, have been so generally granted. (5.) When their principles do encourage unto such sins. All which I shall make evident in the USE.

3. It is true, that the lewdness of the Popish clergy doth primarily proceed from the wickedness of their own hearts; and it is as true, that their prohibition to marry doth lead unto this lewdness. If a river have but two channels to run in, he that dammeth up and stoppeth the course of the river in one of these channels, may be said to lead the river into the other channel: even so, when the constitution of some men's bodies is such, that their burning desires will have their course and vent, and cannot be quenched except by matrimony or by adultery, either by their own wives or by strange women; such as prohibit marriage, and cut off the use of the only remedy in some persons against adultery or fornication, they do lead hereby unto the practice of these abominable sins, and others as abominable, which are the attendants or consequents of them.

ARG. III. *That doctrine which forbiddeth the marriage of any, that hereby they may merit the kingdom of heaven, is a devilish, wicked doctrine: But the Popish doctrine which forbiddeth the marriage of the clergy, and of all under the celibate vow, forbiddeth the marriage of such, that thereby they may merit the kingdom of heaven.*

This will appear by what Chemnitius doth assert and prove out of their own writings : *Pontificii quando de causâ finali virginitatis, seu cœlibatûs disputant, quo consilio, quo fine, et propter quam causam suscipiendus vel servandus est cœlibatus, palam docent, ideò suscipiendum et servandum esse cœlibatum, quia sit satisfactio pro peccatis, et meritum salutis et vitæ æternæ.* ALBERTUS PIGHIUS in Controversiâ xiv. *De Votis monasticis, exertis verbis dicit : "Illa eligimus eâ opinione et confidentiâ, quia existimamus illis Dei gratiam et benevolentiam promereri." Item monastice assumitur a profitentibus, quia creditur valere ad satisfactionem pro peccatis.* PETRUS A SOTO in Confessione suâ Catholicâ *dicit : "Virginitatem seu cœlibatum, coram Dei tribunali magni meriti, quia sit satisfactio peccatorum maxima et meritum vitæ æternæ."*—CHEMNITII *Examen Conc. Trid.* sess. viii. cap. 1. In quibus Cas. &c., pp. 9, 10. Item, p. 11 : *Fingunt Pontificii se per cœlibatum supe-rerogare ; ideò conjugium vocant statum imperfectionis, cœlibatum verò statum perfectionis ; et propter illam persuasionem sui merita et super-erogationis opera vendunt, communicant, et applicant aliis qui sunt in statu imperfectionis. Hinc Bernhardinus fingit monachos et sanctimoniales substantialibus suis votis, non pro suis tantùm peccatis, verùm etiam pro fundatorum et aliorum benefactorum peccatis satisfacere.* "The Papists," saith he, "when they dispute concerning the final cause of virginity, or the celibate vow, for what end and for what cause it should be taken and kept, they openly teach, that therefore this should be done, because it is satisfaction for sin, and doth merit salvation and eternal life." And he citeth PIGHIUS, saying, "that such vows do merit God's grace and favour, that they are of force to satisfy for sins." And PETRUS A SOTO in these words, "that virginity, or the celibate state, is of great merit before God's tribunal, because it is the greatest satisfaction for sins, and doth merit eternal life." And he telleth us : "The Papists feign, by this celibate state, that they supererogate ; and that therefore they call the conjugal state a 'state of imperfection,' but the celibate state 'a state of perfection ;' and their meritorious works they sell and apply to others." And he citeth Bernhardinus, who doth affirm, "That monks, and others under this celibate vow, do satisfy hereby not only for their own sins, but also for the sins of their founders and other benefactors."

Now the doctrine of merit in man of eternal life is devilish and wicked ; which will necessarily infer that the doctrine which introduceth this, and which propoundeth this as its chief motive and inducement, is devilish and wicked too.

That the doctrine of merit in man of eternal life, is devilish and wicked, I shall show in three propositions :—

1. *It is devilish and wicked to assert, that any really good works which God hath commanded are meritorious of eternal life.*

2. *It is much more devilish and wicked to say, that works of supererogation, such as the Papists make this celibate vow to be, are thus meritorious.*

3. *It is most of all devilish and wicked to assert the celibate vow (which really is, especially to some, a great sin) to be thus meritorious.*

PROPOSITION I. *It is devilish and wicked to assert, that any really good works which God commandeth are meritorious of eternal life ;* because,

1. *This leadeth back unto the covenant of works.*

2. *This proceedeth from ignorance.*
3. *This leadeth unto pride and boasting.*
4. *This casteth a disparagement upon the merits of the Lord Jesus Christ.*

1. *This leadeth back unto the covenant of works, the tenor of which is, "Do this and live."*—Such as hope for life for any really good works which they do, they fall off from the covenant of grace, and they fall back unto the covenant of works, which will prove altogether insufficient for life unto any in their lapsed estate. "If there had been a law given which could have given life, verily righteousness should have been by the law." (Gal. iii. 21.) Therefore such are bewitched by the devil and his instruments, who, forsaking the way of life which God hath appointed by the promises of grace in the gospel, do look for life by any of the works of the law. And hence it is that the apostle, in the beginning of this chapter, doth blame the Galatians for their folly and fascination in their seeking righteousness and life by the merit of any works; and he proveth by several arguments that this was attainable only by faith.

2. *This proceedeth from ignorance.*—Such as hold really good works to be meritorious of eternal life, they are either ignorant of the imperfection of such works, or they are ignorant of God, who requireth the most absolute and exact perfection in the works for the sake of which he will give eternal life. Such as do not see the defects and imperfections of their best works, are unacquainted with themselves, and the strictness of God's law; and they who are without the Spirit to discern this,—their works (whatever they may think of them) are so far from being perfect, that they are not really, spiritually, and acceptably good in the sight of God: and such who imagine a meritoriousness in imperfectly good works, in works mingled with sin, (as the best works of the best men since the fall are,) they are unacquainted with the infinite holiness and righteousness of God, which would engage him to punish the most holy men for the sins of their most holy performances, had they not interest in the perfect righteousness of Christ by faith. But the god of this world (namely, the devil) hath so far blinded the eyes of his children the Papists, as to keep them ignorant both of God and themselves too, in his persuading them that any of their works are meritorious of eternal life.

3. *This leadeth unto pride and boasting.*—"Where is boasting? It is excluded. By what law? of works? Nay: but by the law of faith." (Rom. iii. 27.) "For if Abraham were justified by works, he hath whereof to glory." (Rom. iv. 2.) Such as assert the meritoriousness of life in really good works, they assert justification by such works, there being a concatenation between the one and the other; and hence do arise boasting, and the glorying of pride; which sin being "the condemnation of the devil," he is the great promoter of it and prompter unto it, in his subjects the Papists, by filling them with arrogant thoughts of the meritoriousness of their works, whereby they "sacrifice to their own nets," and rob God of the glory which is due to his name.

4. *This casteth a disparagement upon the merits of the Lord Jesus Christ.*—As if there were either no merit, or but an imperfect merit, of eternal life in his righteousness. If Christ's perfect righteousness be alone meritorious of eternal life and happiness, (as the truth is,) then

there is no need of our righteousness to merit this life; although there be need upon other accounts, namely, by way of gratitude to the Lord, by way of evidence to ourselves of our sincerity, and to prepare us for eternal life. But if our righteousness or good works, however imperfect, are meritorious of eternal life, (as the Papists affirm,) then there is no need of Christ's merit and righteousness; and the Papists could well enough spare him, supposing they might be happy by the merit of their own good works. But I question whether Christ will spare them in another sense, when he cometh to reckon with them for the contumelies and disparagements which they have cast upon his merits by this devilish doctrine concerning the meritoriousness of good works, whereby they gratify the devil, Christ's great enemy, unto the ruin of their own souls. And if it be devilish and wicked to assert the meritoriousness of really good works,

PROP. II. *It is much more devilish and wicked to assert works of super-erogation to be meritorious.*—Works of super-erogation, according to the Papists, are such works which we have no precept for; but for which there are evangelical counsels, in order to the attainment of more than ordinary perfection; and by these works the Papists affirm that a man or woman may merit not only for themselves, but also for others; and such a work they assert this of the celibate vow and state to be. The devilishness of this assertion will appear in that,

1. *There are no such works as works of super-erogation.*—For those works which the Papists so term are either good or evil. *If evil*, they are beneath those which are commanded; *if they are good works*, they are commanded, otherwise they could not be good works, their goodness arising from their conformity to the command. Whatever work transgresseth the command, is sin; whatever work transgresseth not the command, is duty, and so cannot be a work of super-erogation. Unto which argument I may add another,—that if all men fall short of their duty, they cannot do any work of super-erogation, which is more than their duty. The former is so great a truth, that every truly humble Christian will acknowledge: and therefore the latter will follow,—that there can be no works of super-erogation; which none but a proud Papist will assert. What the Papists plead as to evangelical counsels, when they have proved them to be more or other than evangelical commands, some question may be made of the firmness of my argument; but this they will never do.

2. And if there be no such works of super-erogation, be sure *there can be no merit in them; no, not for themselves that do them, and much less for others.*—The scripture is clear against the meritoriousness of all good works which are commanded: "So likewise ye, when ye have done all those things which are commanded you, say, We are unprofitable servants: we have done that which was our duty to do." (Luke xvii. 10.) And if those works which are commanded be not meritorious, much less can those works be meritorious which are not commanded; and if the best works cannot be profitable to ourselves by way of merit, much less can they be profitable by way of merit unto others. I have sometimes wondered that any of the Papists that are learned should be so far befooled and deluded by the devil, as really to believe that there can be

such works of super-erogation, whereby men make God their debtor for more than he doth or can pay to themselves, and therefore that he is obliged to pay it unto others upon their account; the assertion being so horribly impious and absurd, so dishonourable unto God, and so derogatory unto Jesus Christ!

PROP. III. But, thirdly, *It is of all most devilish and wicked to assert the celibate vow and state* (which really is, especially to some, a great sin) *to be meritorious of eternal life.*—I have already proved that it is a sin for any to vow and live in a celibate state, who have not the gift; and yet the Papists, being taught by the devil, do assert that this is meritorious. I grant, indeed, that it is meritorious of eternal death and damnation; but to say it is meritorious of eternal life and salvation, is as much as if they should say that *the wages of sin is eternal life;* which none but the devil can put into the minds of any to imagine, when it is so contrary unto reason, and the express words of the apostle.

ARG. IV. *That doctrine which is a badge or character of Antichrist is a devilish, wicked doctrine: But the Popish doctrine which forbiddeth the marriage of the clergy, and of all under the celibate vow, is a badge or character of Antichrist: Therefore this Popish doctrine is devilish and wicked.*

The badge and character of Antichrist is devilish and wicked; Antichrist being called in scripture, "the wicked one," "the man of sin," "the son of perdition." (2 Thess. ii. 3, 8.) He styleth himself "Christ's vicar," but he is Christ's great antagonist; and though he be called "holy father," by such as are of the Romish church, yet he is indeed the first-born son of the devil. He is called, in regard of his power, "the beast that ascendeth out of the bottomless pit, and goeth into perdition;" (Rev. xvii. 8;) and is described to be "full of names of blasphemy;" (verse 3;) and "his coming" is said to be "after the working of Satan with all power and signs and lying wonders, and with all deceivableness of unrighteousness." (2 Thess. ii. 9, 10.) Antichrist, then, being inspired and acted by the devil, and so fraught with wickedness, that doctrine which is a badge and character of him, must needs be devilish and wicked. Now that this Popish doctrine which forbiddeth the marriage of the clergy, and of all under the celibate vow, is the badge and character of Antichrist, is evident in the text.

As the scripture doth foretell that Antichrist should arise in the latter times, so it doth give several characters whereby Antichrist might be known when he should make his appearance in the world, that the true church of Christ might be aware of him. And as there are several plain characters of Antichrist together in 2 Thess. ii. from the third to the thirteenth verse; so the same apostle doth give several characters of the same Antichrist in the text; all which are applicable unto the Roman Papacy, or church of Rome, as I have shown in the explication of the text; amongst which characters this is one,—that it forbiddeth to marry. The reply of Popish writers unto this text, is this, that "the prohibition of marriage here spoken of is the prohibition of *all* marriage, whereas they do not forbid all marriage; and that the apostle hath here a respect unto the Manichees, who condemned marriage itself." For answer unto which, 1. There is no such thing in the text as prohibition of *all* marriage; and it is certain that such who forbid the marriage of some do forbid to marry. 2. St. Austin telleth us, that the Manichees did not forbid the marriage of all. They allowed the marriage of them which they called "auditors," although not the marriage of them which they called "elect;" therefore by all that the Papists can say, they cannot stave-off this character of Antichrist from the Roman Papacy.

This shall suffice for the proof, that the Popish doctrine, which forbiddeth to marry, is devilish and wicked.

III. The third thing I am to do, is *to answer the Popish arguments which they bring to prove the unlawfulness of the marriage of the clergy, and such who are under the celibate vow.*

Argument i. Their first argument is drawn from the uncleanness which they affirm to be contracted by marriage; such as the clergy, and all who are more immediately devoted unto God, must abstain from. This they endeavour to prove, 1. By the Levitical uncleanness, which we read of, Lev. xv.; and the speech of Abimelech unto David, 1 Sam. xxi. 4. 2. Such as are married, they say, "are in the flesh," therefore unclean, and so "cannot please God." (Rom. viii. 8.) 3. They argue, that if such as would "give themselves to prayer and fasting," must abstain for a while; (1 Cor. vii. 5;) and that because of the uncleanness herein; then ministers "who give themselves wholly to the ministry of the word, and to prayer," (Acts vi. 4,) must abstain altogether; and therefore they ought not to marry, because of the uncleanness they will hereby contract, which is unbeseeming their sacred function.

Answer 1. There is no uncleanness or unholiness in marriage itself, or in any use thereof; which is evident, because marriage was instituted in Paradise, in the state of man's innocency; and marriage, being God's ordinance, must needs be holy, because all God's ordinances are so. Moreover, the scripture calleth marriage "honourable in all," where "the bed is undefiled" by adultery. (Heb. xiii. 4.) And if "marriage be honourable in all," then it is holy, (for every sin is dishonourable,) and therefore it is not unbeseeming the most sacred function. When the apostle doth exhort, "that every one should know how to possess his vessel in sanctification and honour," it is not by abstaining from marriage, but by "abstaining from fornication." (1 Thess. iv. 3, 4.) Adultery and fornication, indeed, do both wound and stain the spirit, as well as pollute the body; but there is a real innocency, holiness, and chastity in marriage, and the use of it according unto God's ordinance.

2. The Papists will find it difficult to prove that there was ever any Levitical uncleanness by the use of marriage; that scripture in Lev. xv. speaking of something else, as will appear unto such as read and seriously weigh the place. What they urge from Abimelech's speech unto David, will appear not to be uncleanness by the lawful use of marriage; for then it would have been unlawful for the married priests continually to eat of the hallowed bread, which who will say they were not allowed to do? But Abimelech's speech was either concerning the unlawful use of women, or of their coming near their wives in the time of their separation. But, beside this and more which might be said, did not modesty forbid, if the Papists could prove Levitical uncleanness to have

been herein, which they cannot do; yet what can thence be argued, the Levitical law being now abrogated? Can they say, that which rendered the Jews in those days *legally* unclean, doth now render Christians *morally* unclean? May we not from hence argue for the marriage of ministers, rather than find any show of argument against their marriage? For if the priests, notwithstanding this Levitical uncleanness, which the Papists do here understand, did marry without sin; how much more may ministers without sin now marry, when all Levitical uncleannesses are at an end!

3. It is a gross misinterpretation of Rom. viii. 8, to apply it unto married persons, as if they were the persons spoken of by the apostle "that are in the flesh," and "cannot please God." Who will or can, upon scripture-grounds, say, that all married Christians, though never so holy and unblamable in their conversation, "are in the flesh?" Can none please God that are married? Hence then it will follow, that no married persons can be saved; because none "in the flesh," none that do "not please God," shall attain his salvation. But, surely, the Papists will not damn all married persons: however they may deal with ours, surely they will spare their own.

4. As to their inference from 1 Cor. vii. 5,—because such as would "give themselves to fasting and prayer," must abstain for a while, therefore ministers must abstain from marriage altogether, is such a *non-sequitur*, ["false conclusion,"] as the Schools will hiss at. (1.) The apostle maketh no such inference all along the chapter against the marriage of ministers; but, on the contrary, prescribeth marriage as the duty of all who cannot contain. (2.) There is a great difference between the abstaining which the apostle speaketh of, and the not marrying which the Papists plead for: although the apostle exhorts married persons to separate themselves by consent for a time, that they might "give themselves unto fasting and prayer;" yet, in the same verse and breath, he bids them to "come *soon* together again," lest Satan should "tempt them for their incontinency." And who can rationally infer hence the duty of ministers to abstain from marriage? (3.) The fasting and prayer here spoken of, which calls for married persons' abstaining, it is fasting and prayer upon some extraordinary occasion, either public or private, when "the bridegroom is to go forth of his chamber, and the bride out of her closet," as in Joel ii. 16; and not of ordinary prayer and seeking of God. And unless ministers were always to be engaged in solemn fasting and prayer, there is no show of reason why from this place they should be obliged not to marry. And why may not the Papists as well argue, "Because married persons are to abstain from eating, that they may 'give themselves to fasting and prayer;' therefore there is uncleanness and evil in eating; and that ministers who are to 'give themselves unto the ministry of the word and prayer,' ought to abstain from eating altogether?" For this will follow as well as the other.

ARG. II. The second Popish argument is drawn from 1 Cor. vii. 1, "It is good for a man not to touch a woman;" and, verse 8, "I say therefore unto the unmarried and widows, It is good for them if they abide even as I." If it be good for the unmarried and widows to abide in a single estate like unto the apostle, then, say they, it is evil for such to marry; and therefore the clergy should abstain from this evil.

ANSWER 1. If it were an evil of sin for the unmarried and widows to marry, then it would not only be unlawful for the clergy and all under the celibate vow to marry, but it would be unlawful for any Christians whatsoever to marry; because all ought to abhor, refrain, and flee from that which is an evil of sin; and where is the concernment of ministers, more than others, in this scripture?

2. That may be good for some, which is evil for others. A single estate may be good and best for such as have the gift of continency, and are persuaded in their heart that in this estate they may most glorify God; whereas this estate may be evil for such as are without this gift, or in likelihood may most glorify God in a married estate.

3. It may be good at some time not to marry; namely, in the time of the church's persecution; and all that have the gift at such a time, should choose the celibate estate, that they might be the more ready both to do and suffer for Christ, and be the more free from temptations to apostasy. And the most that can be said of the good here spoken of, is, that it is the good of *conveniency*, not the good of *absolute duty;* unto which is opposed the evil of *inconveniency*, not the evil of *sin*. Indeed, it is an evil of inconveniency, and an aggravation of calamity, to be married in times of persecution; for, "such," saith the apostle, in verse 28 of this chapter, "shall have trouble," that is, greater trouble than others, "in the flesh." But it is the duty of all to make choice rather of this evil of greater trouble and inconveniency, than to expose themselves unto the evil of sin by uncleanness and incontinency.

4. The apostle is so far from asserting it to be an evil of sin for any in the worst of times to marry, that he asserteth the quite contrary when there is a necessity for it: "If need so require, let him do what he will, he sinneth not: let them marry;" (verse 36;) and, verse 38, "So then he that giveth her in marriage doeth well." It is plain, then, by all to be seen, that the Popish argument from this place is frivolous, and that it carrieth no shadow of good consequence in it against the marriage of the clergy.

ARG. III. The third Popish argument is drawn from 1 Cor. vii. 32—34: "But I would have you without carefulness. He that is unmarried careth for the things that belong to the Lord, how he may please the Lord: but he that is married careth for the things that are of the world, how he may please his wife. There is a difference also between a wife and a virgin. The unmarried woman careth for the things of the Lord, how she may be holy both in body and spirit: but she that is married careth for the things of the world, how she may please her husband." The argument from hence, in reference unto ministers, is this: Ministers, above all others, are warned to take heed of entangling themselves with the affairs and cares of this life; (2 Tim. ii. 4;) and being devoted unto the Lord more immediately by the office of their ministry, they ought always "to care for the things which belong to the Lord, how they may please the Lord." And because marriage doth engage in the former, and taketh off from the latter, as this text doth intimate, therefore they ought to refrain [from] marriage.

ANSWER 1. It is not universally true, that all who are "unmarried do care for the things which belong to the Lord, how they may please the Lord," and that hereby they are taken off from minding and caring for the things of the world. As to the latter, who intermeddle more with secular affairs than many of the Popish unmarried clergy? Why do any of them exercise temporal jurisdiction, if their celibate state be in order to free them from worldly cares and business? As to the former, if so be that adultery, fornication, murder, sodomitical uncleanness, and other vile practices be pleasing to the Lord, there are and have been many popes and Popish bishops, many priests, Jesuits, friars, and other unmarried persons under the celibate vow among the Papists, that with great industry have "cared for the things which belong unto the Lord, how they may please the Lord," as I shall make evident in the USE. But hereby they will be found to have taken care not only of the things of the world, but of the things of the flesh, how they may please the flesh; and the things of the devil, how they may please the devil, whose servants and children they are.

2. Neither, secondly, is it universally true, that such as "are married do care for the things of the world" chiefly, so as to neglect the things of God; as instance may be given in the holiness of many married persons, which the scripture doth take notice of. It is said, that "Enoch walked with God after he begat Methuselah three hundred years, and begat sons and daughters." (Gen. v. 22.) Abraham, who is called "the friend of God;" Moses, unto whom the Lord "spake face to face;" Samuel, who was so highly in favour with God; David, who was "a man after God's own heart;" Isaiah, Ezekiel, and almost all the prophets, were married persons: and we hardly read of any in the Old Testament that were famous for integrity and zeal for God, but they were such as were married. I have also given instance already in the New-Testament times of married apostles; and did not they care for the things that belonged to the Lord, how they might please the Lord? And how many ministers are there now in the conjugal state, as eminent as any others whatsoever for their holy and strict lives! Will not many of them say, that their wives have been so far from engaging and entangling them in worldly cares, that, on the contrary, they have proved real helpers of them, and have taken off, in a great measure, the burden of those worldly cares which lay more heavy upon them in their single estate?

3. It is granted that marriage is oftentimes an occasion of more worldly care than a single estate; and that single persons, who really are endowed with the gift of continency, have ordinarily the advantage of most freedom from perplexing trouble and thoughtfulness about the world, and for attending upon the Lord with the least distraction. Yet such single persons as are without the gift, are exposed unto more distraction, and, that which is worse, unto so much sin, such burnings of lustful desires, that they cannot attend upon the Lord acceptably, without the use of the remedy which God hath provided against incontinency.

4. Men may "care for the things that belong unto the world" *moderately*, and labour to please their wives in the Lord *subordinately*,

and not transgress the bounds of their duty; (yea, to neglect this would be their sin;) and yet at the same time they may "care for the things that belong to the Lord, how they may please the Lord" *chiefly:* for if the one had been inconsistent with the other, the apostle would have forbidden marriage absolutely, it being the absolute indispensable duty of all, and necessary unto salvation, that they labour *chiefly* to please the Lord. But the apostle professeth the contrary, that "concerning virgins he had no command from the Lord," (verse 25,) that is, to forbid them from the Lord to marry; but in case of necessity he lets them know that marriage was their duty. Yet, because both men and women are more prone to exceed the bounds as to worldly cares and distraction in God's service when married, especially when full of children, and little in the world to provide for them, or in a time of persecution, than in the single estate, endowed with the gift; therefore he doth express himself thus as we read in the scripture urged. But none can infer hence, that it is the will of the Lord that ministers should not marry, who—though they be devoted to the service of God more immediately, and ought always to care for the things that belong to the Lord, above all others to please him—may do this in a married estate, as hath been shown: and if there be any argument in it against marriage, it is an argument against the marriage of all Christians, rather than against the marriage particularly of ministers; the persons the apostle writing unto, and unto whom he gives the advice in this chapter, being not ministers, but ordinary Christians amongst the Corinthians. The uttermost that can be argued from this place in reference unto ministers, is, that such of them as are unmarried, and have the gift of continency, in the time of the church's persecution, or in such circumstances of their condition in the world, that by marriage they are likely to be plunged and encumbered with more worldly cares and distraction, and to be less serviceable unto the Lord in a married estate than they are in the single;—that in such a case they ought to continue single, so long as God doth continue the gift unto them. But this is no argument for the Popish forbidding the marriage of the whole clergy.

ARG. IV. The fourth Popish argument is drawn from 1 Tim. v. 11, 12: "But the younger widows refuse: for when they have begun to wax wanton against Christ, they will marry; having damnation, because they have cast off their first faith." Now the interpretation of and the arguings of the Papists from this scripture, may run thus: 1. That there was a society of widows maintained by the church, more immediately devoted unto God, who were to continue in supplications and prayers night and day; (as verse 5;) and that these widows were under a vow to continue in their single estate unto their lives' end, that they might be the more fit for their employment; and this vow was "their first faith," spoken of, verse 12, because they entered into this vow when they were first admitted into this society. 2. That such widows as after this vow did marry,—they "waxed wanton" hereby from Christ, and "had damnation" upon the account of their "casting-off this their first faith," or breaking their celibate vow. 3. That if widows, then virgins too, might be gathered into societies to sequester themselves from all worldly affairs, for the more immediate service of God, and enter into the same celibate vow. 4. That the clergy of all ranks being by their office devoted more immediately unto God, they ought to enter into the celibate vow, which they impose upon all in their admission into sacred functions. 5. That all who have made this celibate vow, if afterward they attempt to marry, —they incur the penalty not only of deprivation from men, but also of eternal damnation from God.

ANSWER 1. We grant that there was in the primitive times a number of widows devoted more immediately unto the service of God, whom the church did maintain, and who were to be qualified according to what the apostle doth mention, verses 9, 10.

2. It is as easy for us to deny, as for them to affirm, that these widows did enter into a celibate vow upon their first admission into this number; this scripture making no mention of any such vow, and therefore they can never prove it.

3. By the "first faith" here spoken of, it is more rational to understand it not of any celibate vow, but of their vow in baptism, (which is the first faith of Christians,) whereby they were devoted unto the fear and service of the Lord all their days; and this, by their wantonness from Christ, or lascivious practices, and turning aside after Satan, spoken of, verse 15, they did cast off; and for this they had damnation.

4. We deny that the sin of these widows lay in their marrying, but in their wantonness and breach of faith with Christ; otherwise the apostle would not have given direction that these "younger women" (although received into this number) should "marry, bear children, guide the house, and give no occasion" (through wantonness) "to the adversary to speak reproachfully," as he doth, verse 14. That the apostle speaketh of younger women of the number, it is evident, because he saith that some of them had "waxen wanton from Christ, had cast off their first faith, had turned aside after Satan;" and therefore he doth direct concerning the rest of the younger women, to prevent these evils, that they should marry: and surely he would not have directed them to this, had it been a sin, and had their marriage itself been a casting-off of their first faith.

5. If we should suppose (although we do not grant) that by "the first faith" is meant a celibate vow; yet it doth not follow from hence, that either virgins or younger widows have leave from God to enter into such a vow: for the apostle doth straitly charge, that no widow for the future should be admitted into this number under threescore years old, at which years there is no such danger of their falling into wanton practices; (verse 9;) and "younger widows" he would have refused. (Verse 11.) And what plea then can there be from hence for the society of nuns, and their celibate vows, when most of them are young at their first admission?

6. And if there can be from this place no good plea for younger women to enter into celibate vows, much less can there be any hence for the celibate vows of the clergy.

7. Therefore it is sinful for any, especially younger men or women, to make celibate vows, when such vows may not be in their own power to keep; and such who have rashly made them, it is a greater sin for them to keep, when they have not the gift of continency, than to break them

by holy wedlock, which they may do without the penalty of eternal damnation.

ARG. V. The fifth and last Popish argument is drawn from authority. Bellarmine, after sufficient weakness betrayed in his scripture-proofs, doth annex, 1. The testimony of divers councils, Eastern, African, Italian, French, Spanish, and German. 2. The testimony of divers popes or bishops of Rome. 3. The testimony of divers fathers, both Greek and Latin. Should I repeat all which he maketh these to speak, I should weary both myself and the reader; and how infirm his argumentation is from hence, will appear in the answer.

ANSWER 1. It is well known by those that are versed in councils, and have written on this subject, that the councils of Ancyra, Nice, Gangra, and Trull, (the most ancient which Bellarmine and other Papists do cite,) do not really favour this Popish doctrine. One canon of the council of Ancyra hath this passage in it: *Διακονοι ὁσοι καθιστανται, &c.* "All deacons that are established in their charges, if they have declared that they have need to marry, and cannot remain as they are, let them remain in their service after they are married." And let any judge whether this could be consistent with a general prohibition of the marriage of the clergy. The council of Nice indeed did decree, "That no bishop, presbyter, or deacon, should have any women in their houses except mother, sister, or aunt;" "therefore they were prohibited," saith Bellarmine, "the having wives, and so ought not to marry:" whereas it is evident unto all that are unbiassed by prejudice, and make an impartial search into the records of that council, that this prohibition did not shut out the wives, but unmarried associates, from the houses of ecclesiastics that were single, for the prevention of scandal by fornication, which single persons living together, especially in their youth and privacy, might be tempted unto.

Let us see what Socrates in his "Ecclesiastical History" doth relate concerning the transactions of this council about this point: which we shall find to this purpose: "Some would have brought-in a new law, to forbid the clergy to cohabit with their wives; but Paphnutius, a confessor, and although unmarried himself, stood up and vehemently cried out, that marriage was honourable, congress with the wife chaste, and therefore did counsel them not to lay such a heavy yoke upon persons in holy orders which they could not bear, and hereby give occasion both to them and their wives to live incontinently. Upon which speech of Paphnutius, the council did both approve and praise his sentence, made no such law, but left it to every man's liberty to do what he would in that point."—SOCRATES, lib. i. cap. 11. SOZOM. lib. i. cap. 23. Here we see that this law (now established amongst the Papists) is called "a new law," it was never enacted before, and it was only a law which some would have brought in, and therefore was not enacted then: it was called "a heavy yoke," and, not being found by that council to be Christ's yoke, it was laid aside. The council of Gangra (all whose canons the council of Trull doth approve of) hath this canon: *Ει τις διακρινοιτο, &c.* "If any make a difference of a married priest, as if none ought to partake of the oblation when he doeth the service, let him be anathema." I might give other instances of passages in other councils, which Bellarmine doth make mention of, to show how he doth corrupt many of their sayings in favour of this doctrine; but I refer the learned reader unto Chamier's answer, and to Junius's "Animadversions upon Bellarmine's Controversies." It is most certain, (if history may be believed,) that the most ancient and most authentic councils, according to their most authentic copies, did never (like the Papists) forbid the marriage of the clergy, whatever some of them may seem to do in the corrupt translations of them and false glosses upon them by the Papists. The canons of some particular councils, or rather Popish synods, of latter date, are of no great signification in the proof of this point.

2. The testimonies which Bellarmine bringeth of popes, or the bishops of Rome, carry no weight. It is acknowledged by the most, that pope Syricius first did forbid the marriage of the clergy; but what he did was very unjust. Hear what Junius doth say of it: *Syricius contra verbum Dei et jus naturale ipsum voluit istud cœlibatûs jugum ecclesiasticis imponere, et juris ignorantiâ, et superstitiosâ cacozeliâ.* "Syricius, against the word of God, and the law of nature itself, would needs lay the celibate law upon ecclesiastics through ignorance and superstitious zeal." I shall readily grant, that the bishops of Rome, especially of latter years since the apostasy of that church unto heresy, antichristianism, and idolatry, have been generally against the marriage of the clergy. But wherefore hath this been? Not out of true zeal for chastity, and the purity of all in sacred orders, as is pretended; but out of carnal policy, for the enriching of their church hereby, and the preserving of its revenues, which might be too profusely expended and alienated in the providing for wife and children.

3. The testimonies which are brought out of ancient fathers for the most part are either corrupted, or they do not militate against the marriage, but against the incontinency, of the clergy; and the purity which the fathers speak of, as requisite in persons of that function, is as well consistent with a married as with a single estate, and more ordinarily to be found in the former than in the latter. But if some of the fathers were against the marriage of ecclesiastics, this doth not prove the unlawfulness of such marriages, unless it could be proved to be so by the word of God; and this the Papists can never prove unto such who do look into the scriptures with an unprejudiced mind, when they are so plain and clear for the universal lawfulness of marriage without any particular exceptions.

IV. USES.

USE I. Here you may see the devilish wickedness of the church of Rome: it would both spend too much time, and carry me beside my purpose too far, to set forth the wickedness of this apostate church in the full latitude thereof. I shall only speak of the wickedness which this doctrine, that forbiddeth to marry, is the occasion of. There are three woful effects which this wicked, devilish doctrine hath produced: 1. *Wicked indulgences of their popes.* 2. *Wicked principles of their Jesuits.* 3. *Wicked practices both of their popes and others under the celibate vow.*

1. The popes or bishops of Rome, however severe against the marriage of their clergy, yet *they have given indulgences for whoredom,*

sodomy, and such-like most foul abominations.—Hear the complaints as well as acknowledgments of Espencæus, a writer of their own. *(De Continentia*, lib. ii. cap. 7.) His words are these: *Pro puro mundoque cœlibatu successit impurus et immundus concubinatus; ut quod eleganter* "*de persecutione*," cap. 29, *conquerebatur D. Bernardus, latere, nec præ multitudine queat, nec præ impudentiâ quærat. Hæc, inquam, tolerantia altius radices egit, permissis alicubi sub annuo censu clericis atque laicis cum suis concubinis cohabitare: Quod utinam falso et immerito extaret inter Gravamina Germaniæ; adeòque etiam continentibus ad omnem censum persolvendum coactis, quo soluto iis liceret, vel continentibus vel incontinentibus esse. O rem execrandam!* "Instead of the pure and clean celibate, there hath succeeded an impure and unclean concubinate; which, as Bernard elegantly complaineth in his twenty-ninth chapter *concerning persecution*, neither can be concealed, it is so frequent, neither doth seek to be concealed, it is so impudent. This toleration or indulgence hath got firm footing, both the clergy as well as laity having permission given unto them to cohabit with their concubines, upon the payment of a yearly sum of money. And I wish that these things were falsely and undeservedly extant amongst the Grievances of Germany, who complain that even such as are continent are forced to pay the annual rent; which being paid, they are at their own choice whether they will contain or not, whether they will have a concubine, otherwise called 'a whore,' or not. O execrable wickedness!" And the same author in his comment upon Titus, doth further acknowledge in these words: *Episcopi, archidiaconi, et officiales plerunque dum diœceses et parœcias obequitant, non tam facinorosos et criminum reos pœnis et correctionibus a vitiis deterrent, quàm pecuniâ emungunt et exugunt tum clericos, tum laicos; et hos cum concubinis, pellicibus, et meretriculis cohabitare, liberosque procreare sinunt, accepto ab iis certo quotannis censu, atque adeò alicubi accipiunt a continentibus; habeat (aiunt) si velit, et quoties enim quisque talis (cùm tales tamen tam multi sunt) hodie aliter punitur?* "Bishops, archdeacons, and officials, do ride about their diocesses and parishes for the most part, not to deter the wicked by corrections and punishments from their vice, but to draw out and defraud both clergy and laity of their money; whom, upon the payment of a yearly revenue, they permit to cohabit with concubines and whores, and to procreate children. And this revenue they receive in some places of the continent: 'For he may have a concubine or whore,' (say they,) 'if he please.' And how often are such priests as keep whores (although so many) punished otherwise?" There is a book lately published by Anthony Egans, B.D., late confessor-general of the kingdom of Ireland, and now minister of the gospel according to the Reformed religion. The title of it is this: "The Book of Rates now used in the Sin-Custom-House of the Church and Court of Rome, containing the Bulls, Dispensations, and Pardons for all manner of Villanies and Wickedness, with the several Sums of Moneys given and to be paid for them." In page 13 there are these dispensations for priests and others under the celibate vow: "A priest or friar having lain or carnally sinned with a woman of whatsoever sort or degree, whether a nun, or kinswoman, or a relation, or with any other whether married or single, whether within the bounds or cloisters of his monastery, or elsewhere, whether the absolution be made in the name of the clergy or no, it gives him power to exercise his function, and to hold his livings, and that together with the inhibitory clause, he paying £36. 9*s*. 6*d*. And if beside this there be an absolution for buggery, or for unnatural sin committed with brute beasts, a dispensation, together with the inhibitory clause, will come to £90. 12*s*. 1*d*. A simple absolution for the sin of buggery or the sin contrary to nature, that is to say, with brute beasts, together with a dispensation, and the inhibitory clause, is £36. 9*s*. A nun having played the whore very often, *aut intra aut extra septa monasterii*, 'within or without the bounds of the monastery,' is to be absolved and rehabilitated to hold the dignity of her order for £36. 9*s*. An absolution for one that keeps a whore at bed and board, with a dispensation to hold a benefice, is £4. 5*s*. 6*d*." Prideaux telleth us of pope Sixtus IV. that "he made a grant unto the cardinal of Lucia to use unnatural lusts for three months in the year, namely, June, July, and August." But whether the cardinal had the dispensation gratis, or paid a sum of money for it, the author doth not relate. This is that pope who built a stews at Rome of his own cost; and well might he do it, when the popes do receive such revenues from such base houses. See CORNELIUS AGRIPPA, *De Vanitate Scientiarum*, cap. 64. "Lycurgus and Solon," saith he, "those Heathen lawgivers, erected public stews: but that is no marvel; for of late years pope Sixtus IV. builded a goodly stews in Rome. The Corinthians, Cyprians, and Babylonians did increase their revenue by the gain of stews, which in Italy also at this day is no unusual matter; for whores of Rome do pay weekly to the pope a julio, the whole revenue whereof in the year doth often exceed twenty thousand ducats." Hence it is that one of their poets doth complain,

Roma ipsa, lupanar
Reddita, nunc facta est toto execrabilis orbe;

that "Rome was become a brothel-house, and grown execrable throughout the whole world."

The pope, indeed, will not allow of marriage in his clergy; but by his indulgences he doth make provision for their flesh, that they may fulfil their lusts by fornications and all manner of uncleannesses, which may bring-in filthy lucre into his coffers.

Thus concerning the wicked indulgences of the pope.

2. *The wicked principles of the Jesuits* is another effect of this Popish doctrine which forbiddeth to marry.—The Jesuitical doctors pretend to more sanctity, learning, and subtilty than others. Let us see what some of their principles be, and positions, in their stating of cases of conscience concerning uncleannesses. I shall refer the reader only unto a book called "the Mystery of Jesuitism;" see vol. i. p. 147. Father Bauny hath this assertion, as it is cited out of his *Theolog. Mor.* trac. 4, *De pœnit.*, p. 94: "It is lawful for all persons of all qualities and conditions to go into the places of common prostitution, there to convert sinful women, although it be very probable that they will commit the sin there themselves; nay, haply though they have found by frequent experience that they are drawn into sin by the sight and insinuations of those women." Who seeth not that this assertion doth give encourage-

ment unto the unmarried Popish clergy to run upon occasions and manifest temptations unto the sin of filthy fornication? For who are more fit, may they think, to convert those sinful women, than ecclesiastical persons? But for such to go into places of common prostitution to do it, is both scandalous for any, especially for ministers, and dangerous lest themselves be entangled and defiled hereby. But the Jesuit telleth us, they may venture into such places, although it be probable they will [be], and though they have been often, drawn into that foul sin hereby; and what is it that they can plead for the lawfulness of such practice? It is only this,—their directing their intention to convert sinful women. And may they run into their embraces that they may convert them? May they venture upon a probability of being drawn by them unto this sin, that without any probability of success they may draw them from it? And when they have been often enticed and overcome, may they put their foot again into the snare? Are such likely to persuade others to repentance and chastity, who have been often unclean in such places themselves? But let us see further what others of their doctors say. In the *Additionale*, page 96, Escobar doth assert, that "a man who hath the reputation of being extremely given to women, doth not commit any mortal sin in soliciting a woman to condescend unto his desires, when he doth not intend to put his design in execution." This doctor goeth a step further: the former giveth allowance to go into places of common prostitution, so that the intention be the conversion of sinful women; and this telleth us that it is no mortal sin to solicit women to be naught, if a man can but hold off his intention from the thing. But who is there that is extremely addicted to women, and doth solicit, though he doth not actually intend the thing till he knows the mind of the party, but, if there be a compliance, that will forbear and withdraw himself, as Joseph from his mistress? May lecherous Mass-priests solicit women to lewdness without mortal sin? Who can deny this to be devilish, wicked doctrine? But although the Jesuits' principles do lead their clergy to fornication and adultery, yet they would have them cautious that such impure facts of theirs may not be known. *Si non castè, tamen cautè:* "If they do not live chastely, they would have them sin warily;" and therefore they allow most horrid wickedness for the concealing [of] such shame. Page 19, Caramuel asserteth, in his *Fund. Theolog.* fund. 55, sect. vii., that "it is doubtful whether a religious man, having made use of a woman, may not kill her if she offer to discover what passed between them." This doctor doth make a doubt whether it be not lawful for their priests to commit murder that they may conceal their adultery. But what, if the woman the priest is naught withal be a wife, and she reveal nothing, but her husband cometh unawares upon them, and discovereth the fact? See what Escobar saith in such a case, cited, page 94, out of his *Tract. Theol.* tract. 4, exam. 6, cap. 5: "An ecclesiastic surprised in adultery, if he kill the woman's husband whom he hath abused, in his own defence, is not for that irregular." Here the doctor doth favour, not only the murder of the wife if she reveal, but also the murder of the husband if he resist; and although the marriage of ecclesiastics doth make them irregular, yet their adulteries and murders do not so, but they may, according to these principles, continue in their function, notwithstanding such horrid abominations. You see what provisions the Jesuits make for themselves and others of the Romish clergy, for their encouragement, reputation, and safety in their practice of the sin of adultery.

But do they take no care for the poor forlorn nuns, who are mewed * up in cloisters, and are under the same celibate vow with themselves? The great danger is, when the priests and Jesuits come amongst them, of their proving with child, and so of their discovering their own shame. Is there no provision in this case? Yes; these kind fathers have a principle which may be of use to such, to encourage them with a *non-obstante* to this danger unto lewd embraces. See *Addit.* p. 19: Ægidius Trullench. *in Decal.* tom. 5, lib. 5, cap. 1, asserteth, that "it is lawful to procure abortion before the child be quick in the womb, to save a maid's life or reputation."

I shall add but one position more concerning the liberty which the Jesuits give unto the most impure persons to communicate immediately upon their confession. Page 88, Mascarennas, tract. 4, *De Sacr. Eucharist.* disp. 5, cap. 7, doth assert, "that either a secular person, or a priest, being fallen into any kind of impurity whatsoever, nay, though such as are against nature, may, without so much as the least venial sin, (nay, are to be commended for it if they do,) communicate the very same day after they have made confession thereof; that the confessor ought to advise his penitent to receive the eucharist the very same day that he is fallen into such crimes; and that the vow or resolution any one might have made not to come to the Lord's table in that condition, was null." Thus if the Jesuits acknowledge that a wound and defilement is contracted by some grosser impieties and impurities; yet they can, according to their principles, quickly lick themselves whole by their confessions, and wash themselves clean by their communicating: and what is this but an abominable profaning and polluting of the holy sacrament, and an opening a wide door to all manner of licentiousness? The harlot could say unto the young man, "This day have I paid my vows;" (Prov. vii. 14;) and so she was fitted for her wickedness. And if unmarried ecclesiastics, by confession and communicating, can so easily wipe off their guilt and filth, what encouragement must this needs give them to return presently again "with the dog to his vomit, and with the sow that is washed to her wallowing in the mire!" That the Jesuits are not belied by the author of "the Mystery of Jesuitism," in these and other gross principles and assertions which they hold, may easily be known by such as will consult their books in print, out of which they are extracted. I confess, I have not consulted all of them, not having them by me; but, having perused his citations of Escobar, whom I have, and finding him faithful there, I doubt not but he is faithful in the rest.

3. *The wicked practices both of popes and others under the celibate vow*, is another woful effect of this Popish doctrine which forbiddeth to marry.—And here I may well premise, that many thousand lewdnesses and foul abominations are and have been committed by Popish votaries so secretly, that they never saw the light, neither have come abroad unto

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* From the Icelandic *miove*, "to coop or pent up," says Serenius.—EDIT.

the notice of the world, these works being works of darkness which fly the light, and shroud themselves, as closely as may be, in dark corners, those who are guilty endeavouring all they can to conceal their filthiness; which, however, at the last day of revelation both of men's sins and God's judgments, will be made known and exposed to the view both of men and angels, when the Lord "will bring to light the hidden works of darkness, and make manifest all the counsels of the heart." (1 Cor. iv. 5.) Yet the wickedness of some popes and their clergy in this kind, hath been so notorious, that their own historians have not thought fit to be altogether silent herein; and, as was said before, "their lewdness could not be concealed, it was so frequent; neither in many did it seek to be concealed, it was so impudent." It would spend more time than we have to be together (yea, although we should stay here on this long summer's day till dark night) to enumerate the instances that might be given of the uncleannesses of ecclesiastics in the church of Rome. I shall mention only a few of the most remarkable amongst many others; and begin with the viciousness and filthiness of the popes, whose title of Holiness, and severity against matrimony, and imposing the celibate vow upon others, one would think, should oblige themselves unto more than ordinary mortification of fleshly lusts, and exemplary chastity. But we shall find, by search into the history of the popes' lives, that they have generally been exceeding faulty as to women, and all sorts of filthy lusts. Platina doth complain, that riches had made the church wanton, and vice had no restraint.

Pope Sergius III. had his sweetheart Marozia, that famous strumpet, who was the mistress of his affections, and had no small government in the church; of whom, in wicked adultery, as Luitprandus doth record, he begat John XI., who afterward, by his mother's means, got the Popedom. Baronius doth acknowledge that in those days the power of harlots did so far prevail, that they both removed popes rightly appointed, and also thrust-in violent and wicked men into their room, at their pleasure. By this Marozia's means also it was that Octavianus (son to Albericus) obtained the Popedom, called John XII.; who, as Baronius doth relate, amongst other wickednesses, was accused in a synod for abusing the widow of Rainerius, for his filthiness with Stephana, his father's concubine, with Anna a widow and her niece. This is that pope who castrated divers of his cardinals, because they favoured Otho the Great: but if himself had been so served before he was made pope, possibly he might have been more chaste. And yet, whatever liberty this pope took himself to commit fornication and adultery, he would not give liberty for marriage to his clergy, which God doth allow; for he sends over an inhibition against priests' marriage into England, which at that time caused no small stir. At length the hand of God was remarkable in the cutting-off [of] this pope; for, being taken one night in adultery with another man's wife, he received such a wound in his temples, that within the space of eight days after he died of it.

Pope Gregory VII., saith Prideaux, had his minion Matilda, who left her own husband, to live with this holy father. This is that Gregory who caused the emperor Henry IV., with his empress and son, to come bare-footed in the cold winter to his castle at Cannucium, and there to wait three days fasting before he could have audience, which at length was obtained by the mediation of Madam Matilda.

Platina doth relate that in pope Honorius II.'s time, one Arnulphus was put to death at Rome for his bitter inveighing against the pomp, luxury, and lasciviousness of the clergy, before whom he propounded the poverty of Christ, and his integrity of life, for their imitation. It was from this pope that John Cremensis was sent over legate into England, to dissolve the priests' marriages; but in the great heat of his urging his commission, he was found in bed with a whore. Good man! he would have all to live chastely without wives and matrimony, and he came over from Rome to show them an example.

Pope Martin IV. kept the concubine of his predecessor Nicolas, and removed all bears from his palace, lest the beholding of them should cause his sweetheart to bring forth a bear; so fearful was he, that his brutish lust would produce a brutish offspring.

Pope Benedict XII. is recorded to have bought a beautiful young woman of her brother with a great sum of money, that he might make use of her.

Pope Sixtus IV. before-mentioned, who built the stews at Rome, and allowed unnatural lusts to the cardinal, would not wholly deny himself, especially in those lusts which are more natural; for he had his concubine Tyresia, for whom he provided shoes covered with pearls.

Pope Innocent VIII. had many base children, gave a great dowry with his daughter Theodorina. Mantuan hath these verses on him:

Octo Nocens pueros genuit, totidemque puellas;
Hunc meritò poteris dicere, Roma, patrem.

The signification of which is, that "this Nocent (not Innocent) person, had begotten eight boys, and as many girls, and therefore deserved the name of *a father*." But I suppose none, except the Papists, will say that he was a "holy father."

Pope Alexander VI. did succeed him in the Papacy, and his history doth record that he exceeded him in lewdness and adultery; on whose daughter there are these verses:

Hic jacet in tumulo Lucretia nomine, sed re
Thais, Alexandri filia, sponsa, nurus.

"Lucrece by name here lies, but Thais in life,
Pope Alexander's child, spouse, and son's wife."

This pope had two bastards,—a son, and this daughter Lucretia, whom he married unto this son, and afterwards abused her himself; and it is storied of him, that, to complete his other wickednesses, he gave himself unto the devil.

Pope Julius II. was not much better, who abused two ingenuous youths sent by the queen of France to be bred in Italy.

Pope Clement VII. was so infamous, that, because of his own lewdness and that of his court, this distich was written:

Roma, vale! Vidi; satis est vidisse: revertar
Cùm leno, aut meretrix, scurra, cinædus ero.

"Vile Rome, adieu!
I did thee view,
But hence no more will see,
Till pimp or jade,
Or punk or spade,
I do resolve to be."

Paul III. prostituted his sister Julia Farnesia to Alexander VI., that he might be made cardinal; committed incest with his own daughter Constantia; poisoned her husband, that he might enjoy her the more freely; was naught with his own sister, and taken in the act by her husband; and, beside his incest, he is recorded to have been a necromancer: and from this pope's piety came the council of Trent.

Pope Julius III. was not inferior unto him, who gave his cardinal's hat unto a sodomitical boy whom he had abused. This is that pope who said he would have his pork, (forbidden by his physician,) in despite of God; and maintained, he had more reason to be angry for the keeping back [of] his cold peacock-pie, than God had to cast Adam out of Paradise for eating an apple. Such a blasphemous as well as luxurious wretch was he! Thus Prideaux.

I shall add but two instances more, of two famous women, one a pope, and the other a popess:—

The woman-pope was pope Joan, who succeeded Leo IV., sate in the Papacy two years and six months; supposed to be a man, until at length, being with child, she fell in labour in the midst of a solemn procession, whereby her sex and lewdness were discovered together. Hereupon there was an image of a woman with child set up in the same place, where the pope was delivered both of her child and her life. Ever since the popes, when they go to the Lateran, shun that street, although the nearer way, in abhorrency of the fact, and memory thereof. There was moreover a chair of porphyry-stone kept in the Lateran, with a hole in the midst, to try the sex of the new-elected. No less than fifty Popish writers testify the truth of this history concerning pope Joan.

The other woman was a popess, as the pope himself called her, namely, Donna Olympia, the sister-in-law and mistress of pope Innocent X., who was perfectly at her devotion, not only in his younger years, and whilst he was bishop and cardinal, but also in his elder years when he was pope, and so continued until the very last. The history we have at large, written in Italian by Gualdi, and translated into English. The book is called, "The Life of Donna Olympia Maldachini, who governed the Church during the time of Innocent the Tenth." In the preface of the book there is this passage: "By the great example laid before us, they must needs confess that the churchmen of the Roman faith will do any thing with a woman but marry her." I shall refer the reader unto the history, which relateth the great familiarities between this Donna Olympia and the pope, having been too long in relating the viciousness of his predecessors, although I have passed-by many persons and things which might without wrong be spoken concerning them.

I must add something concerning the filthiness and uncleannesses of the Popish clergy, and others under the celibate vow. Platina doth record, that in pope Gregory the Great's time there were six thousand infants' skulls found in a fish-pond at Rome; and what did this signify, but the whoredoms and murders which this celibate vow was the occasion of? Nicholaus de Clemangis, a Popish archdeacon, who lived and flourished in the year one thousand four hundred and seventeen,—he wrote a book, *De corrupto Statu Ecclesiæ*, wherein he taketh notice of the viciousness of all sort of persons, beside the pope, that were under this celibate vow. Cap. 12: concerning THE CARDINALS, these are his words: *Nec enumerare volo eorum adulteria, stupra, fornicationes, quibus Romanam curiam infestant, nec referre obscœnissimam illorum familiæ vitam, a dominorum tamen moribus nullatenus absonam.* "I will not relate the adulteries, rapes, fornications, whereby these cardinals do pollute the court of Rome, nor set out the most filthy life of their family, not at all dissonant from the manners of their masters." Cap. 19: concerning THE PRELATES, he thus writes: *Qui totos in aucupio et venatu dies agunt, qui noctes in conviviis accuratissimis et choreis cum puellis effœminati insomnes transeunt, qui suo turpi exemplo gregem per devia abducunt in præcipitium.* "The prelates spend whole days in fowling and hunting; and, being effeminate, they spend whole nights in dancing and sports with young women; and by their filthy example lead their flock out of the right way upon a precipice." Cap. 20: he calls THE REGULARS, *Ebrios, incontinentissimos, utpote qui passim et inverecundè prolem ex meretrice susceptam, et scortam vice conjugum, domi tenent. Et hos* CANONICOS *aliquis vocabit, qui sic ab omni canone seu regulâ sunt abalienati?* "Drunkards, and most incontinent persons, who ordinarily and shamelessly do keep whores instead of wives and children by them at home in their houses. And who will call them *regulars* who walk by no rule?" Cap. 21: of THE MONKS he saith, *Quantò magis continentes, magis obedientes esse debebant, minus vagabundi, et e claustrorum septis rarius egredientes in publicum; tantò ab his omnibus rebus licet eos videre magis alienos: pro labore desidia, pro continentiâ et æquitate libido et superbia invasere.* "By how much the more they ought to be continent and obedient, by how much the less they ought to wander about, and go forth into public from the bounds of their cloisters; by so much the more we may see in them a contrary carriage and course unto these things: instead of labour, sloth—instead of continence and justice, lust and pride—have invaded them." Cap. 22: of THE MENDICANTS he writes: *An non hi lupi rapaces sunt sub ovili imagine latitantes, qui more sacerdotum Belis in suis penetralibus oblata devorant, mero et lautis epulis cum non suis uxoribus, licet sæpè cum suis parvulis, avidè satiantes, cunctaque libidinibus, quarum torrentur ardore, polluentes?* "Are not these mendicants ravening wolves under the form of sheep, who, like the priests of Bel, do devour what is offered, with others' wives and their own little ones, greedily satiating themselves in retired places with wine and costly banquets, and defiling all things by their filthy and burning lusts?" Cap. 23: concerning NUNS and their monasteries, he thus expresseth himself: *De his plura dicere verecundia prohibet, ne non de cœtu virginum Deo dicatarum, sed magis de lupanaribus, de dolis et prociâ meretricum, de stupris et incestuosis operibus, dandum sermonem prolixè trahamus. Nam quid, obsecro, aliud sunt hoc tempore puellarum monasteria nisi quædam, non dico Dei sanctuaria, sed Veneris prostibula, sed lascivorum et impudicorum juvenum ad libidines explendas recep-*

taçula? ut idem hodie sit puellam velare, quod et publicè ad scortandum exponere. "Modesty doth forbid to speak more concerning these, lest, instead of setting forth a society of virgins devoted unto God, we should describe a stews, and speak of the deceits and wantonness of harlots, of rapes and incestuous works. For what other are the monasteries of young women in these times, than execrable brothel-houses of Venus, than the receptacles wherein immodest and lascivious young men do fulfil their lusts? and at this day it is the same thing to put a maid into a monastery, and publicly to prostitute her, or put her forth to be a whore."

We see what kind of persons celibate persons were formerly; how well they kept their vow of chastity, as one of themselves acknowledgeth: and have we reason to think they are grown better of later years? We see what they have been in other countries; let us also see what they were before the breaking off [of] the Romish yoke in our own land. In king Henry VIII.'s time a search was made into monasteries and religious houses concerning the life and manners of these Romish votaries; and we shall find, in SPEED'S "History of Great Britain," a catalogue of vicious celibate persons there found out, their names and crimes. In Battle Abbey, fifteen sodomites. In Canterbury, eight sodomites, and one that kept three whores. In Chichester, two sodomites; in the cathedral church, one that kept thirteen whores. In Windsor castle, twenty-five whores were kept amongst them. In Shulbred monastery, nineteen whores were kept. In Bristol, the abbot kept four whores. In Maiden-Bradley, the prior kept five whores. In Bath monastery, one had seven whores, and was a sodomite. In Abingdon monastery, the abbot had three whores, and two children by his own sister. In Bermondsey monastery, John White, prior, called "the bull of Bermondsey," had twenty whores. FULLER in his "History of Abbeys" doth relate this story:—"One sir Henry Colt, of Nether-hall in Essex, much in favour with king Henry VIII. for his merry conceits, suddenly took leave of the king late at night, promising to wait upon his Grace early the next morning. Hence he hastened to Waltham-Abbey, being informed by his letters, that the monks thereof would return in the night from Cheshunt-nunnery, where they had secretly quartered themselves: sir Henry pitched a buck-stall, (wherewith he used to take deer in the forest,) in the narrowest place of the marsh, where they were to pass over, leaving some of his confederates to manage the same. The monks, coming out of the nunnery, hearing a great noise made behind them, and suspecting to be discovered, put out the light which they had with them, whose feet without eyes could find the way home in so used a path. Making more haste than good speed, they ran themselves all into the net. The next morning sir Henry Colt brought and presented them to king Henry, who often had seen sweeter, but never fatter, venison." *

I might add many more instances, had I room and time; but I list not any longer to rake in this dunghill. Being wearied myself in the search, I shall draw toward a conclusion, fearing lest I should trespass upon both the patience and modesty of my reader. If my subject did not naturally lead unto this discourse concerning the lewdness and wickedness of these celibate persons, and if I did not apprehend that such discourse might be of use, I would have passed by these things in silence.

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* FULLER'S "Church-History of Britain," vol. ii. p. 220; edition of 1842.—EDIT.

Use ii. What hath been said concerning the wickedness of the church of Rome, occasioned by this forbidding to marry, I hope may be a sufficient caution unto all of you to take heed, and move you to abhor both the principles and practices of this corrupt church. Indeed, if any of your hearts be set upon filthy lusts and the most abominable uncleannesses, and your consciences are ready under our Reformed religion, to molest and trouble you too much, so that you cannot, without secret lashes and stings within, prosecute your hearts' desires, and gratify your vile affections; if you have a mind like swine to wallow in the mire of the most nasty filthiness, and to get indulgences for such practices; I would advise you to turn Papists: I know no better way that you can take to sear and cauterize your consciences, that you may sin with the least control.

And you of the female sex, if you desire more secretly to be naught, and to veil all with a religious cloak, you may acquaint yourselves with the priests and fathers of this church, who though they will not marry, yet they will strain hard but they will gratify such an inclination in you; and, to stop the mouth of your clamorous consciences, they will give you forthwith an absolution, yea, and admit you unto the communion.

But if you would "deny all ungodliness and worldly lusts;" if you would "live soberly, righteously, and godly in the world," as the word of God and grace of the gospel do teach; if you desire to be sanctified here, and saved hereafter; abhor Popery; come not near the tents of this wicked church, lest you perish with them in the ruin which the Lord will certainly bring upon them. Drink not of "the cup of fornication" which the whore of Babylon would put into your hands. Receive not "the mark of this beast upon your foreheads." Read and consider one scripture, which speaketh of those who turn Papists, sufficient to affrighten all from admitting and embracing this religion, by the fearful consequences thereof. The place is, Rev. xiv. 9—12: "And the third angel followed them, saying with a loud voice, If any man worship the beast and his image, and receive his mark in his forehead, or in his hand, the same shall drink of the wine of the wrath of God, which is poured out without mixture into the cup of his indignation; and he shall be tormented with fire and brimstone in the presence of the holy angels, and in the presence of the Lamb: and the smoke of their torment ascendeth up for ever and ever: and they have no rest day nor night, who worship the beast and his image, and whosoever receiveth the mark of his name."

Use iii. Lastly: You that are married ministers, and live with your wives in holy wedlock according to God's ordinance, value not the Popish doctrine or decree which forbiddeth your marriage. So long as God is for it, no matter who they be that are against it. So long as God's word doth allow it, no matter though the pope doth forbid it. Only let it be your endeavour to "put to silence the ignorance and perverseness of foolish men," by being "blameless," as well as each "the husband of one wife." Above all others, you that are ministers, and have wives, should be as if you had none in regard of all inordinacy of affection towards them; and let it appear unto all, that, although married, you chiefly "care for the things that belong to the Lord, how you may please the Lord." You need not care, or be concerned at the barkings of the impure Papists, like dogs who bark at the moon, so long as your conversations do shine.

SERMON XX. (XVIII.)

BY THE REV. RICHARD FAIRCLOUGH, A. M.

FELLOW OF EMMANUEL COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.[*]

THE PAPAL DOCTRINE IN DENYING THE POSSIBILITY OF ASSURANCE IS FALSE, AND HATH A DANGEROUS TENDENCY TO DESTROY THE TRUE PEACE AND COMFORT OF SOULS IN THE CERTAIN HOPES OF EVERLASTING HAPPINESS.

THE NATURE, POSSIBILITY, AND DUTY, OF A TRUE BELIEVER'S ATTAINING TO A CERTAIN KNOWLEDGE OF HIS EFFECTUAL VOCATION, ETERNAL ELECTION, AND FINAL PERSEVERANCE TO GLORY.

Wherefore the rather, brethren, give all *diligence to make your calling and election sure: for if ye do these things, ye shall never fall.*—2 Peter i. 10.

THAT I may the more effectually discharge the duty incumbent on me, and the more fully confute that pernicious error of the church of Rome, which hath declared, that "a believer's assurance of the pardon of his sin is a vain and ungodly confidence,"[†] "it being," say they, "impossible for any person to know that he is now pardoned, much less that he shall continue and persevere in the state of grace;"[‡] I have made choice of this portion of scripture, as the foundation of my present discourse; wherein it must be considered, that although controversial and polemical treatises are usually large and full, yet the few moments allowed for our present delivery, and the few pages allotted for the printing, of this discourse, necessitate me to manage things in a very contracted manner; so as I must give you but only hints of some arguments on our side, and also must rather obviate and prevent, than formally answer, all our adversaries' objections. Avoiding all unnecessary amplifications and popular illustrations, which might make our style more smooth and pleasant, I shall only deliver what may rationally convince your judgment;

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[*] In his "Account of Ministers, &c., ejected or silenced," Dr. Calamy adds this note concerning the authorship of the present sermon: "I cannot be positive whether this last be his or his father's;" who was the Rev. Samuel Fairclough, A. M.—EDIT.

[†] *Certitudo remissionis peccatorum est vana et omni pietate remota fiducia.*—*Conc. Trid.* sess. vi.

[‡] *Primus hæreticorum error est, posse fideles eam notitiam habere de suâ gratiâ ut certâ fide statuant sibi remissa esse peccata.*—BELLARMINUS *De Justif.* lib. iii. cap. 3.

leaving the exciting of your affections to the more immediate influence of the Good Spirit of God.

THE SCOPE AND DIVISION OF THE WORDS.

Briefly, then: the words I have read are an earnest exhortation to an excellent duty.

In which exhortation, it will be very much to our purpose to consider,

1. *The person that gives the exhortation.*
2. *The persons to whom it is given.*
3. *The matter exhorted to.*
4. *The motives enforcing.*

THE PERSON EXHORTING,—PETER.

1. *The person that gives the exhortation is the apostle Peter;* one eminent,

(1.) *For his frequent temptations.*
(2.) *For his great falls by these temptations.*
(3.) *For recovery after those falls.*

One much tempted.

(1.) Peter was *a person subject to frequent and violent temptations unto sin.*—At one time the devil had so transformed himself into an angel of light, that he had almost thereby transformed Peter into an angel of darkness. Peter thought he acted the part of a saint and friend to dissuade Christ from going to Jerusalem; but Christ intimates that Peter acted therein the part of a devil, when he said to him, "Get thee behind me, Satan." (Matt. xvi. 23.) At another time, the devil desired to winnow Peter as wheat; (Luke xxii. 31;) and you know how he was sifted in the high priest's hall.

One foully falling by temptation.

(2.) Peter was *one that, being tempted, had greatly miscarried, and fallen into gross sin.*—For you do not only read of his dissembling, and of his too great complying with the superstitious Jews in their ceremonies and worship; (Gal. ii. 12, 13;) but appearing like a downright apostate; * renouncing of Christ, and forswearing any knowledge of him. (Matt. xxvi. 34, 69—75.) He that shall consider the experience which Peter had of Satan's power and subtilty, and of his own impotency and weakness, (both which considerations might afford arguments against the possibility of assurance,) may at first wonder that Peter should ever attain to any assurance himself; much more that he should be the author of such an exhortation as this to others.

One recovered from temptation by Christ's intercession, and the Spirit's efficacy.

(3.) But Peter, as he had experience of Satan's malice, of his own insufficiency, so he had experience,

(i.) *Of the prevalency of his Saviour's intercession.*—Christ had prayed that Peter's faith might not fail in the habit, although it did fail in the act. (Luke xxii. 32.)

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* In this we deny not but that the pope may be Peter's successor.

(ii.) He had experience *of the Spirit's efficacy in working true sorrow and repentance for his great sin.*—And hence, in part, it is, that Peter is most fit of all men to encourage weak believers against their despairing and desponding fears, and to put them upon endeavours after assurance. Moreover, Peter had received a command from Christ, that when he should be "converted," that is, recovered from his partial apostasy, he should endeavour to "strengthen his brethren;" (Luke xxii. 32;) and probably it is in obedience to this command of Christ that he is thus earnest in this exhortation.

THE PERSONS EXHORTED,—TRUE BELIEVERS.

2. *The persons to whom the exhortation is given are called in the text "brethren."*—By which title is not only expressed every true believer's dignity, who is a brother to the very apostles themselves; (which fraternity is infinitely more desirable than that bastard nepotism which some Romish cardinals boast of;) but also by this compellation the truth of their graces is declared. For the apostle had before described them to be, (1.) Such as had "obtained like precious faith" with himself. (2.) Such as were endued with saving "knowledge." (3.) Such to whom God had communicated "all things pertaining to life and godliness." (4.) Such as God had called to glory and virtue. (5.) Such to whom God had given "exceeding great and precious promises." (6.) Such as were made "partakers of the divine nature." Lastly. Such as had "escaped the pollutions of the world through lust." (Verses 1—4.) These are the persons who, although they had "obtained precious faith," yet had not attained certain knowledge of their own spiritual state, but were in a possibility, yea, in a very great preparation, thereunto.

It is an abominable falsehood which Bellarmine boldly reports, that we teach, that except men have assurance, they are not true believers, nor shall they ever be saved.* This is an impudent calumny: for if any particular persons abroad have thought that a special and full persuasion of pardon of their sin was of the essence of faith, let them answer for it; our divines at home generally are of another judgment: bishop Davenant and bishop Prideaux,† and others, have shown the great difference between *fides* and *fiducia*, between recumbence and assurance; and they all do account and call assurance "a daughter, fruit, and consequent of faith." And the late learned Arrowsmith tells us,‡ that God seldom bestows assurance upon believers till they are grown in grace: "For," saith he, "there is the same difference between faith of recumbence and faith of assurance, as is between reason and learning. Reason is the foundation of learning; so, as there can be no learning if reason be wanting, (as in beasts,) in like manner there can be no assurance where there is no faith of adherence. Again: as reason, well exercised in the study of arts and sciences, arises to learning; so faith, being well exercised on its proper object, and by its proper fruits, arises to assurance. Further: as by negligence, non-attendance, or some violent disease, learning may be lost, while reason doth abide; so by temptation, or by spiritual sloth, assurance may be lost, while saving faith may abide.

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* BELLARMINUS *De Just.* lib. iii. cap. 3. † DAVENANTIUS *De Sal. Cer.* sect. 3; PRIDEAUX, *Cer. Sept.* ‡ *Tactica Sacra*, lib. ii.

Lastly: as all men are rational, but all men are not learned; so all regenerate persons have faith to comply savingly with the gospel-method of salvation, but all true believers have not assurance."

THE MATTER OF EXHORTATION.

3. The believers in the text were in a state of salvation, but wanted assurance. Hence the apostle puts them upon diligence to attain it; which acquaints us with *the matter exhorted to.*—Where observe, (1.) *The matter ultimately intended;* namely, the making of their calling and election sure. (2.) *The means subserviently directed to,* namely, the giving diligence to attain it. (3.) *The order of directing their diligence:* first, to make their calling, and, secondly, their election, sure; for no man knows any thing of his election further than he is assured of his being effectually called.

THE MOTIVES.

4. The fourth and last part of the text affords us *the motives by which the exhortation is enforced.*—Which are,

Implied.

(1.) Either *implied,* in these words: "Wherefore the rather." And if you look back upon the two next preceding verses, you will find in them a double argument. (i.) *Ab utili,* "from the fruitfulness" that accompanies assurance: "If these things be in you, and abound, they make you that ye shall neither be barren nor unfruitful in the knowledge of the Lord Jesus Christ." (Verse 8.) (ii.) *Ab incommodo,* "from" a double "danger:"—

First. *Of growing more and more ignorant of spiritual truths.*—"He that lacketh these things is blind." (Verse 9.) The word μυωψ signifies "purblind." Purblind persons do see; but they see only things near at hand. Many true believers are weak believers; not so strong-sighted as Abraham was, that could see Christ's day afar off. (John viii. 56.) Unassured persons are not able to look steadily to those things that are to come.

Secondly. There is danger of *more frequent falling into actual sin.*—For although God will not suffer them to fall into any habitual custom of sin; yet they are very apt to forget that they were "purged from their old sin," (2 Peter i. 9,) and so are so much the more ready to "return with the dog to the vomit, and the swine that was washed to the wallowing in the mire." (2 Peter ii. 22.) Not that any truly regenerate person doth so; but there is a moral tendency in spiritual sloth and laziness to procure such apostasy.

Motive expressed.

(2.) Which is farther also intimated in this tenth verse, where you have *the motive expressed* in the text itself: "If ye do these things, ye shall never fall;" that is, "Live you in a diligent exercise of saving faith till you come to assurance, and God will make good his own promise, that you shall be 'kept by the power of God through faith unto salvation;' (1 Peter i. 5;) perseverance being designed, decreed, and promised by God in the behalf of all those that he hath effectually called, and did eternally elect."*

The words thus opened afford us these two general propositions:—

THE FIRST GENERAL PROPOSITION.

That it is the privilege of a true believer, that it is possible for him, to make his calling sure for present, and thereby to become assured of his election past, and consequently of his perseverance unto glory to come.

THE SECOND GENERAL PROPOSITION.

That it is a believer's duty to give all diligence to make his present calling, past election, and future perseverance, sure.

I. The first general proposition doth branch itself into three special propositions.

(I.) *That it is possible for a true believer to make his calling sure.*

(II.) *It is possible thereby to know he was elected.*

(III.) *And by both to become assured that he shall persevere unto glory.*

THE FIRST SPECIAL PROPOSITION.

(I.) I begin with the First special proposition, *that it is possible for a believer to make his calling sure.*—Here it is necessary that two things be undertaken and performed: First. Explication: Secondly. Probation.

EXPLICATION.

FIRST. Two things are to be opened:

1. *What is understood by our "calling?"*
2. *What is meant by a "sure calling?"*

"*What is an effectual call?*"

QUESTION I. "What is to be understood by our 'calling?'"

ANSWER. Calling, strictly taken, is an act of a person declaring his desire of another person's approach and access to him. Thus the centurion tells Christ, that he could say to one servant, "Come, and he cometh;" (Luke vii. 8;) and thus Christ bids the Samaritan woman call her husband, and come to him. (John iv. 16.) But the word, more largely taken, is used for any declaration of the will of one person to another, where compliance with that will is required. Thus it is said, that Jacob called his son Joseph, when he declared his will to him, saying, "Bury me not in Egypt;" and he made him swear. (Gen. xlvii. 29.) And in this large sense God is said to call a sinner, when he reveals his own will, and a sinner's duty; as when God calls him to repentance, to faith, to holiness. It is the work of God to make known his pleasure, and it is the duty of men to comply therewith.

The word here, "our calling," is *nomen participiale* ["a participial noun"]: and it is taken not actively, for our calling upon God, as when it is sometimes put for all that worship which we perform to God, as in that phrase, "Then began men to call upon God;" (Gen. iv. 26;

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* *Stabilis est Dei gratia quâ fulciuntur: ergò immunes sunt a periculo cadendi.*—CALVINUS *in loc.* "The grace of God by which they are supported, is firm and stable: therefore they are safe from the danger of falling."—EDIT.

1 Cor. i. 2;) but it is taken passively, for God's calling of us, the nature of which act is fully expressed in 2 Thess. ii. 13, 14: "But we are bound to give thanks alway to God for you, brethren beloved of the Lord, because God hath from the beginning chosen you to salvation through sanctification of the Spirit and belief of the truth: whereunto he called you by our gospel, to the obtaining of the glory of our Lord Jesus Christ." That which I would have you observe at present from hence is this, that the preaching of the gospel, and the revelation of God's will therein, is God's call. So the apostle saith, Ye were "called by our gospel," that is, our preaching of the gospel.

God's call of two kinds: 1. In word only; 2. In word and power both.

But here we must distinguish that the call of God in the gospel is twofold: 1. *In word only;* 2. *In word and power conjoined.* So Paul distinguishes in 1 Thess. i. 5: "Our gospel came not unto you in word only, but also in power, and in the Holy Ghost, and in much assurance." Now according to the different means which God uses in calling, so there follows a different fruit, success, or consequent of God's calling.

Hence ineffectual or effectual.

Hence it comes to pass, *that God's call sometimes is ineffectual,* and *sometimes effectual.* So the same apostle plainly declares in 1 Thess. ii. 13: "For this cause also thank we God without ceasing, because, when ye received the word of God, which ye heard of us, ye received it not as the word of men, but as it is in truth, the word of God, which effectually worketh also in you that believe." Observe hence, that it is the work of God's Spirit in the heart, superadded to the word of the gospel, as spoken by men, that makes any call effectual. Without this inward work, God may call, and the soul will never answer; (Prov. i. 24;) but when the Spirit co-operates with the word, the souls of the elect become obedient unto God's call; they so hear his voice as to live; (John v. 25;) there is then an enlivening, yea, a creating, power appearing therein. I grant, there is a sort of men arising among us that scoff at this great work of regeneration, and deny the infusion of principles or habits of grace; but we have not to do with these men at this time, who have totally fallen from the faith, and are greater enemies to the cross of Christ than the Papists themselves.

The judgment of Thomas Aquinas about infused habits of grace.

Sure I am, that Thomas Aquinas, that famous person whom the church of Rome have canonized for a saint, tells us, that since there are some men endued with such habits which cannot be attained by the power of nature, because by them some men are fitted for the end of salvation, therefore it is necessary that God be owned as the immediate infuser of these habits.* And he further adds, that as God produces some natural effects without the help of second causes, (as health is sometimes bestowed without the help of physic,) so God infuses habits of grace without and beyond the power of nature.† And whereas this learned person foresaw that some men might here object, that God's infusion of these habits into some persons and not into others, doth plainly prove discriminating grace ; (which doctrine of late hath been denied and derided by the Socinians and some others ;) therefore this Angelical Doctor makes his confession plainly, that he, for his part, doth own discriminating grace ; and that he doth firmly believe that God, agreeably to his own wisdom, and for reasons reserved to himself, bestows more grace on some than upon others ; [*] and that though it be most agreeable unto man's nature, that habits should arise from frequent acts and much exercise, yet God may and doth work such habits of grace in some men which nature cannot work ; and therefore he concludes, that they are supernaturally produced. I have given you the opinion of this author about an effectual call the more fully, because I am confident, that had some men who oppose the infusion of habits been old enough or diligent enough to have perused the writings of such a person as Thomas Aquinas, before they had divulged their own fond notions and opinions, they would (out of a kind of ambition to be accounted ὁμοψηφοι, "like-minded," with such learned men) not have made such an open scoff and derision of discriminating and effectual grace ; wherein they do not only contradict the express words of holy writ, but also oppose the doctrine of the most learned of the Fathers and Schoolmen,[*] and that with a most bold as well as blind confidence.

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* *Prima Secundæ,* quæst. li. art. 4.

† *Ibid.* quæst. xii. art. 4.

I must beg pardon for this short but necessary digression, because it is this effectual work of God's Spirit, in regenerating the soul by infusing of habits of grace, which distinguishes an internal effectual call of God from a mere external and ineffectual one : and this is the thing which is chiefly intended in the text to be made sure ; namely, that it might be known whether or no God hath so called thee by his word, as that also he hath wrought in thee by his Spirit ; whether God hath illuminated thy understanding, and inclined thy will, so as thou hast complied with God's will, and hast answered his call ; whether, when God did draw thee, thou didst run after him ; (Canticles i. 4 ;) whether, when God did knock at the door of thy heart, thou didst open to him ; (Rev. iii. 20 ;) whether, when God did entreat and persuade thee to be reconciled to him, thou didst consent ; (2 Cor. v. 20 ;) whether, when he did woo thee, he did also win thee ; whether, when he invited thee to the wedding-supper of his Son, thou didst make no excuse or delay, but didst accept, and welcome, the offer of the gospel with faith and love. (Luke xiv. 18.) All which if thou didst do, it did arise from the power of an inward call, being superadded to the outward call of the word ; the very essence of an effectual call consisting in the Spirit's regenerating the soul, and giving "a new heart," (2 Peter i. 4,) which is scripture-language ; or in the Spirit's infusing of new principles and habits of grace, according to the phrase of the Schools. So that now by "calling" here in the text, you must understand an inward effectual change wrought in the heart by God himself in the work of conversion and regeneration, or the Spirit's infusing of habits of grace into thy heart.

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[*] *Non iniquus est Deus si inæqualia æqualibus præparat.—Ibid.* quæst. xii. art. 4. "God is not unjust if he bestows unequal portions upon those who are equal."—EDIT.

[†] CHRYSOSTOM, AUGUSTINE, BERNARD. See CATHARINUS and EISENGRENIUS *De Certitudine Gratiæ.*

"What is meant by 'sure calling?'"

QUESTION II. "What is meant by 'sure calling,' or wherein consists the nature of assurance?"

Certitudo duplex: objecti vel subjecti, rei vel spei.

ANSWER. There is "a double certainty" of an effectual calling:

1. One, *the certainty of it in itself.*
2. The other, *the certainty of it unto us.*

1. *Our calling is sure in itself,* so soon as ever God hath effectually called us, whether we know it, or know it not. God may effectually call, and we may have surely answered God's call; and yet we may not be sure that God hath so called us, or that we have so answered. But yet our calling hereby is made sure in itself; and this the Schools call *certitudo objecti,* "the certainty of the object."

2. *Our calling is sure unto us,* when we know that God hath effectually called us; and this the Schoolmen call *certitudo subjecti,* "the certainty of the subject." The word in the text, βεϐαιαν, signifies "firm, stable, steady, and fixed, and sure;" either, (1.) As a building is sure that hath a good foundation; or, (2.) As a conclusion is sure that is drawn from certain premisses: * in like manner our calling may be said to be sure, (1.) Either when it hath the efficacy of God's Spirit as its sure foundation; or, (2.) When it hath the evidence of proper fruits; which are as good premisses or sure arguments, from which we may conclude ourselves to be effectually called.

That the text hath respect both to subjective as well as objective certainty, is beyond all dispute with considerative men. For the persons here exhorted, as I have shown, were true believers; and consequently their calling was sure in itself before the exhortation was here given to them to make it sure; and therefore the exhortation must chiefly respect subjective certainty, as something to be superadded to objective certainty. Hence when Bellarmine would, from this text, prove justification by works, because in some copies the words are read thus: "Give diligence to make your calling sure" δια των καλων εργων, "by good works;" the most learned Chamier answers him, that granting the words be so read, (Beza owning that he had seen such a copy,) yet it is very absurd and illogical for Bellarmine to argue, that men's persons are therefore justified by good works *in foro divino,* ["in the divine court,"] (as the Jesuit doth contend,) because, according to this text, men's calling may be justified or made sure by good works *in foro conscientiæ* ['in the court of conscience"]. For this there is no colour from these words; because when vocation is said here to be made sure by good works, "it is," saith Chamier, "to be understood, primarily and properly, of subjective certainty; *ut constet esse efficacem, et ut ejus certitudo ostendatur signo proprio, nempè, bonis operibus,* 'that it may appear to be effectual, and its certainty may be manifested by its proper signs, namely, by good works:' and in that sense we also own that men may be justified by works, that is, declared so in conscience. But by 'a sure calling' in the text, is chiefly to be understood a calling assuredly known by the subject to be an effectual and saving calling."* See Beza and Calvin on the place.

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* Thus Plato *(in Timæo)* saith, that God is both βεϐαιως Ων, "the most firm Being," and βεϐαιως γνωστον, "the most known Being."

Subjective certainty is of two kinds: perfect, and imperfect.

Now this subjective certainty is two-fold: 1. *Perfect.* 2. *Imperfect.*

1. *Perfect subjective certainty* is when a thing is so known, as [that] it cannot be better known; or when the subject is so certain of the truth of a thing, as that he cannot be more certain of it, because he hath not the least ignorance of the thing, or the least doubt concerning it. This is perfect certainty. But here are three things to be noted. Let it be considered,

Note, (1.) *There is no perfect certainty amongst men.*

(1.) *There is no such thing as this perfect subjective certainty in this world.*—Perfect certainty is only to be found in perfect men; and it is folly to say any men are perfect, or that there is any such thing as perfect knowledge in this world. The apostle saith, "We know but in part;" (1 Cor. xiii. 9;) and therefore it is impossible that we should be certain any more but in part, that is, imperfectly certain.

Note, (2.) *Some imperfect certainty is proper certainty.*

(2.) Another thing which I would have our adversaries consider, is, that *imperfect certainty, though imperfect, yet it may be true and proper certainty, and is in many cases to be accounted more than conjectural or mere opinionative knowledge.*—For instance: we are told by God himself, that no man can find out the Almighty to perfection; (Job xi. 7;) and the most holy men in the world have some atheism remaining in them. Yet, I hope, many men have a true and certain knowledge of God, although no man hath a perfect knowledge of him; so a man may have a true and certain knowledge that he is effectually called, although he hath not a perfect knowledge of it.

2. *Imperfect certainty hath these four properties.*

2. Let it be considered, that the nature of *imperfect subjective certainty is always such a knowledge as hath these four properties:* (1.) *It is built upon or drawn from most certain proofs and evidences;* and therefore, (2.) *It is such as doth prevail against all irrational doubts;* and, (3.) *It is accompanied or followed with proper fruits of undoubted certainty, notwithstanding a mixture of ignorance, and some impressed or indiscursive fears which may consist with it.* (4.) *It is such as God doth own for true and proper assurance in holy writ.*

Founded upon assuring evidences.

(1.) *When knowledge is built upon rational assuring evidences, then it ought to be accounted certain knowledge, notwithstanding some irrational and unaccountable doubts may arise.*—A man that walks upon the leads of a very high but very strong well-built tower, encompassed with battlements, doth know rationally that he cannot fall, and he is not rationally in any fear of falling; but yet when he looks from that height, he hath irrational fears impressed upon him. And yet such fears as these hinder not but that he is still certain that he shall not fall, because he can rationally prove that he cannot fall. Thus a person assured of his effectual calling by good evidence, is really and properly certain; although possibly when he looks down from the height of future expected glory into the bottomless pit of misery, from whence he hath escaped, some indiscursive or irrational fears and doubts may be impressed upon him, which may lessen but not destroy assurance.

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* CHAMIERI *Panstrat.* tom. iii. lib. xv. cap. 15.

Prevailing over all irrational doubts.

(2.) *When assurance is actually stronger than diffidence, and doth certainly prevail against distracting fears, then it is to be accounted certain assurance, though it be still imperfect.*—The truth and the degree of a believer's assurance doth hold proportion to the truth and degree of his grace; and by this proportion of one to the other they do very much illustrate each other. Thus, First: There is an analogy between grace and assurance, in this, that as grace may be true, although it be not perfect, so may assurance be true assurance when imperfect. Again: As where sin reigns there is no grace, so where doubting reigns there is no assurance; but as when grace prevails, it is accounted true grace, so when assurance prevails over doubts, it is to be reckoned true assurance. Lastly. Where grace is perfect without sin, (as in heaven,) there assurance will be perfect without all doubt, and not till then.

Followed with the proper fruits of assurance.

(3.) *When a true believer's imperfect assurance is accompanied with the proper fruits of true assurance, it is then true assurance.*—Such fruits as these: (i.) Inward peace and satisfaction of mind, the feast of a good conscience. (Phil. iv. 7; 2 Cor. i. 12.) (ii.) Joy in the Holy Ghost. (Gal. v. 22.) (iii.) Power and strength over temptations. (James i. 2.) (iv.) Victory over the world. (1 John v. 4.) (v.) Enlargedness of heart in the love of God. (2 Cor. v. 14.) (vi.) Delight in his ways. (Psalm xl. 8.) (vii.) Ready obedience to his will. (Psalm cxix. 32.) (viii.) Patient bearing of the cross, and rejoicing in tribulation. (Job i. 21; 2 Cor. vii. 4.) (ix.) Freedom and boldness of access to the throne of grace. (Heb. iv. 16.) (x.) A spirit of grace and supplication. (Gal. iv. 6; Zech. xii. 10.) (xi.) Dependence upon God in all states. (Psalm lxii. 8.) (xii.) Great expectations from him. (Psalm lxii. 5.) (xiii.) All willingness to go hence, and a desire to be dissolved. (Phil. i. 23.) When assurance is accompanied or followed with such fruits as these, (and the assurance of many a believer is thus attended,) although it be not perfect, yet it is true and proper assurance.

Owned by God, and so called.

(4.) *That assurance which God himself owns as true and proper assurance, and is called so by the Spirit of God in scripture, is to be acknowledged by us as such.*—God hath given divers names to a believer's assurance, which speak it properly to be so. (i.) It is called ϖεποιθησις, "a sure persuasion." St. Paul saith, that he was "persuaded that neither life nor death," &c., "should separate him from the love of God."

(Rom. viii. 38, 39.) (ii.) It is called γνωσις, "certain knowledge." St. John saith, "Hereby we know that we are in him." (1 John ii. 5.) (iii.) Ελεγχος, "an evident probation." So a believer's faith is called "the evident proof of things not seen." (Heb. xi. 1.) (iv.) Ὑποστασις, "a substantial prepossession" of heaven. So faith is also called by the same apostle in the same place. (v.) It is called ϖληροφορια, "a fulness of assurance," both in Heb. vi. 11; x. 22; and 1 Thess. i. 5. A believer's assurance is owned by God, and said to be full, although not perfect. So that the controversy between us and Rome *is not*,

Our controversy with Rome in this point is about the proper, not the perfect, assurance of a believer.

1. *Whether perfect assurance be possible, but whether certain assurance be possible.*—That is, whether a well-grounded, prevalent, and influential assurance be not attainable. Bellarmine grants, believers may have a conjectural hope; we say, true believers may attain to proper assurance. The Papists grant an assurance of fancy; we contend for an assurance of faith. Theirs is an assurance of opinion; ours an assurance of knowledge. I confess, the philosophic schools have divided all argumentation into demonstrative and opinionative; and they divided all knowledge into perfect science, or mere conjecture; and hence arose two sorts of philosophers amongst them: (1.) The δογματικοι, "dogmatists," who thought themselves perfectly certain of every thing, and doubted of nothing, but were as infallible as the pope in his chair. (2.) The εφεκτικοι, a kind of seekers that did "restrain their assent," and doubted of all things; like the Popish laity, that are kept in the dark, and are taught to be blind. But the Protestants are of an elective kind of divines, who know a middle way between both extremes; and therefore we do maintain a possibility of certain knowledge, while we own an imperfection also: there being various degrees of a believer's certainty, and of his assurance; and yet the lowest of them is more than moral conjecture or opinion. Bellarmine himself is forced to grant that there are three degrees of certainty; * and although he doth not admit a true believer's knowledge of his effectual call into any of those degrees, yet I shall prove anon that a believer may attain a very high degree of certainty therein.

Our controversy not about words or names.

2. But let it be observed, in the second place, that our controversy *is not about words or names of things.*—The question is not, whether a believer's assurance is to be called *certitudo fidei*, or *certitudo fiduciæ*, or *certitudo scientiæ;* whether "an assurance of faith," or "an assurance of confidence," or "an assurance of sense or of knowledge:" for, indeed, it is not properly any of these; but an assurance mixed, and arising partly from faith, partly from confidence, and partly from knowledge both of reason and sense.

(1.) It may be called "an assurance of confidence;" inasmuch as the degree of an assured believer's faith and knowledge must be such as excludes all rational and prevailing fears and doubts, according as I have already shown.*

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* *In certitudine tres quasi gradus distinguuntur, &c.*—BELLARMINUS *De Justif.* lib. iii. cap. 2.

(2.) It may be called "an assurance of faith," from that special interest that faith hath therein; inasmuch as no believer can attain to assurance of salvation that doth not first fiducially, and by way of application, believe those peculiar declarations of God's grace and will in the gospel, which are the foundation of a believer's salvation and assurance; more especially these three: (i.) The way of salvation by Christ. (ii.) The nature and properties of saving faith. (iii.) The certain perseverance of true believers to glory. It is called "an assurance of faith;" inasmuch as there must be an actual compliance with the way of salvation by an explicit exercise of saving faith upon Christ Jesus; a believer demeaning himself toward Christ, as toward "the Mediator of the new covenant." (Heb. xii. 24.)

(3.) It may be called "an assurance of knowledge;" inasmuch as every assured believer must, first, know what are the signs of true faith, and, secondly, must know assuredly that the signs of true faith are in himself.

(4.) It may be called "an assurance of sense;" inasmuch as a believer knows, not only by way of rational proof, but also by way of spiritual, internal, and experimental sense, that the work of God's Spirit hath been effectual in a saving manner upon him.

All which I shall verify and make good by several arguments, in the order and method following:

PROBATION. THE FIRST ARGUMENT: FROM THE CONCESSIONS AND ARTICLES OF THE CHURCH OF ROME.

SECONDLY. For proof of this first proposition, I shall, First, argue *from the concessions of our adversaries; that is, from some special articles of their doctrine;* which, although we do not grant them to be true in themselves, yet they do afford sufficient argument for conviction of a Papist, in our present case; evincing that it is possible for a believer to attain to assurance of his being effectually called.

The first Popish doctrine: that assurance is possible in an extraordinary way, but not in an ordinary way.

The first doctrine of theirs which we shall take notice of is this: They grant and affirm, *that a believer may be assured of the pardon of his sins by extraordinary means, by some immediate revelation; that is, either by a voice from heaven, or the mission of an angel sent from thence: but they deny it to be possible to know this by ordinary means; that is, by the revelation of God's will and of man's duty in scripture, with reference to eternal life; although the mind of man be savingly illuminated by the Spirit, and although conscience be enabled thereby to compare a believer's heart and life with the rule of the word.*—Now I would fain know how St. Anthony, St. Galla, or St. Francis, who, Bellarmine saith, were extraordinarily assured,* could be so well assured by a voice supposed to come from heaven, (which may be subject to many delusions of fancy, and to divers cheats and impostures by men or devils, especially when heard by one single person only,) as by the voice of Christ Jesus, who was sent of God to reveal the rule of life, and by the voice of a man's own conscience, assisted by the Spirit, enabling a believer to discern his agreement with that rule. I grant that God gave testimony unto Christ Jesus by "a voice from heaven;" (Matt. iii. 17; Luke iii. 22;) but observe, 1. This voice was frequently repeated. 2. It was given in the hearing of multitudes. (John xii. 28.) 3. God did speak nothing from heaven immediately, but what he had, tantamount, spoken before in the scripture: hence it is that Christ appeals not to this voice, but bids men "search the scriptures," for they testified of him. (John v. 29.) And when Christ tells his followers again, that God had given testimony of him, he makes mention of the works that the Father had enabled him to do, but makes no mention of his voice. (John v. 36.)

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* *Justi securitas, leonis instar, dum quoslibet contra se insurgere conspicit, ad mentis suæ confidentiam redit, et scit quòd cùm eos adversantes superet, &c.*—GREGORII *Moral.* lib. xxxi. cap. 23. "The security of the just man is like that of a lion; when he sees any adversaries rising against him, he falls back upon the confidence of his own mind, and knows that when he overcomes them," &c.—EDIT.

And as for assurance given by angels, it must needs fall short of the assurance given by the Spirit of God; for the apostle supposes that an angel from heaven (that is, Satan transforming himself into an "angel of light," 2 Cor. xi. 14) may preach false doctrine, and be accursed; (Gal. i. 8;) which is blasphemy to suppose of the Holy Spirit. Hence also our Saviour intimates, in the parable of Dives, that the writings of Moses and the prophets in scripture are much more convincing and assuring, than the words of one arising from the dead, or one sent from heaven. (Luke xvi. 29—31.) If men may, then, be assured in Bellarmine's extraordinary way, they may much better be assured by the ordinary way revealed in [the] scriptures.

The second Popish doctrine: that one man may be assured of another's salvation, but not of his own.

The second Popish doctrine is this: they say that *one man may be assured of another's salvation, but that no man can be assured of his own.*—The pope declares that he was sure of Bellarmine's salvation when he canonized him for a saint; but Bellarmine was not sure of his own salvation himself when he died; for his own nephew† relates that he trembled at the thoughts of death; and that when some standing by desired him that he would pray for them in heaven, he answered, that for his part he knew not (when he was just expiring) whether ever he should come there. Now of all sorts of men, the church of Rome ought to grant assurance possible to believers themselves, whenas the pope hath declared himself to be so infallibly sure of the salvation of so many millions whom he hath canonized.

The third Popish doctrine: that the priest can give assurance by his word, but God cannot do it by his word.

They say that *the priest or confessor can give assurance by his bare word, but deny God's word to be any good ground of assurance.*—Bellarmine saith, that, "after confession, the priest by the word of absolution doth give such evidence of justifying grace, as there can be no mistake therein;" these are his very words.[*] Here he mentions confession as a help to assurance; yet afterwards he makes assurance to depend wholly on absolution; for he saith, "It may often happen that a man may confess few or none of his sins; and yet the priest may assure him of pardon, and he ought so to believe."[†] You see here that the priest can give assurance, and assurance of faith also; but with him the word of God can give no assurance at all, much less of faith. The Jesuit will acknowledge that some dark conjectures or opinions may be built upon the word of God, but no assurance; for he boldly, impiously, and blasphemously saith, that "the certainty of those things that are believed in the word is only dark and obscure, like that of opinion."[‡] Thus he intimates as if God could not, but that the priest could, assure. This is as if Cornelius should have disbelieved what Simon Peter spake to him in the name of God, and should have believed Simon Magus whatever he spake in his own or the devil's name. Let all men judge, if the priest may give assurance by his word, whether God cannot do it by his word much more infallibly.

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* See BELLARMINUS *De Justif.* lib. iii. cap. 5.

† MARCELLUS CERVINUS.

The fourth Popish doctrine: they say, "Men may attain perfection, yet not assurance."

They say, "*Men may attain to perfection, and yet not to assurance.*"—The words of Soto are these: "It is possible for us so in this life to fulfil the whole law of God, and the precept of love, that we may avoid all and every mortal sin;" by "mortal sin," he means, as Luidamus interprets, whatever may lessen or violate our friendship with God. Now if men may be thus perfect, certainly then they may know that they are thus perfect; otherwise, they could be perfect without perfection. It is therefore a contradiction to say that men may be perfect, and not assured.

The fifth Popish doctrine: they say, "Men may merit, and yet not know they are sincere."

The church of Rome say, that *men may attain to works of merit and super-erogation.*—I ask whether works done ignorantly, and without knowledge of rule or end, can be meritorious. Whatever act is blindly and casually performed, is so far from being a meritorious act, as it is not a moral act of obedience or service: if then men could perform any work of merit or super-erogation, they must know first that they are sincere, and accepted of God as upright, before they can imagine that their works shall be rewarded as meritorious. Yet our adversaries teach, that men cannot be assured of acceptance; and yet they may not only be perfect, but may be more than perfect; (so super-erogation implies;) that is, that they [may] "be righteous over-much," (Eccles. vii. 16,) or they may be not only good, but too good; which we will grant in the proverbial sense. They mean by it, that men may be so righteous and so good, as to purchase pardon for a thousand of other sinners, and yet may remain unassured of their own pardon. Is not this strange doctrine? Would you, then, know the reason why the church of Rome holds these absurd opinions, and seeks to maintain that both parts of a contradiction are true, as in our present case they do, and I could evidence it by many more instances? To satisfy you about this spirit of contradiction, I shall at once open the whole mystery of iniquity, and give you a golden key whereby you may unlock their more hidden contrivances; a key of more worth than any of those which the pope holds in his hand, or wears at his girdle; by which he opens the treasures of all his enslaved vassals at his pleasure. The print of our key you have, drawn by the apostle Paul, in 1 Tim. vi. 3—5, whither I must remit you; only let me tell you, that the more you search into the Romish religion, the more you will find it calculated only for gain.* Assurance is therefore denied by them to be ordinarily possible, because, could the laity attain to it without the extraordinary assistance of the priest, the price of pardons, indulgences, and absolutions would exceedingly fall. But although with them the scripture be an insufficient thing, yet money assures all things; and at Rome you may buy (if you be rich enough) not only assurance, but perfection, and power of merit, and works of super-erogation, and what not? But no more of this.

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[*] *Confessio pœnitentis et verbum absolventis sunt signa gratiæ justificantis practica et efficacia, adeò ut falsa esse non possint.*—BELLARMINUS *De Pœn.* lib. i. cap. 10.

[†] *Facilè potest accidere ut, videlicet, minimam partem suorum criminum quis aperiat; et tamen verè absolvitur, et certò absolutus creditur.*—Idem, *ibid.* lib. iii. cap. 21.

[‡] *Obscura est certitudo earum rerum, quæ solâ fide vel opinione nituntur.*—Idem, *De Just.* lib. iii. cap. 2.

THE SECOND ARGUMENT: FROM THE NATURE, USE, AND END OF THE HOLY SCRIPTURES, WHICH ARE A GOOD FOUNDATION OF ASSURANCE.

My Second argument to prove that it is possible for a believer to attain to a certain knowledge that he is effectually called, shall be *from the nature, use, and end of the holy scriptures.*—If scripture be a good foundation of assurance, then assurance is possible: But scripture is a good foundation of assurance, upon a double account:

1. *As to the matter revealed.*
2. *As to the manner of revelation.*

As to the matter of them; namely, the grace of God in Christ.

1. Scripture is a good foundation of assurance, if you consider *the matter of scripture-revelation.*—The sum and substance of all scripture-revelation is, the manifestation of God's grace in Christ Jesus unto sinners; namely, that "God so loved the world, that he gave his only-begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life." (John iii. 16.) Or, in fewer words, "By grace we are saved through faith; and that not of ourselves; it is the gift of God." (Eph. ii. 8.) Or, in one word, "Grace" is the chief matter of scripture.

Now God's grace, as it is revealed in scripture, is a good foundation of assurance upon two accounts:

(1.) *As it is free grace.*
(2.) *As it is engaged grace.*

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* *Pietatem quæstum ducunt illi, &c.* "Those count gain godliness, who think [that] the oracles of God are given to no other end but to serve their avarice, and measure all religion by their own profit."—CALVINUS *in* 1 *Tim. vi.* 3—5.

Scripture reveals free grace.

(1.) The scriptures reveal the grace of God *in its freeness,* and so it affords a good foundation of assurance. Were sinners to be justified by works, or by their own merits, assurance were impossible; but it is "by grace that we are saved;" that is, by the merits of our Mediator. God freely accepts of that expiation which Christ hath made by the sacrifice of his own blood upon our account. The Papists, that hold justification by works, must necessarily deny the possibility of assurance; for if justification were by works, then if a believer should keep the whole law, and fail but of one particular, he were guilty of all. (James ii. 10.) In that case therefore no man could attain to assurance; "for in many things we offend all." (James iii. 2.) But (blessed be God!) believers are "not under the law, but under grace." (Rom. vi. 14.) Now grace accepts, for Christ's sake, sincere obedience, where no perfect obedience can be performed. Wherever sin is neither deliberate nor habitual, it cannot weaken a believer's evidence: neither ought the imperfections of believers to hinder their assurance, because the grace of God in Christ is free, accepting satisfaction from Christ.

Scripture reveals grace engaged.

(2.) The grace of God revealed in scripture is a good foundation of assurance *as it is engaged grace;* that is, as it is grace revealed in a covenant or promise. Grace as to any merit of ours is free; but as to the promise of God, it is engaged. And as assurance were impossible, were not grace free, that is, were believers still under a covenant of works; so assurance were impossible still, if believers were under no covenant-dispensation at all. Believers could have no hold of grace, were it never so free in itself, had not God given us assurance of his grace in the covenant, and bound himself by promise. I know, some men do highly magnify the essential goodness and kindness of God as the ground of a natural faith. I grant that this divine benignity and goodness doth afford some lesser hope or expectation of pardon; but it gives no solid ground of assurance. The essential bounty, goodness, and mercy of God is like a deep and wide ocean, upon which the mind of man may, as a vessel at sea, bear itself up in a calm; but if a storm arise, every wise pilot will make toward the shore, or to a safe rock, because it is there only he can find good anchor-hold. Grace in a covenant, or in a conditional promise, may seem to be grace bounded and limited; but yet hope even there hath better anchorage than it hath upon God's general grace and philanthropy, which may bear up the soul in a calm, but afford little peace to an unquiet mind. It is the rock of our salvation revealed in the promise that only can stay that soul which is once thoroughly awakened and convinced of guilt. Now the scripture doth reveal God's grace engaged by covenant to accept for Christ's sake all those that do depend upon his Son's merits, and obey his commands, by an effectual faith.

Scripture reveals the nature of that faith whereby a believer attains an interest in Christ.

(3.) And that is another thing revealed in the word; namely, *the nature of that faith by which believers do obtain an interest in God's grace through Christ.*—And upon this account the scripture is a good foundation of assurance, inasmuch as, (i.) It reveals certainly and undoubtedly that by faith in Christ we have an interest in God's most free and promised grace. (John iii. 16.) (ii.) That it reveals certain and undoubted marks of the nature of true faith in Christ. (James ii. 17, 18.) If then a believer be by the word informed that through faith in Christ he may certainly obtain pardon of sin; and if he be also sufficiently therein taught how to discover unfeigned from feigned faith by those certain κριτηρια ["criteria"] or γνωρισματα ["marks"] which are laid down in the word; (1 Tim. i. 5;) what can hinder the possibility of a believer's assurance?

The manner of scripture-revelation shows it to be a good foundation of assurance.

2. Especially if you shall consider, in the second place, *the manner of scripture-revelation;* which proves it to be a good foundation of assurance, in that it is, (1.) Full. (2.) Plain. (3.) Assuredly divine. (4.) Designed for assurance.

(1.) Scripture-revelation of the way of life, is *full;* that is, all things necessary to be known, both for salvation and for the furtherance of assurance, are fully revealed, so as there is nothing wanting. (John xv. 15.)

(2.) All things are revealed *plainly, clearly, and so intelligibly* as that the lowest capacity may reach and know the will of God, so far as concerns salvation; and he that is humble and obedient may understand whatever is necessary to be known concerning salvation or assurance. (John vii. 17.)

(3.) All things are *abundantly assured to us to be of divine authority,* God having been pleased to set the seal of miracles to the patent of every ambassador sent by him, and having attested the commission of every penman of scripture, as appears by Heb. ii. 3, 4. But I do omit the full proof of the sufficiency, perspicuity, and divine authority of the scripture, because it is so abundantly done by others in the discourses annexed.

(4.) A fourth property of scripture-revelation is this, *that it was revealed to this very end,—that men might attain to assurance thereby.* So we are frequently told by God himself, namely, that "whatsoever things were written aforetime were written for our learning, that we through patience and comfort of the scriptures might have hope." (Rom. xv. 4.) And lest any one should think that the Spirit of God by "hope" doth only understand a conjecture, as Bellarmine interprets the place,* the apostle John doth tell us, that the express design of his epistle was, that those who believe might not only hope, but "know they had eternal life." (1 John v. 13.) And Christ himself tells believers that he spoke all those things "that they might have joy, and that their joy might be full." (John xv. 11.) And the author [of the epistle] to the Hebrews gives us this very account, why God did not only make a covenant of grace, but did also confirm and ratify it by an oath; namely, that believers "might have strong consolation," or assured comfort. (Heb. vi. 18.) From all which it is evident, believers have a good foundation of assurance in and by the word.* And moreover it is evident that the word was designed for this end. Now the rule is most true: *Deus et natura nihil moliuntur frustra,* "God and nature design nothing in vain."

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* BELLARMINUS *De Just.* lib. iii. cap. 3.

THE THIRD ARGUMENT: FROM THE NATURE OF MAN'S FACULTIES AND POWER OF CONSCIENCE.

As God hath given believers a good foundation of assurance in the word, so he hath given them sufficient help and power rightly and assuredly to build upon that foundation; *inasmuch as he hath endued them with such faculties as are able to observe, discern, and judge of their regular building upon that foundation; that is, God hath enabled them to discern certainly whether their hearts and lives agree with the rule of faith and manners.*—If God had created the sun, but had denied men eyes, no man could have known the path which he walks in, or have discerned the end which he aims at: but God hath given both light streaming forth from the word, and he hath given the eye of conscience, that by both these men might come assuredly to know that they are called out of darkness unto light, (Eph. v. 8,) and that they walk in that narrow way that leads to life, (Matt. vii. 14,) because they always make salvation the constant white and mark of their eye. The church of Rome perverts all true religion at once, and destroyeth all rational obedience to God's command, as well as they do undermine all the best joys and comforts of a good man's life,† while they deny that any man can know assuredly what it is which he chooses for his portion, or what he doth mostly prosecute, or what is the chief bent, frame, or complexion of his heart, or what is the tenor or course of his life and conversation; whereas there are few persons living that bear not about them in their own breasts a convincing argument, from the testimony of conscience, how much the general conversation of some men does depart from the rule of the word, and how near other men, in the tendency of their lives, do approach to it. The dictates of most men's consciences do tell them, how great a discerning they have of good and evil, and also of the nature of their own actions. No man can be wholly ignorant of the law of God which is written in his own heart; and few men who live under the preaching of the gospel, but are conscious of the strivings of the Spirit of God with them; and they know in what instance they have complied with its motions, and against what calls thereof they have stopped their ears: how much more then may every true believer certainly know the saving work of God upon him! If an unsanctified person cannot wholly be a stranger to himself, surely, then, the man that dwells much at home, that frequently descends into his own heart, that summons his own soul to appear before him, and to come to trial,—this man cannot easily be ignorant what agreement there is between the rule of God's word, and the method of his conversation. Bellarmine doth much urge that text of the prophet: "The heart" of man "is deceitful above all things, and desperately wicked: who can know it?" (Jer. xvii. 9.) "If no man can know his heart," saith the cardinal, "then none can attain to assurance." But we answer:

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* Christ is *fundamentum quod* ["the foundation itself"]; scripture is *fundamentum quo* ["the foundation on which"].

† Luther saith, that if there were no other error in Rome but their denying the possibility of assurance, all men ought to reject communion with them.—LUTHER *in Gen. xli.*

1. That though an unregenerate heart which is desperately wicked be deceitful, and not to be known, yet so are not the hearts of true believers.

2. The question is propounded of one man's knowing the heart of another, but not of a man's knowing his own; so Peter Martyr and others upon the place.

There are three offices of conscience which it is able to discharge, and thereby it doth exceedingly promote a believer's assurance.

1. There is in conscience *συντηρησις*, by which power it is able to eye its rule.

2. *Συνειδησις*, a power to compare man's actions with the rule.

3. *Κρισις*, a power to pass sentence or judgment either of condemnation, whereby it doth *κατηγορειν*, "accuse;" or of absolution, whereby it doth *απολογειν*, "excuse;" as the apostle speaks, Rom. ii. 15.

Conscience is both a judge, a witness, and an executioner upon the trial of man's heart and life.

Conscience is a judge according to law.

1. *Conscience is a judge.*—I will not say, it is a king to give law; but it is a judge to try and to pass sentence according to law. Hence the apostle John doubts not to say that the voice of conscience is one and the same with the voice of God: "Hereby," saith he, "we know that we are of" him in "truth, and shall assure our hearts before him. For if our heart condemn us, God is greater than our heart, and knoweth all things. Beloved, if our heart condemn us not, then have we confidence" even "before God." (1 John iii. 19—21.) That person that is acquitted at the bar by a judge acting according to law, needs not fear to appear before the king himself on the throne.

Conscience a witness as to matter of fact.

2. *Conscience discharges the office of a witness.*—St. Paul calls it "a witness:" "I say the truth in Christ, I lie not, my conscience also bearing witness;" (Rom. ix. 1;) and St. John gives it the same title: "He that believeth hath the witness in himself." (1 John v. 10.) Heathens could say, *Conscientia mille testes*, "Conscience is a thousand witnesses;" but the apostle speaks yet more, when he joins the Spirit of God as a co-witness with our spirits: "The Spirit itself beareth witness with our spirit, that we are the children of God." (Rom. viii. 16.)

Conscience is a rewarder or punisher according to sentence given.

3. *Conscience is a rewarder or punisher according to the nature of the sentence which it pronounces.*—If conscience doth accuse, no such severe tormentor as conscience is, as is evident in the instances of Caïn, and

Judas, and Spira; if conscience doth acquit, no such comforter and rewarder: "Our rejoicing," saith Paul, "is this, the testimony of our conscience," &c.: (2 Cor. i. 12:) no such joy, no such feast, as the joy and feast of a good conscience. (Prov. xv. 15.) Well may it be said, that "a good man is satisfied from himself." (Prov. xiv. 14.) This "bread" is often "eaten in secret:" it is "hidden manna," and is so much the more pleasant: (Prov. ix. 17:) this is joy that a stranger meddles not withal, (Prov. xiv. 10,) and is so much the more secure. The "new name" and "the white stone" none know but those that have them, (Rev. ii. 17,) even "the sons of consolation."

THE FOURTH ARGUMENT: BECAUSE IT HATH BEEN ATTAINED.

Assurance is possible to be attained *because it hath been attained.—Ab esse ad posse valet consequentia.** 1. Job declares his assurance in that he saith, he knew that his Redeemer did live; *his*, emphatically his, not another's, Redeemer; *his Redeemer*, as to eternal as well as temporal concerns; so he describes him: "He shall stand at the latter day upon the earth," the day of resurrection, after worms had devoured his skin and his flesh; then should he see him owning and receiving of him into glory. (Job xix. 25, 26.) 2. David also was so assured of his interest in God, that he with assured confidence requires salvation from God's hand: "I am thine," saith he, "therefore save me." (Psalm cxix. 94.) 3. Another instance of assurance we have in Hezekiah, who could appeal to God on a death-bed, that he had walked before God in truth with a perfect heart, and had done that which was right in God's sight. And it is evident, his assurance was good; for God accepts of the appeal, and declares it to be true. (Isai. xxxviii. 3—5.) But the most convincing instance is that of Paul, in Rom. viii. 38, 39, where he declares so great a plerophory of assurance, that he was persuaded, neither life, nor death, nor any other thing should separate him from the love of God. The Romanists do variously excruciate themselves to evade the force of this text. Some of them say,† the apostle speaks only of a conjectural persuasion; but Pareus proves that the apostle never useth the word *ϖεπεισμαι*, "I am persuaded," (with reference to his own salvation,) but he intends full assurance by it: so in 2 Tim. i. 12: "I know whom I have believed, and am persuaded" (that is, "I am assured") "that he is able to keep that thing I have committed to him against that day." God's power is not an object of conjecture, but of knowledge and assurance. Others of that church say,‡ that although Paul was assured that not any creature could separate him from the love of God, yet he was not sure but he might separate himself by the apostasy of his own will. Of those men the learned Chamier doth well demand whether the apostle's will were not a creature; and also, whether God cannot by his own power keep our wills to himself, after he hath made us of unwilling to be a willing people.§ For notwithstanding there may after conversion remain a natural power in men to alienate their hearts from God, yet by Christ's mediation and the Spirit's superintendency in true believers, there remains no moral power actually to do it. And, further:

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* "From actual being to possibility the consequence is valid."—EDIT.

† STAPLETON, VASQUEZ.

‡ SALMERO, PERERIUS.

§ *Panstratia Catholica*, tom. iii. lib. xiii.

"Since no creature can do any thing toward our separation from God but by our wills, it is folly," saith he, "to think that the apostle doth not include a believer's will, when he saith, 'No creature shall separate a believer from God.'" Bellarmine, to avoid the text, runs to his old refuge, and grants that Paul was truly assured, but it was by an extraordinary revelation, which no other believer can ordinarily attain to.* The folly of this evasion I have already in part detected; two things more I desire may here be considered: 1. That when any persons have declared, in the scripture, their full assurance, they have spoken of it not as of a thing of extraordinary revelation, but as of a thing of evident probation. 2. That yet they have spoken of their assurance as of a thing of as great certainty as can be desired. For the proof of both these, I shall instance in the apostle John, who often asserts his assurance; but, 1. He reckons it not grounded upon immediate revelation, but upon rational evidence and probation. His words are these: "Hereby" (*εν τουτῳ*) "we do know," saith he, "that we know him, if we keep his commandments." (1 John ii. 3.) And again: "Hereby" (the same word is here used again) "we know that we are of" him in "truth, and shall assure our hearts before him." (1 John iii. 19.) You see, in both places, he speaks argumentatively, not by way of revelation: and yet observe, 2. That his assurance was full and strong; for it is expressed by words importing as great assurance as can be expected: *Γινωσκομεν ὁτι εγνωκαμεν*, *Scimus quòd novimus*, "We know that we know him;" and in the other text the emphasis seems greater: *Εν τουτῳ γινωσκομεν ὁτι εκ της αληθειας εσμεν, και εμπροσθεν αυτου ϖεισομεν τας καρδιας ἡμων·* "Hereby we know that we are of" him in "truth, and" we know [that] we "shall assure our hearts before him." (1 John iii. 19.) So that, you see, many believers have attained to assurance; and therefore it is possible.

THE FIFTH ARGUMENT: FROM THE INSTITUTION, NATURE, USE, AND END OF THE SACRAMENTS.

It is possible to attain to assurance, *because God hath designed our assurance in the instituting of those ordinances which do properly tend to the begetting and increasing of assurance; that is, God hath therefore confirmed his promises and the covenant of his grace by visible signs and seals, for the begetting and promoting [of] our assurance of his love and favour to us.*—There could be no greater reason of the institution of circumcision and the passover under the law, and of baptism and the Lord's supper under the gospel, than God's intending thereby the giving all necessary and useful helps and furtherance of subjective assurance. Hence it is that the apostle Paul tells us, that the promise and the blessing was sure in itself to Abraham long before he was circumcised. (Rom. iv. 11.) It may then be inquired, To what end was circumcision instituted? The same apostle tells [us that] the end was, that it might be a ground of greater assurance; for so he saith, "Abraham received the sign of circumcision, a seal of the righteousness of the faith which he had yet being uncircumcised." Now unto this seal of circumcision under the law the seal of baptism answers in the gospel:

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* *De Justif.* lib. iii. cap. 5.

and as the striking of the blood of the paschal lamb on the door-posts of the Israelites gave farther assurance, after the promise was made, that the destroying angel should not smite the first-born of any Israelite; so the institution of the Lord's supper was intended for a begetting [of] the greater assurance in the heart of a true believer, that God will not destroy him for the sake of the blood of his Son that is thereby represented: both sacraments being intended as seals of the covenant of grace, more visibly ratifying thereof to sense, and confirming faith thereby.

Moreover, God in the sacraments doth confirm a believer's faith, inasmuch as he doth therein, by his ministers, make a more particular and personal offer and application of his grace to every true believer. In the sacraments there are to be considered, 1. The confirmation; and, 2. The more special application of the benefits of the covenant of grace; and by both these a believer's faith is strengthened, and his assurance is promoted. It is one argument that Becanus, the Papist, useth against the possibility of assurance; namely, because God hath not by name declared to any person that his sins are forgiven any where in scripture. But this cavil and objection we have already obviated, and told you that all universal and general propositions do include singular and particulars. It is nowhere said, that Thomas or John shall not do any murder, or shall not steal; but the command is as binding as if they had been named: the case is the same in promises as in commands. But we might answer *sano sensu* ["in a sound sense"] farther, with St. Bernard, that in the sacrament of the Lord's supper there is an actual exhibition and particular application made of the grace of God, whereby all true believers are personally and actually invested into that grace by a direct and immediate assurance given. The father explains himself thus: "The priest," saith he, "in the eucharist doth as it were invest the receiver with an assurance of pardon, as some men are invested into an estate by a rod or staff, or as a woman is invested into an actual interest in her husband's estate by her husband's putting a ring upon her finger, or as a canon is invested by a book put into his hand, or as an abbot is invested by a staff." * We do not say, with the Papists, that the sacraments do actually confer grace by virtue of the external application; but we say, that in the sacrament there is an assured "offer" of grace made to every receiver, and unto all true believers they do "sign, seal, and assure" a certain and undoubted interest in pardon.† Bellarmine saith, that "after the receiving of the sacrament," as he calls it, "of absolution, very many believers have, and all believers ought to have, a certain and confident assurance of pardon of sin." ‡ In which words of the Jesuit, I desire three things to be observed: 1. How openly and plainly Bellarmine contradicts himself. 2. How he hath incurred the anathema of the Trent council. And, 3. How he hath conceded what we plead for.

1. This admired doctor takes liberty to contradict himself, as so great a scholar may much better than another; for if you consult his third

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* *Domino passioni appropinquans, investiri suos de gratiâ suâ curavit, &c.*—BERNARDUS *De Cœnâ Dom.* serm. i.

† *Offerunt, non conferunt; signant et obsignant.*

‡ *Post receptum sacramentum plurimi fidelium habent, et habere debent, fiduciæ certitudinem de remissione peccatorum.*—BELLARMINUS *De Pœn.* lib. iii. cap. 2.

chapter of his third book "Of Justification," he there tells you, that "it is a gross error to say that any believer can have any such sure knowledge of their own grace, so as that they can, by an assured faith, determine that their sins are forgiven:" * but in the second chapter of his third book "Of Repentance," now quoted, you see that he had said before, that "after absolution, many believers have, and ought to have, an assurance of faith that their sins are forgiven." If these things be not contradictions, I know not what are. Some of his friends would help him, by saying that there is difference between an assured faith in one place, and an assurance of faith in another; or between *certâ fide statuere,* and *fiduciæ certitudinem habere.* If any one shall so distinguish, he will but farther discover his own folly; because *certitudo fiduciæ,* "assurance of faith," is, of the two, more large and comprehensive than *certa fides,* which we translate "sure faith." Assurance or confidence doth always suppose sure faith, or certain assent, as the ground, root, and foundation thereof.† There may be faith where there is no confidence, but there can be no confidence where there is no faith: he that therefore saith, that "it is possible for a man to be assuredly confident of the pardon of his sin," doth contradict him that saith, "It is not possible for any man to believe his sins are pardoned." Bellarmine, by saying both these things, doth plainly contradict himself.

2. But we shall wonder at this the less, because, in the second place, we may observe that he makes bold to contradict in most express terms his most holy council of Trent; the words of which council I quoted in the entrance of this discourse; wherein they declare that *certitudo fiduciæ,* "assurance of faith,"—or "assurance of confidence," translate it as you please,—concerning pardon of sin is vain and impious. But Bellarmine saith, that "many believers have (and all ought after absolution to have) this" *certitudinem fiduciæ,* "assurance of faith" or "confidence:" call it by what name you will; yet the contradiction is direct, the same word being used by the council and by the Jesuit. Now who can by any distinction reconcile these two contradicting positions? And therefore I suppose, none can free our poor doctor from the anathema passed upon him by the council. For my part, I always thought a council to be more infallible than the pope; (though I will try before I will trust either of them;) I am therefore confident that the pope did err when he made a saint of this cardinal, whom we find accursed by the council.

3. But we Protestants ought to pardon and absolve the Jesuit from this anathema, pronounced for his contradicting the pretended general council, since he doth not in this contradict the truth, but doth grant all that which we plead for, even almost in the very words and terms by which the Protestants themselves express it; for there is little or no difference between the very phrase which I have quoted out of Bellarmine's second book "Of Penance," and the very words of his adversary Chemnitius, in his *Examen,* which are these, that "a true penitent, or

* *Primus hæreticorum error est, posse fideles eam notitiam habere de suâ gratiâ ut certâ fide statuant sibi remissa esse peccata.*—BELLARMINUS *De Justif.* lib. iii. cap. 3.

† *Fides est fiduciæ fundamentum: fiducia est fidei actus.*—PRIDEAUX, *Lectio vii.* "Faith is the foundation of trust and confidence: confidence is faith in exercise."—EDIT.

one that acts true faith on Christ, may by an assured confidence determine that his sins are pardoned." *

I shall conclude this argument with this NOTE, that if it be granted, that after the pretended sacrament of penance and absolution by a priest, a believer may become assured of the pardon of his sin; he may much better conclude his sins to be pardoned after the right use of the sacrament of the Lord's supper, which was designed to be a seal and confirmation to his faith.

THE SIXTH ARGUMENT: BECAUSE IT IS POSSIBLE TO ATTAIN TO ALL ASSURING EVIDENCES.

The sixth argument is this: *It is possible for a believer to prove that he is effectually called by all assuring evidences; and therefore it is possible for him to attain to a certain knowledge that he is effectually called.*—There are three, and but three, sorts of assuring evidences: 1. *Demonstrative argument:* 2. *Unerring sense:* 3. *Infallible testimony.* Now it is possible for a believer to prove that he is effectually called by all these several sorts of evidences.

By demonstrative argument.

1. *By demonstrative argument;* that is, a demonstration which proves either the being and existence of a thing by its inseparable and distinguishing effects, or proves the nature and kind of a thing by the special and essential properties of it. Now a believer may prove that he is effectually called, or that he is regenerated, and that the Spirit of God hath infused the habits of saving grace into him,

From the proper effects of infused habits of grace.

First. *By peculiar, proper, and distinguishing effects of infused habits of saving grace.*—The effects of all habits are their respective acts; and although all sorts of gracious acts do not prove habits of true grace, yet God hath declared in his word that there are some acts and some exercises of grace, which do demonstratively prove infused habits of grace, and do evidence an effectual call. This is proved by 1 Thess. i. 3, compared with verse 5. In the fifth verse Paul tells the Thessalonians, that "the gospel came not to them in word only, but also in power, and in the Holy Ghost, and in much assurance;" that is, he tells them they were effectually called. But how may this be proved? What evidence is it built upon? See verse 3. He proves it by two things: (1.) By the indwelling habits of grace; namely, faith, love, and hope. (2.) By the distinguishing acts of those graces; namely, working, labouring, and patience: "Remembering," saith the apostle, "your work of faith, your labour of love, and patience of hope." Now in the same manner (as Paul doth) it is possible for many true believers to prove demonstratively also the truth of their grace.

The work of faith.

(1.) *They may prove the truth of their faith by its work.*—The apostle James saith, that works "do show," or, as the word (δειξον) signifies,

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* *Peccator in seriâ pœnitentiâ ex fide in Christum possit certâ fiduciâ statuere sibi remissa esse peccata.*—CHEMNITII *Examen,* ad sess. vi.

"demonstrate," the truth of faith. (James ii. 18.) All sorts of works do not prove faith to be saving; but some works do manifest it, and by them it is possible to prove an effectual call. (1 Peter i. 7.) I will name (and I must but name) some works of faith, which are all as so many demonstrations of true faith. (i.) Prizing the Lord Jesus above all things. (Phil. iii. 8.) (ii.) Receiving him in all his offices as offered in the gospel. (John i. 12.) (iii.) Victory over the world. (1 John v. 4.) (iv.) Quenching of Satan's fiery darts. (Eph. vi. 16.) (v.) Purifying of the heart. (Acts xv. 9.) Wherever these works or effects of faith are, there certainly is saving faith.

Labour of love.

(2.) *Love may be demonstrated by its labour; that is, by its exercise and peculiar fruits and effects.*—The word κοπος της αγαπης, "*labour* of love," mentioned by the apostle, (1 Thess. i. 3,) is used not to signify any irksomeness or burden that love feels; for nothing more delightful and pleasant than the work of love; but to intimate the diligence, constancy, and universality of love's exercise. Where love to God is sincere, there love commands the heart; the interest of God in such souls is superior to all other interests. Hence God's "commands are not grievous;" (1 John v. 3;) and this is a property of love that demonstratively proves it to be the work of the Spirit in an effectual call. If the apostle John had any logic in him, he thought this to be a demonstration, that "he that keepeth his word, in him verily" (that is, certainly, undoubtedly) "is the love of God perfected;" (1 John ii. 5;) that is, evangelically complete and sincere. The nature of true love is such, that it will make itself manifest. If men would design to conceal it from others, it is difficult to be hid; but for a man to hide it from himself, it is impossible. The consideration of which forces Bellarmine to confess, that "love to God, or charity, is a most certain note whereby alone the children of God may be distinguished from the children of Satan." * Thus again, while our adversary opposes the possibility of assurance, he doth contradict himself, and most fully grant it to be possible; because there are confessedly some certain marks and signs of the children of God, and by these fruits they may be known. We have instanced in two graces, of faith and love; we shall instance but in one other, namely,

The patience of hope.

(3.) *Hope: this grace may be demonstratively proved to be wrought by the Spirit in an effectual call, by that distinguishing effect or consequence of it, which the apostle mentions also in the fore-quoted place; namely, a constant, patient submission to the will of God, in parting with any or all the enjoyments of this life, and in bearing whatever affliction God in his wisdom shall think fit to try a believer with.*—I do not say that either hope or patience, when separately taken, but only in conjunction one with the other, are certain signs of true grace. There is a great deal of presumption or false hope in the world; but false hope is never followed with self-denial, or with an entire resignation to the will of God, so as to forsake all and to follow Christ. On the other hand, there may be some kind of patience which may be nothing but a stoical apathy, and a senselessness under sufferings, or only a blind boldness to engage with difficulties. Now this oftentimes arises from pride, not from evangelical hope, nor from a sense of interest in the love of Christ. Now we do not say that such hope or patience, when so divided, are certain arguments of regeneration, but [that] they are only so in conjunction; and we say that patience, when it is a fruit of gospel hope,—it is then an effect of the Spirit's work, who hath infused that hope as a habit of saving grace; and it is demonstratively proved to be so, because this hope is of the same nature as saving faith,* and it hath many evidences which certainly manifest it to be saving: (i.) This hope purifies the heart. (1 John iii. 3.) (ii.) This hope rejoiceth the heart. (Rom. v. 2.) (iii.) It assures the heart. (Heb. vi. 11, 19.) (iv.) It saves the soul. (Rom. viii. 24.) Now these effects are able to distinguish presumption from right hope, and also argumentatively to evidence an effectual call.

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* *Charitas est ipsa sola certissima nota, quâ filii Dei a filiis diaboli decernantur.*—BELLARMINUS *De Justif.* lib. iv. cap. 15.

From the essential properties of saving habits.

Secondly. *It is possible to prove by demonstrative argument that the Spirit of God hath infused the habits of saving grace into the heart by the special and essential properties of these habits.*—There are four properties of some acts which do prove the existence of habits; and do evidently show, that those acts and exercises do flow from principles or habits either, (1.) Naturally; or, (2.) Acquired; or, (3.) Infused; and the four properties are these: (1.) Facility and promptness or preparedness to act. (2.) Delight and pleasure in acting. (3.) Universality as to the object about which it acts. (4.) Constancy as to continuance in acting. Now it is possible for a believer to discern that the exercise of his grace hath all these properties,† and thereby he may demonstratively prove that his graces are habitual, and consequently that they were infused in an effectual call; for I have proved that they cannot be natural or acquired habits, and therefore they must be infused. That it is possible for a believer to attain to these properties, and to discern them, I shall briefly prove (although I could be large) in the instance of David, who attained to and discerned, (1.) A facility and readiness, a fixedness and preparedness, in the exercise of his grace, as you may see in Psalm cviii. 1; lvii. 7. (2.) A joy, delight, and pleasure in acting or doing the will of God. (Psalm xl. 8; cxix. 16, 35, 47, 70, 92, 143.) (3.) An universality in his obedience, and in that respect which he had to all God's commands. (Psalm cxix. 6.) (4.) A constancy and continuance (not as to every particular, but as to the general course) of his obedience. (Psalm lxxiii. 25; cxix. 44, 117.)

That other believers may attain to the same properties as David did, none can deny; and that they may discern them as David did, can be as little denied; and therefore it is possible to prove an effectual call by demonstrative argument.

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* Our adversaries grant a certainty of hope, and therefore must grant a certainty of faith; for scripture useth often to speak of both these as one grace, and the Hebrew word, בטח signifies both "to believe" and "hope."

† All these properties are comprehended in those two words in Psalm li: רוח נדיבה "a free spirit;" רוח נכון "an established spirit."—MAIMONIDIS *More Nevochim.*

Unerring sense.

2. It is possible for a true believer to prove that he is effectually called *by an unerring sense.* Every kind of life is endued with a sense proper to its nature;[*] for there is a certain connexion between life and sense; and the more high and noble any principle of life is, the more clear and perspicuous are the sensations and perceptions of that principle. The senses of the animal life are evident, and the perceptions of the rational life are more discernible than they; but no sense so quick and clear as that of the divine life, because the principle thereof is more high and noble. Here possibly a half-witted pretender to reason will cry out, that "to discourse of spiritual senses and the perceptions of the divine life, is to speak nothing but enthusiasm, and things which none understand." I answer, Monsieur des Cartes was far enough from enthusiasm; yet that master of reason builds all his philosophy upon a principle of inward sense; namely, *Cogito; ergò sum,* "I know I think; therefore I know I am." And he farther tells us, that the idea, or inward sense, of a God, is the best argument to prove that there is one.[†] Again: I ask, Were the philosophers of old, Plato and Aristotle, enthusiasts, who agreed in this, that all men are naturally endued with a double faculty of discerning? One they called *facultas* διανοητικη, "a discursive faculty;" the other, *facultas* νοητικη, "an intellective faculty;" by the latter of which, some truths, they said, were intuitively and directly seen, ου μετα λογου, "not by argumentation," but by internal sense:[‡] and this all men know and acknowledge, who are self-acquainted in any measure. And agreeable hereunto the Spirit of God is pleased to represent the perceptions of the divine life by expressions of sense; as, of seeing the Just One; (Acts xxii. 14;) of hearing and learning of the Father; (John vi. 45;) of smelling a savour and sweet odour in gospel-revelations; (2 Cor. ii. 14;) of tasting that God is good; (Psalm xxxiv. 8;) of touching and handling the word of truth. (1 John i. 1.) Now as it is folly to strain scripture-allusions too far, and to take its metaphors in the literal and proper sense; so it is madness and gross ignorance, on the other hand, to think that by these expressions the Spirit of God did not intend to inform us, that every true believer doth as truly discern spiritual objects by an internal sense, as any man doth discern material objects by his bodily senses.

Three acts of sense, whereby a believer may know that he is effectually called.

I shall instance but in three acts of divine sense, whereby it is possible for a believer to prove sensibly that he is effectually called.

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[*] The lord Herbert saith, "Every being is endued with sense, even the very elements:" *Est in quovis inarticulato et incauto elemento instinctus quidam naturalis.*—HERBERT *De Veritate.* The Pythagoreans thought it equal cruelty to cut off the branch of a tree, as to break the leg of an ox or the arm of a man; affirming that all trees were endued with sense.—DIOGENES LAERTIUS *De Vitis Philos.*

[†] CARTESIUS *De Methodo.*

[‡] ARISTOTELIS *Analyt. Post.* lib. ii. cap. ult.

By discerning a divine light illuminating his understanding.

(1.) *Many believers do see such a light breaking-in upon their understanding, as doth manifestly declare itself to be the especial work of God's own Spirit.*—For by two properties the teaching of God's Spirit may be distinguished from the common teachings of men, or from the sole convictions of a natural conscience:

(i.) *By the clearness and fulness of this light.*—When the Spirit co-operates with the word, then a believer in God's light sees light, as the Psalmist phraseth it; (Psalm xxxvi. 9;) he sees "eye to eye," as the prophet Isaiah expresses it. (Isai. lii. 8.) Divine light is full, and descends deep, and enters far into the minds of men: "Wisdom enters into the soul." (Prov. ii. 10.) God shines into the heart. (2 Peter i. 19.) And hence truth is said to be written, (Heb. viii. 10,) to be engraven, (2 Cor. iii. 3,) to be sealed, (Job xxxiii. 16,) on man's heart and soul.

(ii.) *By its influence on practice.*—No truly divine teaching is or can be detained in unrighteousness; (Rom. i. 18;) and hereby it is distinguished from common teaching: sun-light is distinguished from moonlight by its brightness, and by its warmth also. A mere natural conviction is like a flash of lightning in the night, which makes a short discovery of some objects, but vanishes before a man takes one step of his journey; but when the Spirit teaches by the word, the Spirit makes the word "a light" to a believer's "feet and a lamp to his paths;" (Psalm cxix. 105;) that is, it becomes a practical light; and hereby it is also known to be effectual.

He feels a divine power prevailing upon his will.

(2.) *A true believer feels a divine power prevailing upon his will, which he proves to be supernatural both by the exceeding greatness of it in its principle, and also by the mighty working of it in its effects.*—The apostle Paul desires of God, that the Ephesians might know that they were effectually called, and that they might also know the hope thereof, in Eph. i. 18. And in verse 19 he declares how this might be obtained; namely, (i.) *By discerning "the exceeding greatness of God's power toward them that believe;"* that is, in its principle. (ii.) *By discerning "the working of this mighty power" in them that believe;* that is, in the effects thereof. *God's power exercised upon and toward believers* is said here in itself to be "great;" nay, more, it is "greatness;" farther yet, it is "greatness of power;" higher yet, it is "exceeding greatness of power:" *Τι το ὑπερϐαλλον μεγεθος της δυναμεως αυτου εις ἡμας τους ϖιστευοντας κατα την ενεργειαν του κρατους της ισχυος αυτου.* (Eph. i. 19.) Can this power be put forth upon man, and man be wholly insensible thereof? It is impossible; especially if you add the other consideration of *the effects that are wrought by this power in believers;* such as these: the "quickening" of lifeless sinners, and the raising of them from the "dead;" (Eph. ii. 1;) the "renewing of the spirit of the mind;" the "putting on the new man, which is created after the image of God in Christ Jesus, in righteousness and true holiness." (Eph. iv. 23, 24.) These signal effects, which a believer cannot but feel, do as certainly prove an effectual call, as the works of the old creation do prove the existence of a God, or the miracles wrought by Christ did prove him to be the Son of God.

He hath a spiritual taste of the goodness of God and his ways.

(3.) *A true believer hath a spiritual taste of God's love and favour, and of the goodness of his ways; and by it he is able to prove that he is born of God.*—According to that of the apostle in 1 Peter ii. 1. But Bellarmine here doth object, that hypocrites and apostates are supposed in Heb. vi. 4, 5, to have a taste of the good word of God.

Bellarmine's objection from Heb. vi. 4, 5 answered.

I answer: (i.) A hypocrite may have a taste of the word, but it is but a taste; whereas a true believer drinks so deep of these waters of life, that they become "a well of living water springing up to everlasting life." (John iv. 14; vii. 38.)

(ii.) Although a hypocrite may have some taste of the sweetness of the word, yet he always tastes a greater sweetness in the world; but it is contrary in believers: David tasted the word to be "sweeter than honey," and more precious "than much fine gold." (Psalm xix. 10.) The stony ground received indeed the word with joy at first, but parted with it again, rather than undergo the sorrow of persecution. (Matt. xiii. 20, 21.)

(iii.) A hypocrite may taste some sweetness in the promises and privileges of the word, and the gifts of the Spirit; but not in the precepts of the word, or graces of the Spirit. Simon Magus would part with the world, and give money for the miraculous power of the Spirit; but he regarded not the sanctity of the Spirit, or obedience to its laws: (Acts viii. 18, 19:) but a believer thinks that in the very "keeping" of God's commands "there is great reward;" (Psalm xix. 11;) and David professes his delight to do the will of God. (Psalm xl. 8.)

Sense is a certain and an unerring evidence.

So that by these and many other acts of sense, which I must not name, a believer is able to prove that he is effectually called, and that certainly, and without error or mistake. For the rule holds good in the due exercise of spiritual as well as bodily sense, that *sensus non fallitur circa proprium objectum,* "sense cannot be deceived about its proper object." Bodily sense is so certain, as that Christ himself appeals to it in a proper case: reason discerns that spirits have neither flesh nor bones; and Christ bids his disciples to exercise their sense, and to feel that he had both.* (Luke xxiv. 39.) From the certainty of outward sense, we do most justly reject the doctrine of transubstantiation: the receiver sees bread, feels bread, smells bread, tastes bread; and yet the senseless priest would have men believe that it is flesh.

But a Papist will tell you, that there may be *deceptio visûs,* "a mistake in sight and sense," both external and internal. I answer: The evidence of sense in general is certain and unerring, (although there may be some mistake in particular acts of sense,) upon two accounts: First. Because the causes of particular errors may always be known to be, (1.) Either the ill disposition of the organ, as in a jaundice-eye; or, (2.) The distance of the object, as the apparent smallness of heavenly bodies; or, (3.) The different medium through which the object is beheld, as a staff half in water and half out seems crooked. Secondly. Because, by much experience, observation, and guidance of reason, men have been able to form and establish certain rules whereby to rectify all these mistakes. In like manner, by the guidance of the Spirit, God hath given in his word most certain rules whereby men may know from whence the mistakes of internal sense do arise, and in what manner and by what means they may be corrected. From all which I may safely conclude, that as there are certain sciences built upon the certainty of bodily sense, (as optics, and many other mathematical sciences,) notwithstanding particular mistakes in some acts; so it is possible, by experience and observation, together with the guidance of the word and Spirit, for a believer to prove, that his spiritual sense doth not err, and consequently that he is effectually called. (2 Peter i. 19.)

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* The Papists are of the opinion of Heraclitus: Κακοι μαρτυρες ανθρωπων οφθαλμοι· "No man must believe his eyes." Like as the Philistines dealt with Samson, they would put out our eyes, that we might grind in their mill, or bring grist to it: like the Pharisees, that would persuade the man born blind that he was so still, because they were unwilling to own Christ the author of his sight. (John ix. 25.)

By infallible testimony of the Spirit.

3. In the last place. I say, It is possible for a believer to prove that he is effectually called, *by infallible testimony of the Spirit.*—This sort of evidence, by authority or witness, logicians call *argumentum inartificiale,* "an inartificial argument;" but in our case it is *argumentum certissimum,* "a most certain proof:" for if God hath said, that "in the mouth of two or three" human "witnesses every word is established," (Deut. xvii. 6; Matt. xviii. 16,) that is, made sure, how much more sure is the evidence that is given-in by the Spirit of God who cannot lie! (Heb. vi. 18.)

This testimony either written or real.

Now the testimony of the Spirit of God is either *written* in the word, or *real* in its works. How far *the written testimony of the Spirit* in scripture, which is θεοπνευστος, ["divinely inspired,"] is a foundation of assurance, I have already declared.

The real testimony is either, 1. *Material, mediate, and objective.*

The real testimony of the Spirit is two-fold: First. *Material, mediate, and* only *objective;* namely, when the Spirit of God, by the work of sanctification wrought in a believer, doth thereby afford to a believer objectively (and mediately by the fruits of the Spirit) matter of proof or evidence, whereby he may evince by argument that he is effectually called. This sort of evidence I have also already spoken to; therefore it is yet another kind of testimony of the Spirit that I would here more especially insist upon; namely,

Or, 2. *Formal, immediate, and efficient.*

Secondly. *The efficient, immediate, and formal testimony* of the Spirit of God. Several divines call it by several names; but they all understand one and the same thing. That there is a witnessing work of the Spirit distinct from the regenerating work and from the sanctifying work thereof, is evident by that plain text of the apostle to the Romans, where he saith, that "the Spirit itself beareth witness with our spirit, that we are the children of God." (Rom. viii. 16.)

Three things considerable in these words.

Where observe, (1.) *The* testes ["*witnesses*"]; (2.) *The* testimonium ["*testimony*"]; (3.) *The* modus testificandi ["*manner of witnessing*"].

The witnesses.

(1.) First. Observe *the witnesses.*—These are two: (i.) The Spirit of God; (ii.) Our own spirit. These are two distinct witnesses; and we ought always to consider them as truly and properly distinct. For as the Spirit of God is really and personally distinguished from our spirits; so the act of the Spirit in witnessing is as truly distinct from the act of our own spirits. A believer's own spirit doth sometimes prove, and may witness actually and truly, its effectual call; and yet the Spirit of God may at that time suspend its immediate testimony *pro hic et nunc* ["for the present"]. Now all those things which can be really separated are to be considered as distinct, even then when they are conjoined; and that the testimony of the Spirit of God is distinct from the testimony of our spirits, is evident from the words themselves, being duly considered: for the apostle saith, that "the Spirit itself witnesseth with our spirits."* But of this more, after we have considered,

The testimony or thing witnessed.

(2.) *The testimony, or the thing witnessed.*—Which is this, "That we are the sons of God;" which phrase comprehends, (i.) A believer's regeneration. (ii.) His relation, of an adopted son of God. (iii.) His "partaking of the divine nature," or being "conformed to the image of Christ." (2 Peter i. 4; Rom. viii. 29.) (iv.) His obtaining of a right of co-inheritance with Christ. (Rom. viii. 17.) Now regeneration, and an effectual call, I have shown, are one and the same thing. The matter of this testimony therefore, witnessed both by our spirits, and also by the Spirit of God, is this,—that we are effectually called.

The manner of witnessing.

(3.) *The manner of witnessing* is expressed by the word συμμαρτυρει· "the Spirit doth co-witness;" which cannot be meant, as some would have it, only of the Spirit's using the faculties of our mind instrumentally, as a scribe useth a pen as his instrument to attest any writing. It is true, that "the Spirit of God doth bear witness *with* our spirits," (Rom. viii. 16,) that is *by* our spirits, inasmuch as our own faculties are employed in receiving and discerning the testimony of God's Spirit; but yet we must be careful that we do not confound the act of God's Spirit with the acts of our own faculties in this testimony; for so we should also confound the distinction of the witnesses themselves; and we should hardly escape confounding the distinction that is between the Spirit's objective or material testimony, and its efficient and formal testimony.

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* Not το αυτο Πνευμα, ["the same Spirit,"] but αυτο το Πνευμα ["the Spirit itself"].

Opened in three parts.

For avoiding of which, and for opening of the manner of the Spirit's immediate witnessing, I desire that these things may be considered :—

First part.—It is by some operation, not voice : spirits speak the language of spirits, and of their own region.

That the Spirit of God, when it is said to witness with our spirits, is not to be supposed to give its testimony by any external voice or words ; but it gives even its immediate testimony by some work or operation upon the mind of man.—That all sorts of spirits can express themselves to spirits without words, is manifest in the acknowledged converse or communion that is between angels amongst themselves, good angels with good, and bad with bad ; as also by the suggestions of good angels and bad angels upon the minds of men ; * as also by that which the scripture saith of mental or unexpressed, unuttered prayer, in Rom. viii. 26 ; and by the instance of Hannah. (1 Sam. i. 13.) If created spirits can express themselves to spirits without words, much more may the Eternal Spirit reveal himself to the mind of man how or as he pleases. (Ezek. xxxviii. 10.) He that created the faculties of man's mind can put them into act and exercise by what ways or means soever he pleases : he that knows our thoughts before we think them, can cause us to think or know whatever he pleases to impress upon them.

Second part.—It is by rational conviction.

As all the revelations of God's Spirit are harmonious, and consonant one with another, so are all the works of God's Spirit always agreeable and concording, so as one work thereof destroys not another work of the same Spirit.—And thence it is that God, having endued men with faculties of judging and discerning of truth by its proper evidences, doth never cause the soul of man to believe any truth, but he gives them a ground or reason of its belief. I do not say, that he gives always a reason of the thing, but he gives a reason of our belief : the supernatural works of the Spirit do not destroy, but restore and perfect, nature. Now the natural way of conviction of man's mind being by evidencing the reason of things ; hence, when the Spirit convinces man of any thing, he doth [it], as it were, by argument. The Spirit of God convinces men of righteousness, and of pardon of sin, in the same manner that it convinces of sin and its guilt ; which is by way of argument, as the word ελεγξει doth signify, in John xvi. 8. Hence faith also (which is wrought by the Spirit) is said to be ελεγχος ου βλεπομενων, the argumentative "evidence of things not seen." (Heb. xi. 1.) I hope no man is so weak as to think that the Spirit convinces by verbal expression of the terms of three propositions of an argument ; but yet it doth something equivalent thereunto. For,

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* Some philosophers have undertaken to show the way whereby the angels and spirits do converse.

Third part.—It is by special illumination.

The proper work of the Spirit in giving this testimony, is to illuminate the mind of man, both in a greater degree, and to another end, than it did illuminate it in its first work of conversion.—In conversion, the objects revealed are those that, being once discovered, do engage the soul to put forth the direct act of faith; but in this witnessing work, the Spirit reveals those objects that by their discovery do enable the soul to exercise the reflex act of faith; and withal the Spirit doth immediately assist the mind of man in its act of reflection upon the work of sanctification formerly wrought by the Spirit.

You may understand both the nature and distinction of the Spirit's testimony, how it is different from the testimony of our own spirits, by this similitude: Suppose a purblind person reading a small print by the light of a farthing-candle, by which he knows, and is able to testify truly, what is written in that book which he so reads; yet when he considers how apt he may be in those circumstances to mistake, he still doubts comparatively to what he knows when a skilful oculist hath repaired his sight, and hath by glasses magnified the characters of the book, and hath let into the room the beams of the sun, which were before withheld. Thus the work of the Spirit is to assist our faculties, and strengthen them, to irradiate and illustrate its own work of sanctification, and also to bring-in a fuller light from the word, making it speak more clear and full: by all which the Spirit of God may be said to give a different and distinct testimony from that which our unassisted faculties, or gradually unenlightened minds, could give of themselves.

"Why is this called a co-witness?"

QUESTION I. If it be asked why this act of the Spirit of God is called "a co-witnessing with our spirits," I answer, First. Because the Spirit adds its special assistance to our spirits, in all and every exercise of our faculties about their giving-in their testimony. In particular, (i.) It irradiates the mind. And, (ii.) It more emphatically reveals to the soul the truth of the promise,—that every one that believes shall be saved. (iii.) It more fully makes known its own work, and shows to the soul by good evidences that it doth believe. (iv.) It assists the reason of man more convincingly to draw the conclusion, that therefore it shall be saved. And in this manner the Spirit witnesses to every proposition of the assuring argument. Secondly, and more especially. The Spirit is said to witness with our spirits, because the matter witnessed by the Spirit of God is the same which is witnessed by our own spirits: and this properly speaks it to be a co-witness; for it witnesses not only in the same manner, but it also witnesseth the same matter which our spirits do witness.

"How is a believer certain that the Spirit doth witness?"

QUESTION II. If it be demanded how a believer may be assured that the Spirit doth certainly witness with our spirits; I answer: He may be assured by two things: First. By that special distinguishing light that accompanies the testimony of the Spirit, which doth manifest itself so as to overbear all doubts and disputes both about our spiritual estate and about this testimony itself: just as the light of the sun doth not only discover other things, and reveal them; but doth manifest itself by its self-evidencing property, which is able to convince every beholder. Secondly. By the harmony and agreement that is between the testimony of the Spirit of God and our spirits; just as we know the testimony of our spirits to be certain and true by its agreement with the word. Except all these three agree in one, there can be no full certainty: but a believer's assurance is always confirmed by the concurring testimony of these three:—(i.) *Of the word,* (ii.) *Of conscience,* and, (iii.) *Of the Spirit,* all witnessing one and the same thing. (i.) *The sure word of God* lays down certain signs and marks of true grace, and witnesses these signs to be good evidences. (ii.) Then *conscience,* or our own spirit, witnesses that these signs are sound in a believer. (iii.) Then God super-adds *the witness of his own Spirit,* which enables us yet more fully to know the things which are freely given us of God. And now "what doubts can remain?" * It is true, we are bid to "try" every spirit, (1 John iv. 1,) and we have a way to try them by; namely, the agreement of their testimony with the testimony of scripture and conscience. Although there may be such things as *ϖαρηλιοι,* or "mock-suns," and sometimes the glory of the true sun (which yet is a prodigiously rare instance) is not able to distinguish itself from its apes: yet in this very case, by the rules of calculation, an astronomer is able to distinguish the true sun from the false; so that the science of astronomy is never a whit the less certain. It is so as to the Spirit's testimony: it is certain that by the word and conscience a believer may infallibly prove the testimony of the Spirit to be true, and not false, because there is and must be an universal agreement between all these three.

Our adversaries have, many of them, endeavoured to enervate the single testimony of scripture, because of the "mysteriousness" of scripture, as they call it. Others seek to debilitate the testimony of conscience, because men are apt to be partial. Others would weaken the testimony of the Spirit, because it is apt to be mistaken. But should we grant that none of those three witnesses were separately sufficient, yet when they are conjoined, from thence there doth arise an undoubted assurance. Although the strength of one pillar, or the soundness of the foundation alone, do not prove a house to be well built; yet the strength of all the pillars, and of the foundation, considered together, doth fully prove it to be strong. What, if one single soldier be not sufficient to secure a fort? yet may not many soldiers do it? How much then do our adversaries trifle, while they seek to engage one single combatant as no good witness of assurance! But they dare not look our army in the face. Behold, we are "compassed about with a cloud of witnesses;" (Heb. xii. 1;) let them dispel this cloud if they can. Although no man can be made sure of the time of the day by a dial that hath no figures upon it; and although a blind man cannot know the hour when there are figures upon the dial; and although one that hath good eyes, and seeth the figures, yet cannot know the time if the sun shines not: yet from hence it doth not follow but that, if there be a concurrence of lines and figures, of sight and sun-shine together, and the dial be made and placed by infallible rules of art, it will then certainly evidence the time of the day. In like manner, the graces of God's Spirit imprinted on the heart, the eye of conscience open in examination and observation, and the light of the Spirit as the sun-shine,—these three concurring together, and all of them agreeing with the word, which is the standing rule of judgment, by which all the others are regulated and ordered; I say, from hence ariseth a demonstrative, undoubted, and infallible certainty; and this concurrence being possible, it is therefore possible for a believer to attain to an assured knowledge that he is effectually called.

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* *Ὀταν το Πνευμα μαρτυρη, ϖοια λοιπον αμφιϐολια;*—CHRYSOSTOMUS *in Rom. viii.*

THE SECOND SPECIAL PROPOSITION, "THAT IT IS POSSIBLE FOR ONE THAT IS ASSURED OF HIS CALLING, TO BE THEREBY ALSO ASSURED OF HIS ETERNAL ELECTION;" PROVED FROM THE NATURE OF ELECTION AND THE DEPENDENCE EFFECTUAL CALLING HATH THEREON.

(II.) I proceed to the proof of the Second special proposition: *That it is possible for a believer who is sure of his effectual vocation in time, to be assured also of his election in eternity.*—I shall need to be but brief in the proof of this, having already in part proved that there is such a thing as special and discriminating grace, whereby one call of God proves effectual, another not. Now our adversaries themselves grant, that if God doth exercise a discriminating grace in special effectual vocation, it is necessary that he should eternally decree to exercise that special grace upon those persons. The proof of this proposition will depend upon these two arguments:

An effectual call depends upon eternal election, as upon its necessary principal cause.

ARGUMENT I. *If an effectual call doth depend upon God's eternal election as upon its necessary cause, then he that knows that he is effectually called, may know he was eternally elected:* (no man of reason will deny this consequence, and therefore I need not prove it:) *But an effectual call doth depend upon God's eternal election, as upon its necessary cause: And therefore he that knows the one, may also know the other.*—This I shall prove from some plain and express texts of scripture. See Eph. i., in the beginning of which chapter you have the nature of election opened in all its causes and properties, which I must not particularly name; in brief, you may observe that, according to the apostle's description thereof, election is that decree of God whereby, out of the mere good pleasure of his own will, he did eternally choose some certain individual persons out of the corrupt mass of mankind, unto the infallible attainment of grace here and glory hereafter. Now if this be the nature of election, namely, that grace, or an effectual call, was thereby eternally decreed to be conferred and bestowed, it will then necessarily follow, that grace, or an effectual call, doth depend upon election as its cause; which is plainly expressed in verse 4, where holiness and blamelessness, which are inseparable properties of an effectual call, are said to be the effects of God's election and choice. It is a very good note of Thomas Aquinas, who observes "that love and choice in God doth very much differ from love and choice in men: for love in men," saith he, "doth not cause loveliness in the beloved; but men first discern a loveliness, and this causes a love and choice: whereas God first exercised a free love in his eternal election, predestinating the way and means of farther manifestation of his love, and then in time he effects his own purpose, making the objects of his love to become lovely, by his renewing his own image upon them in an effectual call."[*] Agreeable hereunto is that expression of the council of Orange: "God loved us not as we are by our desert, but as he designed to make us by his gift."[†]

He that would rightly understand the relation [that] vocation in time hath unto election in eternity, and he that would know the dependence which that effect hath upon this cause, must first consider, that although all the decrees of God are in themselves but one simple act of God's will; yet, as to human apprehension, many men have conceived that there are three distinct acts of the divine will comprehended in his decree of election. 1. Εκλογη, "a choice," or a separating and singling out of some individual persons to be the objects of his love. 2. Προθεσις, "a purpose," or an intention and design of bestowing saving grace in effectual calling of those chosen ones. 3. Προορισμος, "a predestination," or a pre-determination of bringing those called and gracious persons unto glory. I shall not here meddle with the controversy which is agitated about the priority or precedency of these last two acts of the divine will; only you must consider, that as the decree of God, whereby he purposed to bestow both grace and glory, was truly in itself but one eternal act of his will; (and so there could be no priority of time amongst them;) so we ought not in our conceptions to distinguish between glory and grace, as if one were designed as the end, and the other as the means; which is too common a mistake. For, in truth, grace and glory differ only as lesser and greater measures of the same thing;[‡] and therefore we say, that God's absolute and inconditionate purpose effectually to call some persons, and to give them grace, passing by others, doth declare the whole nature of God's decree of election, inasmuch as the selection of the objects of God's love, and also the nature both of the act and end of his love, are all comprehended in that one purpose of effectual calling; which the Salmurian divines do show more fully in their explication of election.[§] All which, being duly considered, do abundantly manifest that vocation in time was a most assured effect of election in eternity, according to that of Rom. viii. 23, where almost in express words our calling is said to be the effect of God's purpose. And agreeable also is that of 2 Thess. ii. 13, 14, where sanctification and faith, wrought in an effectual call, are declared to be the fruit of being chosen from the beginning: "We are bound to give thanks alway to God for you, brethren beloved of the Lord, because God hath from the beginning chosen you to salvation, through sanctification of the Spirit and belief of the truth: whereunto he called you by our gospel, to the obtaining of the glory of the Lord Jesus Christ." Observe here, First. That God hath designed to bestow grace and glory on some men. Secondly. That God actually accomplisheth his design by effectual calling of these persons; that is, by working of faith, or a belief of the truth, and of sanctification in them. Thirdly. That the original and primitive ground or cause of an effectual call, is God's eternal election and choice of them. Therefore doth the Spirit bring the elect into the state of sons, because God hath predestinated them to the adoption of sons. The Spirit is the immediate cause of regeneration; but that the Spirit works otherwise in one person than it doth in another, is the effect of eternal election: and there is always so certain a dependence which an effectual call hath upon election, as that they are sometimes put for one and the same thing. (Rom. ix. 11.)

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[*] THOMÆ AQUINATIS *Summa*, pars prima, quæst. xxiii.

[†] *Tales nos amat Deus, quales futuri sumus ipsius dono, non quales sumus nostro merito.—Conc. Araus. II.* can. 2.

[‡] "Grace is glory begun: glory is grace perfected."—PRESTON "On the New Covenant."

[§] *Theses Salmurienses, De Electione*, lib. i. sect. 29, 30.

Vocation depends upon election as its rule or measure.

Argument ii. Secondly. We prove that all those that know they are effectually called may know that they were eternally elected, because *effectual calling depends upon God's eternal election as its rule or measure;* that is, effectual calling, as to the persons called, is commensurate with the objective matter of God's eternal election. My meaning is this: that all those, and only those, persons that were eternally elected, shall be effectually called; and therefore whoever knows that he is effectually called, may know he was eternally elected. The very essence of an effectual call consists, as I have shown, in the Spirit's working of saving faith in those whom it doth call; but the Spirit works saving faith in all the elect, and only in them. This is plainly manifest in Acts xiii. 48: Και επιστευσαν ὁσοι ησαν τεταγμενοι εις ζωην αιωνιον· "And as many as were ordained to eternal life believed;" so many, and no more, "as were ordained," or "fore-determined:" if the word be translated "fore-disposed," as some would have it, it must be meant of God's disposing, not of man's disposing himself. Some men talk much of a *tempus congruum,* "a fit season" for conversion; but the decree of God depends not upon our pre-disposition, but upon God's election; as appears in the instance of St. Paul, who, being "a chosen vessel," * was converted when he was in the height of his persecution. The working of faith depends so much upon God's election, as that saving faith bears the name of "the faith of God's elect," (Titus i. 1,) it being proper only to them. Moreover, it appears that only those that are elected shall be effectually called, because only the elect shall be saved. It is expressly said, that all those whose names "are not written in the book of life, shall be cast into the lake that burns with fire and brimstone." (Rev. xx. 15.) It was the custom of old to write down the names of persons designed to places of honour in books or registers; † hence the Spirit of God compares God's election of persons to grace and glory to that known custom; in allusion unto which also St. Paul saith, that the names of Euodias, and Syntyche, and Clement, were written "in the book of life;" (Phil. iv. 2, 3;) and Christ bids his disciples rejoice that their names were "written in heaven;" (Luke x. 20;) that is, that they were elect. On the contrary, the non-elect are said not to have their names "written in the Lamb's book of life," in Rev. xiii. 8, and Rev. xvii. 8; and the doom of all such is to be "cast into the lake of fire;" for these shall never be called effectually here, or saved eternally hereafter.

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* Σκευος εκλογης, "a vessel of election." (Acts ix. 15.)

† Roman senators [were] called *patres conscripti* ["conscript," or "enrolled," "fathers"].

I know, Socinus and Crellius, and some others,[*] by "the book of life," do understand "the scripture," wherein God hath declared that all penitent believers shall be saved, and all impenitent and unbelievers shall be damned; and consequently, say they, all believers have their names written there; but unbelievers have not their names written, inasmuch as they come not under the qualifications written in the word. But to this I answer: 1. That by "the book of life" must be meant God's eternal decree, not any declaration made by him in time: for the non-elect are described, in Jude 4, to be men, *ϖαλαι ϖρογεγραμμενοι εις τουτο το κριμα*, "of old ordained," or eternally decreed, "to this condemnation," as bishop Davenant observes; and, on the other hand, the elect are said to be "saved, and called with an holy calling, not according to works, but" *κατ ιδιαν ϖροθεσιν και χαριν την δοθεισαν εν Χριστῳ Ιησου ϖρο χρονων αιωνιων*, "according to his own purpose and grace, which was given in Christ Jesus before the world began." (2 Tim. i. 9.) 2. Again: In the book of life, there was an absolute election of persons recorded, and not a conditional declaration of qualities declared.[†] For by "names," in all the fore-quoted places, are understood persons, as appears by many other texts of scripture; as Num. i. 2, by "taking the number of names," is meant the number of persons, "every male by poll." So, Acts i. 15: "The number of names," that is, persons, "were about a hundred and twenty." And Sardis had "a few names," that is, a few persons that were upright. (Rev. iii. 4.) In vain therefore do either Papists or Socinians seek to divide those things that God hath conjoined, namely, eternal election, and effectual vocation; which have that relation one to another, as that he that knows one, knows both. For if vocation depends on election as its necessary cause, and as its adequate rule and measure, I hope, I shall not need to prove the consequence, since all men grant that those things that are commensurate, and of equal extent, do necessarily make each other known.

He therefore that would make his election sure, may do it by making his calling sure; and that is the order he must proceed in. For although God at first chooses, and then calls; yet we must first know our calling, and then our election. God descends from love to choice, from choosing to calling, or to infusing of the principles of saving grace, then to sanctifying, or adding of greater measure of grace; (Rom. viii. 29, 30;) but in the trial of our state, and in our evidencing of our interest in God's love, we must ascend from sanctification to vocation, and from vocation to election. Election is as the spring-head of all consequent acts of divine love: he that would find the fountain must begin at the stream, and so trace it upward to its first source. Election is (as the root or seed) hidden, and unknown in itself: he that would know the nature of a tree, let him not uncover the root, but let him observe the fruits; for by them it may best be known. Weak eyes may better behold the beams of the light reflected, than by looking on the body of the sun; which many having presumed to do, have lost their sight wholly: and so it comes to pass when men search directly into the decree of election, without considering that it is better and more easily manifested by an effectual call.* It is not lawful for any man to look into this ark, or to attempt to read the law of God's eternal purposes, as they are there locked up in his decrees: it is sufficient that we may see the transcript of them written on our own heart. "Secret things belong unto the Lord our God: but those things which are revealed belong unto us and to our children." (Deut. xxix. 29.) No man must enter into the council-chamber, that he may know the will of his prince; but must wait for its discovery in the published proclamation. Mordecai understood little of the king's love to him, when Ahasuerus consulted "what should be done to the person whom the king delighted to honour;" but he well knew that he was a favourite, when he saw himself clothed in royal robes, and beheld the king's signet upon his hand: (Esther vi. 10, 11:) so when a believer finds himself clothed with the white linen of the saints, (Rev. xix. 8, 14,) and hath once received the seal of God's Spirit, (2 Cor. i. 22,) he may safely conclude that God from eternity decreed to honour him here, and glorify him hereafter.

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[*] EPISCOPIUS, VORSTIUS, &c.

[†] *Numerus electorum est Deo certus; non solùm ut cognitus, sed ut electus et prædefinitus.* "The number of the elect is certainly determined with God; not merely as being known to him, but as chosen and predestined."—EDIT. See THOMAS AQUINAS, pars i. quæst. xxiii. art. 7. "The elect," a determinate number as elect; seven thousand who had not bowed to Baal; (1 Kings xix. 18;) one hundred and forty-four thousand sealed. (Rev. vii. 4.)

Let me therefore, for a close of this second proposition, give all believers the same counsel that Elihu gave to Job and Job's friends: "Desire not the night;" that is, pry not into the dark secrets of God's decrees; but "remember thou magnify God's works which thy eyes do behold;" (Job xxxvi. 20, 24;) that is, the fruits and consequences of those decrees appearing in an effectual call. It is boldness to break open the seal of a decree till thou hast read thy name written in the superscription: election is love under a seal of secrecy; but an effectual call opens this most fully, and evidently makes known the purpose of God from eternity,

THE THIRD SPECIAL PROPOSITION.

(III.) The Third special proposition which remains to be proved is this: *That all true believers that do assuredly know they are called and were elected, may also know they shall persevere unto glory.*—Many have been the disputes concerning the possibility of a believer's falling from grace; but most of the arguments that are used with design to prove the possibility thereof will fall to the ground, if the question be rightly stated. To which purpose I shall, in the first place, lay down some premisses, which may obviate the arguments and objections of our adversaries; and then give you our arguments to prove the proposition. When we say, then, that some believers may assuredly know that they shall persevere, and that they shall not fall from grace, we do premise that,

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* *Inter gratiam et prædestinationem hoc tantùm interest, quòd prædestinatio est gratiæ præparatio; gratia verò est ipsa donatio.*—AUGUSTINUS *De Prædest.* cap. 10. "Between grace and predestination there is this sole difference,—that predestination is the preparation for grace; but grace is the very gift itself."—EDIT.

Premiss i. *We do distinguish between grace actively taken for God's favour to us, (gratia gratis dans,* as the Schools call it,) *and (gratia gratis data) grace passively taken, grace wrought in us, which is the effect of the former.*[*]—For it is not from the nature of grace passively taken, or from grace inherent in believers, that they do persevere, and not fall away; but it is from the nature of that grace, actively taken, that dwells in God's bosom; this is the ground that believers persevere to glory, as it is clearly expressed by Christ himself: He "having loved his own which were in the world, he loved them to the end." (John xiii. 1.)

Premiss ii. Concerning this active grace of God, *we do distinguish between the exercise of it, and the manifestation of that exercise.*—We deny not but [that] God may seem to be angry; but yet we say, he never casts off his people, or forgets to be gracious. The sun may be muffled for a time in a cloud; yet some heat will be communicated during the time it is hid, and in due time the beams of light will break through and disperse the cloud also. Christ may stand behind the wall, yet then he will "show himself through the lattice;" (Canticles ii. 9;) and in time the wall of separation also shall be broken down. God may correct his children, but will not disinherit them.[†]

Premiss iii. Concerning grace in us, passively taken, *we do distinguish between acts and habits of grace.*—No man did ever say, that a truly regenerate person cannot omit the performance of some acts of grace which formerly he performed, and is still bound to perform; but this we say, that the habits of grace are never lost, or wholly eradicated; and we say, that those acts of grace which were interrupted, do abide in their principle, and will again exert themselves when opportunity is afforded.[‡] It is one thing to fall in the way; another thing to deviate from the way. It is one thing *semel recedere a pietatis tramite,* "to take a step awry from the path of holiness;" another thing *semper discedere a pietatis viâ,* "to forsake the ways of God wholly:" a believer may be guilty of the first, not the second.

Premiss iv. Again: *We distinguish between a show of grace, and true grace.*—There are several instances in the word of God of persons falling from a show of grace;—Demas, Judas, Saul, Hymeneus, fell from hypocrisy into open profaneness and impiety;—but "no sincere person ever fell from true grace." [§] Paint may be soon washed off, when a healthful, beautiful complexion will abide. A Bristol-stone is soon broken; but a true diamond will abide the smartest stroke. Many professors have suffered shipwreck as to faith; (1 Tim. i. 19;) and others have lost their first love: (Rev. ii. 4:) but it is such faith as had no root, like that of the stony ground; (Matt. xiii. 20, 21;) and such love as had no principle; it was only a passion and transport; and such hot love may be soon cold. Common fire is soon extinct, but the fire of the sanctuary never went out.

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[*] *Χαρις et χαρισμα differunt sicut causa et effectus, vel ut lux in sole et lumen in aëre.*—Bradwardinus *De Causâ Dei,* lib. ii. cap. 13. "The two Greek words which are severally translated 'grace,' differ from each other as the cause and the effect, or the light contained in the sun and the brilliance diffused through the air."—Edit.

[†] Nebuchadnezzar lost possession of, not right to, his crown.

[‡] *Actio pervertitur; fides non evertitur.*—Bernardus *De Gratiâ et libero Arbitrio.* "The action is perverted; but faith is not subverted."—Edit.

[§] *Charitas quæ deperditur, nunquam fuit vera charitas.*—Anselmus *De Concor. Præscien., Prædest., et Grat., cum Libert.*

PREMISS V. As for those texts that Bellarmine urges, that "the just do fall seven times a day," (Prov. xxiv. 16,) and that "in many things we offend all;" (James iii. 2;) the very words themselves carry a full answer to his objections: for if the just fall seven times a day, it is supposed he rises as often; and if in many things we offend all, then it is in some but an offence or a stumble, not a final falling.* There is difference between foils and falls; and there is difference between falling into sin, and lying in sin. There is difference between recession from grace, and excision of grace: the first is possible to happen for a time to a believer; but God will never suffer the second to come upon him: for although a believer may fall, yet he falls only as cork falls into the water, which may for a time be immersed, but it will rise again, and get aloft; but a hypocrite falls as lead into the water, which sinks, and rises no more.

Having premised these things, I proceed to the arguments which evince the perseverance of all that are effectually called unto glory.

THE FIRST ARGUMENT: FROM THE IMMUTABILITY OF GOD'S DECREES.

[The] first argument is *from the immutability and unchangeableness of God's purposes and decrees.*—I have already proved that God did from before the foundation of the world decree to make some particular persons the objects of his love; and that these persons were foreordained of God to be effectually called in time, and to be glorified in eternity. Now "the gifts and calling of God are," saith the apostle, "without repentance," *αμεταμελητα*, (Rom. xi. 29,) such as God never can or will repent of. There is a necessary connexion between every decree of God, and its full execution and performance. All the powers of hell are not able to break by force, nor all the subtilty of the Jesuits of Rome able to dissolve or untie by skill, that strong and necessary connexion of all those links of that golden chain that is drawn forth in that fore-quoted Rom. viii. 29, 30. Foreknowledge, or election, vocation, justification, and glorification, are inseparably conjoined; so that whoever hath hold of one of them, hath hold of all; and he that knoweth one, knoweth all. The apostle, in Rom. ix. 11, doth fully assert, that God did exercise sovereign discriminating grace in his eternal decree of election; and withal he declares the immutability and unchangeableness of that decree. Mark his words: "The children," saith he, "not being yet born, neither having done any good or evil, that the purpose of God according to election might stand, not of" him that "works, but of him that calleth; it is said, The elder shall serve the younger," &c. God's purpose must "stand," *μενῃ*, must "remain steadfast," as Beza, or "confirmed," as Castalio, translates it. The decrees of God are compared to mountains of brass, (Zech. vi. 1,) unremovable, because situate in the eternal will. Consider the expression used by Samuel: "The Strength of Israel will not lie nor repent: for he is not a man, that he should repent." (1 Sam. xv. 29.) God is strength itself, and able to preserve all his decrees made in eternity. The word נֵצַח, translated "strength," may also be translated "eternity" or "victory;" intimating the victorious power that accompanies eternal decrees. See AUGUSTINI *Confessiones*, lib. i. cap. 6. God loves "with an everlasting love," (Jer. xxxi. 3,) and he works with an invincible power. (Isai. xiv. 27.)

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* *Vide* AUGUSTINUM *De Correptione et Gratiâ*, cap. 9.

THE SECOND ARGUMENT: GOD'S KNOWLEDGE OF "THE ELECTION" A GROUND OF PERSEVERANCE.

Secondly. I argue *from that special knowledge that God hath of all those that he hath built savingly upon the right foundation,—the Lord Jesus Christ.* (1 Cor. iii. 11.)—God is no foolish builder, to lay the foundation, and not carry on the superstructure. And this is the apostle's own argument for the perseverance of saints, in 2 Tim. ii. 19; where the apostle, having observed the apostasy of some non-elect persons, adds, "Nevertheless the foundation of God standeth sure, having this seal, The Lord knoweth them that are his." Amongst many other uses of a seal, this is one, that it gives ground of assurance. Now the apostle therefore useth that expression of God's knowing of his, that, from the consideration thereof, believers might have greater confidence, that, they being God's husbandry, and God's building, God will never suffer them to be removed, and *that* because he "knows" them; which phrase signifies these six things:—

For God to know, signifies, 1. *To foreknow.*

1. *That God did foreknow them.*—So the word is used in Acts xv. 18: "Known unto God are all his ways from the beginning of the world;" that is, God did from eternity foreknow and decree whatever should in time come to pass. Now this is a ground of the saints' perseverance; namely, that God did foreknow the elect, or decree that all those that he should effectually call should be justified, sanctified, and persevere unto glory, as I have already shown from Rom. viii.

2. *Peculiarly to own.*

2. "To know," sometimes signifies *to own in a peculiar manner.*—So, in Amos iii. 2, God, speaking to his people Israel, saith, that he knew them above all the families on earth. God knew Egypt, and Babylon, and Moab, and Edom; but he did not know them to be his peculiar people above others; but so he did know Israel. Thus those that God hath elected, and effectually called, God knows them as his סְגֻלָּה *segullah*, his "peculiar people;" (Deut. xxvi. 18;) and this is a seal that they shall persevere.

3. *To approve of, and delight in.*

3. "To know," in scripture, sometimes signifies *for God to approve of, and to delight in.*—"The Lord knoweth the way of the righteous." (Psalm i. 6.) God knows the way of wicked men, but so as to curse it; "it shall perish:" but God knows the way of the elect, and of those that are effectually called, so as to approve of it, and delight in it. And this

is a seal, assuring them that they shall not perish, but persevere in their way to glory.

4. *To oversee and take care of.*

4. "To know" is *to oversee and take care of*, as a shepherd knows his sheep.—So, John x. 27: "My sheep hear my voice, and I know them," that is, I take care of them. Christ is such a shepherd as he himself describes,—that if he hath a hundred sheep, and one of them go astray, he leaves the ninety-and-nine, and goes after the lost sheep till he find it. (Luke xv. 4, 5.) And this is also a ground of a true believer's perseverance,—that, if, through non-attendance, or inanimadversion, or through the violent persecution of roaring lions or wolves, they stray from the fold, yet Christ reduces them again.

To deliver from, or to succour and support in, trials, afflictions, and temptations.

5. "To know," is *to deliver from,* or at least *to support and succour in, afflictions, trials, and temptations.*—"I will be glad," saith David, "and rejoice in thy mercy: for thou hast considered my soul in trouble, and hast known my soul in adversities;" (Psalm xxxi. 7;) that is, God did both support him in affliction, and deliver him from it in his own time. It is an assuring seal of the perseverance of believers, that God will not suffer them to be tempted above what they are able; or else with the temptation will make a way to escape, that they may bear it. (1 Cor. x. 13.)

To teach and instruct, to enlighten and inform.

6. Lastly. For God "to know," sometimes is as much as for God *to teach and enlighten.*—So the apostle uses the phrase: "But now, after that ye have known God, or rather are known of God, how turn ye again to the weak and beggarly elements?" (Gal. iv. 9.) The Galatians had been taught of God; but seducing teachers would have brought them to join Jewish ceremonies with gospel-worship. Now the apostle wonders at the very thought of such a thing, upon this very account, namely, because they were "known of God," that is, savingly enlightened by him.* It is a most assuring seal of perseverance, to have been rightly enlightened by the Spirit of God, which is here called, "a being known of him." So that you now see the saints' perseverance grounded, as, in the first place, upon God's election, so, secondly, upon his knowing of believers in a special manner.

THE THIRD ARGUMENT: PERSEVERANCE GROUNDED UPON THE VERITY OF GOD'S COVENANT.

The third ground of a true believer's perseverance is, *from the nature of God's covenant.*—Perseverance is one article of the new covenant that God hath made with the elect, the terms of which are these: "I will," saith God, "make an everlasting covenant with them, that I will not turn away from them to do them good; but I will put my fear in their hearts, that they shall not depart from me." (Jer. xxxii. 40.) God hath absolutely engaged that elect believers shall not depart from him, that is, not finally; because in an effectual call he will put his fear into their hearts: they may wander, but not depart; they may in some acts deviate, but they shall not be backsliders in heart: and the reason is, because though there may be a tendency in them to turn away from God, yet God stands engaged not to turn away from them.[*] Hence that expression of God to the prophet: "They say, If a man put away his wife, and she go from him, and become another man's, shall he return to her again? shall not that land be greatly polluted? But thou hast played the harlot with many lovers; yet return again to me, saith the Lord." (Jer. iii. 1.) God will not permit that to be done by men, which he may do himself in this case: and the reason is, because God can purge an adulterous heart, which it is not in the power of man to do: rather than the marriage-covenant between Christ and a believer shall be dissolved, God will put forth his mighty power, to make and keep the hearts of believers faithful and loyal to him.[†] What a clear and full promise of perseverance is that also revealed by Christ in John x. 27, 28!—"My sheep hear my voice, and I know them, and they follow me: and I give unto them eternal life; and they shall never perish, neither shall any man pluck them out of my hand." Both the Father and Son stand engaged by promise to preserve elect believers unto life. Another express promise of perseverance we find in 1 Cor. i. 8, 9: He "shall also confirm you unto the end, that ye may be blameless in the day of our Lord Jesus Christ. God is faithful, by whom ye were called unto the fellowship of his Son Jesus Christ our Lord." All those that are called have the promise of a most faithful God to preserve them blameless, even to the day of the Lord; and therefore they shall persevere.

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* Hence it becomes impossible to deceive the elect.

THE FOURTH ARGUMENT: FROM THE NATURE OF THE COVENANT OF REDEMPTION, AND THE MUTUAL PROMISES MADE BETWEEN THE FATHER AND THE SON.

A fourth ground of their perseverance is *the stability of the covenant of redemption.*—Or, the certain performance of every promise made mutually between the Father and the Son, between the Lord of hosts and "the Branch," when the council of peace was betwixt them both, mentioned in Zech. vi. 12, 13. When the Father and the Son agreed about the redemption of fallen man, there were many articles of this covenant and council of peace mutually consented unto; some of them relating to the work of redemption itself, others relating to the reward of the Redeemer, as you may read in Isai. liii. Now this was one promise which the Father made unto the Redeemer; namely, that he should not die in vain, but that he should "see of the travail of his soul, and should be satisfied." (Verse 11.) Now, should true believers finally fall, Christ Jesus should not attain that satisfaction which is here promised. The mother is not satisfied with an abortive birth; nor would the Hebrew women have been satisfied if their children had been murdered as soon as born: neither can Christ be willing that those for whom his soul was in agony should finally perish. The end of Christ's sufferings was not only to bring forth sons unto God, but also to bring those sons unto glory. Now should Christ fall short in this latter work, first, he could not, according to the author [of the epistle] to the Hebrews, be a perfect Captain of salvation: "For it became him for whom are all things, and by whom are all things, in bringing many sons unto glory, to make the Captain of their salvation perfect through sufferings." (Heb. ii. 10.) Secondly: Christ could not be able in the day of judgment to say, as it follows in verse 13, "Behold I and the children which God hath given me." But Christ is a perfect Saviour, and will at that great day say to God, as he doth in John xvii. 6, 12, "Thine they were, and thou gavest them me; and they have kept thy word. I have kept them, and none of them is lost, but the son of perdition." In which words there is not only intimated a covenant and an agreement between the Father and the Son about the redemption of the elect, but there is also expressed in them the faithful discharge of the mutual agreement on both sides; so that not one of those that were God's by election, and intrusted in Christ's hand by donation, shall be lost. Judas was therefore a "son of perdition," because given only externally, and not eternally, into Christ's hand.

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[*] The mercies of God's covenant are both τα δσια and τα ϖιστα, "sure" and "holy" concessions: so the Septuagint translate Isai. lv. 3.

[†] God saith concerning his people's sin, as he said of Israel's, "I have seen his sins, and I will heal them." (Isai. lvii. 18.)

THE FIFTH ARGUMENT: BECAUSE CHRIST HATH PRAYED THAT THEY MIGHT PERSEVERE.

The fifth argument I shall use is this: *If Christ did pray while he was on earth, and doth now intercede in heaven, that all the elect, who are effectually called, may persevere; then they shall persevere.*—The ground of this argument you have in John xi. 42, where Christ tells us, that the Father did hear him always. So that if I prove that Christ hath prayed for the perseverance of believers, I shall thereby prove their certain perseverance.* I beseech you, therefore, consider a few verses of John xvii.; and you will find that in verse 9, Christ expressly tells us, that he did pray for all the elect, and for them only; and in verse 11 he tells us, that perseverance was the very matter of the petition which he put up: "Holy Father, keep them through thy name;" and in verse 15 he explains how he would have them kept; namely, "from the evil," or from all evil. And lest any one should say that this prayer was made only for some few that were then called, Christ adds, verse 20, that he prayed for all that should believe, or be effectually called, at any time after. And as perseverance was fundamentally petitioned for, so Christ, upon that foundation, doth carry his petitions higher; for, in verse 21, he prays for them that they might attain a higher degree of union with himself; and in verse 22, that they might attain a likeness of glory with himself; and in verse 23, that they might attain to be loved as he himself was loved of the Father. Now if all these petitions which Christ made for all the elect shall be infallibly granted, (as I have proved they shall, from Christ's own words,) then it doth necessarily follow that all the elect shall persevere unto glory. And yet I shall add one thing more for a farther confirmation of this argument; namely, that as the perseverance of believers is secured by the prayer which Christ made for them when he was on earth, so they are yet more secured by the intercession that Christ makes for them now in heaven. The author [of the epistle] to the Hebrews doth most fully prove that Christ is "able to save," εις το παντελες, "to the uttermost all that come to God by him," (which he should not be, if all true believers should not persevere to glory,) by this strong argument: Because "he ever liveth to make intercession for them:" (Heb. vii. 25:) as he prayed on earth, so he prays in heaven, and will ever live to pray for them. I conclude this argument thus: If Christ's prayer were effectual to keep Peter from final falling, and to raise him up when he had fallen foully; if it kept the habit of his faith from failing when it failed in the act;[*] upon the same account the faith of every believer is certainly secured, as to its principle, by the prayer which Christ did make for him on earth, and now makes for him in heaven.

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* See AMESII *Corona Colloquii Hagiensis.*

THE SIXTH ARGUMENT: FROM THE INHABITATION AND INOPERATION OF THE SPIRIT.

My last argument for the saints' perseverance shall be taken *from the constant inhabitation, and powerful inoperation,*[†] *of the Spirit of God in and upon the hearts of true believers.*—Believers are the temples of the Holy Ghost; and God lives in them, and walks in them. (1 Cor. iii. 16; 2 Cor. vi. 16.) The Spirit infuses grace, and he also actuates grace, in them; and this preserves and keeps them from falling. Not the grace wrought, but the Spirit working grace, doth preserve grace. Every prudent person will secure the place of habitation: the Spirit of God, dwelling in believers, &c., doth superintend their minds by a constant inspection over them: Christ assures believers, that he would "pray the Father, and he should give them another Comforter that should abide with them;" namely, "even the Spirit of truth that should dwell in them." (John xiv. 16, 17.) If the Spirit of God abides and dwells in believers for ever, then they cannot finally fall. The work of the Spirit in believers is an abiding work, or an abiding anointing; it abides in them, and it causes them to abide in God.[‡] In the great work of regeneration, the Spirit doth infuse radicated and fixed habits of grace, and it works such a principle as continues and abides for ever: hence it is called an "incorruptible seed," (1 Peter i. 23,) and a "remaining seed." (1 John iii. 9.) Moreover, the Spirit of God is said to establish believers unto salvation, inasmuch as it is given as a seal and earnest thereof into our hearts, according to 2 Cor. i. 21, 22: "Now he that establisheth us with you in Christ, and hath anointed us, is God;" ὁ και σφραγισαμενος ἡμας, και δους τον ἀῤῥαβωνα του Πνευματος εν ταις καρδιαις ἡμων· "who hath also sealed us, and given us the earnest of his Spirit in our hearts." Observe here, First, That all true believers are confirmed and established, and therefore they shall persevere. Secondly. That the way of God's establishing them is by God's pouring upon them a holy unction, or the anointing of his Spirit. Thirdly. That this anointing gives security in

[*] *Petrus negans Christum non perdidit fidem, sed peccavit contra ejus confessionem.*—CORNELIUS A LAPIDE *in Exod. xxxii. 5.* "Peter, when he denied Christ, did not lose his faith, but sinned against his confession."—EDIT.

[†] *In-operation,* "inward working."—EDIT.

[‡] See GREGORIUS DE VALENTIA *in Primam Secundæ Aquinatis,* quæst. iii.

the nature of *a seal*, and *an earnest : a seal* both obliges the insurer, and also manifests the assurance : *an earnest* doth so much also, and more ; for it implies also something given in present possession.[*] God, working true grace by his Spirit, secures us of heaven, as he secured Israel of Canaan, by giving them Eshcol, some "clusters" of Canaan's vineyards in the wilderness ; which was a kind of livery and seisin, as when possession of an estate is given by a twig or rod. God's giving of his Spirit is called his giving of "the first-fruits," *την απαρχην του Πνευματος·* (Rom. viii. 23;) thereby indicating our assured full harvest, whereof this is an actual part. All those must needs be assured of glory, who have a possession of grace: and this seems to be the argument of the very text ; namely, "If ye do these things, ye shall never fall." Why? Because hereby "an entrance shall be administered unto you abundantly into the everlasting kingdom." (2 Peter i. 11.) Possession is the best assurance ; it is eleven points. Now, by the Spirit's indwelling in believers, they have a kind of pre-possession of glory.

THE SECOND GENERAL PROPOSITION. IT IS A BELIEVER'S DUTY TO GIVE DILIGENCE TO MAKE HIS CALLING, ELECTION, AND PERSEVERANCE SURE.

II. It remains now only that I speak to the Second general proposition included in the text, *That it is the duty of every believer to give all diligence to make his calling, election, and perseverance sure.*—This proposition being of the nature of an inference drawn from the former proposition, and being also rather matter of practice than of controversy, I shall but briefly, and by way of APPLICATION, speak unto it. Yet here also the great Goliath of the Philistines stands in our way ; for when Bellarmine is no more able to maintain the impossibility of attaining assurance, he then retreats to this second redoubt, and tells us, that "no man is bound to gain this assurance, although perchance he might possibly attain to it if he would labour after it."[†] I must, with as few words as may be, drive him out of this hold, and we shall draw towards a conclusion. I shall therefore prove, "that it is a believer's duty to give diligence to make his calling, election, and perseverance sure," from a double necessity incumbent upon him.

Diligence is necessary necessitate præcepti.

(I.) It is a believer's duty, necessitate præcepti, *from "the necessity of the command."*—There can be no plainer or more express command than the words in the text ; and a parallel place with the text is that of the author [of the epistle] to the Hebrews : "We desire," that is, In God's name we require, "that every one of you do show the same diligence to the full assurance of hope unto the end." (Heb. vi. 11.) Brethren, I might have used it as a strong argument for the possibility of attaining assurance, because God hath so strictly enjoined us to effect it ; for, *Nemo tenetur ad impossibile*, that "no man is bound to impossibilities," is a true rule, taking it of natural impossibility. Now there is nothing more clear than that we are bound to endeavour after assurance, by virtue of God's precept; which is so full as that many other duties are therefore enjoined because they are necessary means for our attaining assurance. Thus we are commanded, 1. To "search the scriptures." (John v. 39.) 2. To "search and try our ways." (Lam. iii. 40.) 3. To search and "examine" our hearts. (2 Cor. xiii. 5.) The end of all this searching of the word as the rule, and of our hearts and lives as the things to be regulated by the word, is but that we might come to an assured knowledge of the agreement or disagreement that is between them.

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[*] *Ἀρραϐων est pars pretii persoluta.*—BEZA *in loc.* "An 'earnest' is part of the price paid down."—EDIT.

[†] *Nemo tenetur ad habendam hanc certitudinem, etiamsi fortè possit habere.*—BELLARMINUS *De Justif.* lib. viii. cap. 3.

Many duties are enjoined believers, because it is supposed diligence hath been given, and assurance thereby attained. Such as these: a believer is commanded, 1. To come with boldness and humble confidence "to the throne of grace." (Heb. iv. 16.) 2. To "rejoice in the Lord always." (Phil. iv. 4.) 3. To give God glory by believing. 4. To tell others what great things God hath done for their souls. 5. To comfort one another, and strengthen the faith of one another. All which duties are commanded, because the attaining of assurance is first commanded; and that first command is supposed, by these other commands, to have been obeyed: for no man can come in the Spirit of adoption, and, with a filial confidence, cry, "Abba, Father," who first knows not himself to be a son by the image he bears. (Gal. iv. 6.) No man can rejoice in the Lord as he ought to rejoice, till he knows his name to be "written in heaven," because the law of God is written in his heart. (Luke x. 20.) How can a captive triumph, or a man in chains dance? How can a Hebrew song be sung in Babylon, "in a strange land?" (Psalm cxxxvii. 4.) Again: when it is required that we should live in perpetual adoration of divine goodness, and in admiration of free grace, and that we praise, and bless, and magnify the name of God, giving him glory by believing, this supposes that we do believe, and also that we know we do believe; for it is the joy of the Lord that gives us strength to do his will, and doth enlarge our hearts to speak good of his name. (Neh. viii. 10.)

Diligence is necessary necessitate medii.

(II.) The second argument, proving it the duty of believers with diligence to endeavour after assurance, is, *because this diligence is necessary* necessitate medii, "*as a necessary means.*"—Here I desire you to consider these two things: 1. *That diligence is a necessary means for attaining assurance.* 2. *That assurance is a necessary means for the effecting some ends which we are bound to accomplish; but* [*which*] *are such as, without a certain knowledge of our interest in God,—they are not possibly attained.*

Diligence a means to gain assurance.

1. *Diligence is a most proper and necessary means for attaining assurance.*—"Faith of adherence," as one says, "comes by hearing; but faith of assurance comes not without doing." In God's giving [of] first grace, we are truly passive; but before God causes all grace to be in us, and to abound, he makes us active and diligent. Both in the direct act of faith and also in the reflex act of it, it may be said, that *acti*

agimus, "we act being acted." Yet there is some difference between our living, and moving, and having our being in God: (Acts xvii. 28:) for as the child owes the first principle of its life wholly to God and its parents, wherein it is wholly passive in itself, but, afterwards, the exercise of those principles depends upon God's enabling of the child to put forth those acts that properly flow from a vital principle; so first principles, or the habits of grace, are, as I have already shown, infused by God alone, but the acts and exercise of grace are from God's concurse [concurrence] with our faculties and powers. We are bidden to "work out our salvation with fear and trembling," notwithstanding it be most true that "God works in us both to will and to do of his own good pleasure." (Phil. ii. 12, 13.) You see, a just acknowledgment of God's grace may be conjoined with a clear revelation of man's natural power before conversion, and of a believer's moral power after regeneration; and both of them enforcing and engaging unto the greatest diligence, even from their conjunction and concurrence. For these things are very harmonious in themselves; it is man's ignorance or peevishness that divides the things that God hath conjoined. Acknowledgment of free grace in its power, efficacy, and discriminative prerogative, when duly considered, doth most effectually put us upon diligence. Men can easily reconcile those two texts, where in one place it is said, "The hand of the diligent makes rich;" (Prov. x. 4;) in the other, "The blessing of God maketh rich." (Verse 22.) Men understand these things as they concur in natural things: I think they might as well be understood as relating to spiritual riches, "riches of assurance;" diligence, with God's blessing, being a proper means for gaining assurance. (Col. ii. 2.)

Assurance a proper means helping us to attain more grace.

2. *Assurance is a most proper means for the more speedy attaining many excellent ends, which without it are most difficultly accomplished.*—And here I might enumerate many particulars; for indeed there is scarcely any one act of grace that can be, in any measure or degree, so well exercised by a person ignorant of his spiritual estate, as by him who knows that relation which he stands in to God; neither is any duty so well performed before assurance, as after that God hath sealed to a believer the pardon of his sin. But I must mention only some consequents of assurance, so many as may stop the mouth of that Rabshakeh, Bellarmine, whose last argument against assurance is this, that "it is not convenient that men attain to assurance ordinarily of the truth of grace in their hearts;" * and his reason is, "Because it tends to carelessness and sloth." And Petrus a Soto saith, that "it is not only most humble, but most safe, to doubt of the grace and favour of God." For confutation hereof, I shall instance in three effects or consequents of true assurance, which are of great import, but are difficultly obtained by those that want assurance.

Victory over sin.

(1.) *A more complete victory over the actings of remaining sin and corruption.*—This is much furthered by assurance. It is with believers as it was with the Israelites: they bowed down under the oppression of Egypt so long as they despaired of deliverance; but when God had assured them of his love and favour, and had given them a promise of bringing them forth from bondage, a new spirit immediately came upon them, and they suddenly vindicated themselves from slavery; they cast off their oppressors' yoke, and went forth to liberty, not leaving one hoof behind them. (Exod. x. 26.) Thus despondent persons, who nourish their own fears, like Issachar, may "couch down between" these "two burdens:" (Gen. xlix. 14:) (i.) Sight of guilt, and, (ii.) Sense of strong corruptions: but when gospel-grace appears, and a sight of the soul's interest in the strength and power of Christ is once manifest, presently the soul lifts up its head, and breaks this yoke off from its neck, and bids defiance to its old lusts, and goes forth "conquering, and to conquer." (Rev. vi. 2.) Our adversaries do indeed speak evil of the things they know not: (Jude 10:) and because they want this experience,—that assurance doth most effectually purify the heart; (Acts xv. 9;) and are ignorant that he that hath the most assured hope, does most industriously design to "purify himself, as God is pure;" (1 John iii. 3;) therefore they blaspheme this most sacred truth; they deny scripture; and, were it not for shame, would accuse Christ and his apostles, Peter and Paul, for libertines, as the Pharisees sometimes did. But was it not Christ's common method, first to say to afflicted souls, "Your sins are forgiven," (Mark ii. 5,) and then, "Take up thy bed, and walk?" (Verse 9.) And again: did he not first say, "Thou art made whole," and then said, "Sin no more?" (John v. 14.) Christ's opinion (or rather, his certain knowledge) was this,—that the sense of forgiveness was the most potent principle of love and obedience; Christ tells us, that Mary Magdalene therefore "loved much," because much was forgiven her. (Luke vii. 47.) If Paul understood any thing of gospel-principles, it was his doctrine, that the more clear "the grace of God doth appear," the more effectually it doth "teach to deny all ungodliness and worldly lusts, and to live soberly, righteously, and holily in this present world." (Titus ii. 11, 12.)

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* *Non expedit ut homines certitudinem de gratiâ propriâ ordinariè habeant.*—BELLARMINUS *De Just.* lib. iii.

Our adversaries forget, that assurance is attainable by none but true believers: now it is impossible that true believers should turn the grace of God into wantonness. We affirm, that this "new name," and the "white stone," (Rev. ii. 17,) is never given to any but those that are "partakers of the *new* nature," (2 Peter i. 4,) to such as are regenerate. God first principles the heart with holiness, and then smiles upon it; and for a holy person to know that he is so, can be no occasion to disobedience. I ask, Who is more obliged, or who feels the obligation to observance most cogently,—the son who knows his near relation, and knows his father loves him, or the servant that hath great reason to doubt thereof? God's Spirit seals none but those it hath in measure sanctified; neither would God reveal his love, but that he knows the constraining power of it. Fear is a weak and impotent principle, in comparison of love. The apostle saith, "The law was weak;" (Rom. viii. 3;) the terror of its curse weakened and enfeebled the hands of those that should have obeyed it; but the gospel-declaration of grace is mighty and prevailing, because it comes in the power of love. Terrors may awaken; love enlivens. Terrors may "almost persuade;" love over-persuades. Felix may tremble, and remain unconverted; (Acts xxiv. 25;) Zacchæus hears of certain salvation, and makes haste to come down, and receives Christ gladly. (Luke xix. 5, 6.) Legal terrors may move affections, and storm the passions; but they make no change upon the will; and therefore there is no saving or thorough work effected; * as, when a party of soldiers only storm the out-works of a garrison, they are soon again repelled: but the gospel takes the heart, the main fort, upon friendly articles and voluntary surrender, and the soul becomes a most willing tributary and subject to its new Governor. Fear may force and offer violence, and commit a rape upon the heart, but can effect no contract or marriage-covenant; for that is wrought only by love, and that in its clearest evidences and manifestations.

It is true, the Papists, who are great enemies to marriage, will here be ready to object, that "oftentimes affections cool after marriage, which were strong before; and so it may happen after a believer's knowledge of his interest in Christ." I answer, that the apostate church of Rome, to which the Spirit of God gives the title of "the great whore," and of "the mother of fornications and adulteries," (Rev. xvii. 1, 5,) both spiritual and civil, doth much delight to cast all the blemishes they can upon the state of marriage, civilly or spiritually considered; but more innocent persons do know, that interest did never lessen love, nor the knowledge of interest abate affection, but rather increase it.† All persons find [that] *that* relation hath a strange influence upon men's minds to endear those objects that might otherwise be but little taking. Sure I am, that a believer's knowledge that his Beloved is his, and he is his Beloved's, (Canticles vi. 3,) is found by experience to lay the most strong and cogent obligation upon him to loyalty and faithfulness unto the Lord Jesus: for as, to him that believes, Christ is precious; (1 Peter ii. 7;) so, to him that knows he believes, to him Christ is so much the more precious, even "the chiefest of ten thousand." (Canticles v. 10.)

Victory over temptations of the world.

(2.) As assurance furthers our love to Christ, and so gives power over sin, so *it gives strength to overcome the world, and all the temptations of it,* of what kind soever; be they either,

On the right hand.

(i.) First. *On the right hand;* namely, the smiles, flatteries, allurements, and enticements of the world: assurance of an interest in God very much facilitates our conquest over all these. The foresight and prospect of heaven carry the soul so high in its contemplation of glory, as when it looks down upon worldly enjoyments, they appear small, little, and very inconsiderable. Moses, after God had assured him of his love, and had caused his glory to pass before him,—how did he scorn to be tempted with the bait of being reckoned and accounted the son of

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* *Oderint dum metuant* ["Men will hate whilst they fear"] cannot be divided.

† *Amat ille non immeritò qui amatur sine merito. Amat sine fine qui cognoscit se amatum fuisse a principio.*—BERNARDI *Epist. cvii.* "He loves not without cause, who is loved without merit. His love is without end, who knows that he was loved from the beginning." EDIT.

Pharaoh's daughter! "He refused to be called the son of Pharaoh's daughter; choosing rather to suffer affliction with the people of God, than to enjoy the pleasures of sin" that are but "for a season; esteeming the reproach of Christ greater riches than the treasures in Egypt." (Heb. xi. 24—26.) Whence arose this braveness and true greatness of mind? The text tells you, "He had respect to the recompence of reward:" he knew the reward was great, and his title to it good. St. Augustine tells of himself, that after he had attained assurance of God's love and favour, he was so ravished therewith, as he could not but cry out with a holy exclamation, "O how sweet is it to be without the world's sweets, since I enjoy all sweetness in God! Those things that once I was afraid to lose, I now let go, and want with joy, because hereby I enjoy thee the more." *

Temptations on the left hand.

(ii.) As to temptations *on the left hand*, namely, the world's frowns, threats, and persecutions, how little doth an assured person regard them! They are all now accounted and considered as "light" and momentary "afflictions," because they are known to "work a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory." (2 Cor. iv. 17.) We read of true believers that endured "the spoiling of their goods with joy." (Heb. x. 34.) To suffer with patience to some is very hard; but to others it is "joy," even when they "fall into divers temptations." (James i. 2.) But who are these? The Spirit of God tells us, that they are those that know within themselves, (mark! within themselves; that is, by inward evidences, and the testimony of the Spirit witnessing with their spirits,) that they have "a better and more enduring substance" in heaven; these can both forego and undergo cheerfully whatever God requires of them. Excellent is the saying of St. Cyprian: "There lives in us," saith he, "the strength and power of an immovable faith; and hence it is that amongst all the ruins of this tumbling and rolling world, our mind bears up, and our patience always triumphs, because our souls are sure and secure in reference to the eternal love of God." †

Victory over the fear of death.

(3.) Assurance of our salvation procures *victory over the fear of death.*—Old Simeon, with Christ in his arms, could pray for a dismission hence. (Luke ii. 29.) He that hath gotten good evidences in his bosom, and the Spirit's testimony of the pardon of his sin sealed upon his conscience, will join with Simeon in this his petition. Until assurance be attained, it is impossible but that men should "all their lives long be kept in bondage through the fear of death;" (Heb. ii. 15;) but an assured person can wish for death, and say, with Paul, *Cupio dissolvi*, "I desire to be dissolved." ‡ Assurance carries the soul to the top of Pisgah; and from thence a believer, as he hath a general view of the whole Land of Promise, so by the eye of an assuring faith he is able to espy his own lot and portion in heaven and glory: and can he be unwilling to go through

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* *Quàm suave est deliciis hisce carere, &c.*—AUGUSTINI *Confess.* lib. iii.

† *Viget apud nos spei immobilis virtus et firmitas, &c.*—S. CYPRIANI *Sermo de Patientiâ.*

‡ See 2 Cor. v. 1: "We know that if our earthly house of this tabernacle were dissolved, we have a building of God, an house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens."

Jordan, or the channel of the grave, to take possession thereof? As the least degree of true faith takes away the sting of death, because it takes away guilt; so plerophory ["full assurance"] of faith breaks the very teeth and jaws of death, by taking away the fear and dread of it. When evidences of an estate are once sealed and attested, men are not afraid of that turf and clod, which, whilst it defiles their hands, gives them livery and seisin of large revenues. When a true believer knows his interest in those eternal mansions of glory to come, he is not troubled that his cottage of clay must first be pulled down. The nature of death to a believer is quite altered from what it was; and it seems to be another thing, in his present apprehension, differing much from what he once thought it to be. It once appeared only "the wages of sin;" (Rom. vi. 23;) but now it appears as the reward of patience. It was once thought the beginning of sorrow; but now the end of sin, and the consummation of grace. To a despairing person, death appears like a grim sergeant haling to prison; to an assured person, it acts the part of a master of ceremonies, who introduces foreigners into the presence of the great King. Death holds forth a crown to an assured person; it holds forth an axe to a despairing person. Such a change doth assurance make. I shall therefore add no more but the words of Cyprian, who, discoursing of death, hath these words: "Beloved," saith he, "the kingdom of heaven is begun already in us in joy and peace. There is no place left for fear, or doubting, or sorrow. He only can fear death, that is unwilling to go to Christ; and none can be unwilling to go to him, that know they shall reign with him." *

And thus I have abundantly shown how instrumental assurance is for the increase of sanctification, and obtaining a more complete victory over sin, the world, and the fear of death; and I have thereby confuted Bellarmine's grand argument against assurance, as if it tended to licentiousness. The rest of his objections and arguments I have also sufficiently obviated, so as I hope every considering person will be able, from what hath been spoken, to defend the truth: although the style, of necessity, hath been more concise than might have been desired; yet I hope those that are intelligent will be satisfied with the matter of argument therein contained, although I have been forced to abbreviate my discourse.

USE.

I must make but little other application than,

1. To desire you to change the arguments by which I have proved the necessity of diligence, into motives to put you upon the practice.

2. I shall conclude with some necessary DIRECTIONS for the better attaining to assurance.

Make it more and more sure in itself.

DIRECTION I. *Give diligence to make your calling more sure in itself, by "adding unto faith virtue; unto virtue knowledge; unto knowledge temperance;" and the rest of those graces here mentioned by our apostle.* (2 Peter i. 5.)—"Although now your calling may be sure and saving, yet it may be more assured:" * the promises were sure before Christ's coming, yet he is said to confirm them, and make them more sure. (Rom. xv. 8.) A believer, the more he grows in grace, the more effectual is his calling made; and the more sure it is in itself, the more easily may he attain to his assurance of it. The more effectual it is, the more visible and conspicuous always is a believer's call. Little grace may be true grace; but little grace is next to no grace; and therefore weak grace is seldom discerned. Just as those "motes" or "atoms," as they are called, which are small particles of dust, and fly abroad in the air, are true bodies, but they are invisible bodies; thus while faith is but as "a grain of mustard-seed," (Luke xiii. 19,) it may be true, but it will be hardly seen. When love to God is (as a small spark of fire covered with a heap of ashes) smothered with too great a mixture of sensual and carnal affections, it is not easily discovered or found without much search; but faith grown-up to a tree, and love blown-up to a flame, cannot be hid; for thus they render themselves most visible and manifest. That poor woman that had lost her δραχμη, her groat, was forced to "light her candle," and "sweep diligently her house," and to look long before she found it, because it was but a drachm, a very small piece; (Luke xv. 8;) had it been a talent, or shekel of the sanctuary, it would have been more easily found. Let the print be true and exact, yet if small, it is often not legible, especially to weak eyes. If you would attain to assurance, labour to make your calling more sure in itself, by growing eminent in grace.

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* CYPRIANUS *De Mortalitate.*

Make it sure to yourselves by special assuring graces.

DIRECT. II. *Labour to make it sure to yourselves, by attaining to, and living in, the exercise of those graces that are properly and more especially assuring graces.*—The Spirit of God in scripture hath declared that a believer's assurance of salvation depends upon the exercise of three assuring graces: 1. Πληροφορια συνεσεως, "a full assurance of knowledge and understanding." 2. Πληροφορια ϖιστεως, "a full assurance of faith." 3. Πληροφορια της ελπιδος, "a full assurance of hope."

A full assurance of knowledge.

1. *Labour for "full assurance of knowledge."*—When St. Paul is declaring to the Colossians, how much he desired that the believers of Laodicea might have their hearts comforted and assured, he reveals the way of attaining this to be, by attaining "all riches of full assurance of understanding:" *Ἱνα ϖαρακληθωσιν αἱ καρδιαι αυτων, εις ϖαντα ϖλουτον της ϖληροφοριας της συνεσεως, εις επιγνωσιν, &c.;* (Col. ii. 1, 2;) which phrase implies two things:

(1.) *That all those things be known upon which a believer's assurance and comforts are built.*—And these fundamentals are many: there are several ϖρολεγομενα, or *præcognita;* several things must be "fore-known and understood" before assurance can be attained: † as, (i.) You must labour to know the way of redemption and salvation by the mediation of Christ. (ii.) You must know the way of a person's obtaining an interest in that mediation; that is, you must know that faith, effectually owning of Christ as Mediator, and deporting itself toward him as such, doth, by virtue of the new covenant, obtain an interest in that mediation. (iii.) You must know by what signs or evidences true saving faith may be distinguished certainly from temporary and ineffectual faith. (iv.) You must know that these certain evidences are found in your heart and life.

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* *Vocatio, etsi primò et per se certa sit, complementum tamen adhuc expectat.*—CHAMIERUS, tom. iii. lib. xiii. cap. 15.

† There is one more fundamental of assurance than there is of salvation.

(2.) Full assurance of knowledge implies *a clear and distinct acknowledgment of all these, with reference to a believer's well-built and grounded comforts.*—*Verba sensûs et intellectûs connotant affectum et effectum:* "Scripture-phrases of sense and knowledge imply a suitable affection, and also such effects as are proper and agreeing." There must not therefore be only a speculative notion, but also an influential and practical application of this knowledge for the founding of assurance thereupon: there must not be only γνωσις, but επιγνωσις, not only "knowledge," but "acknowledgment;" as it follows in the same verse.

Full assurance of faith.

2. *Labour for "full assurance of faith."*—Now this implies these four things, which I must but name, as in the former direction: (1.) Labour for full assent unto the truth of gospel-revelation. (2.) For full consent unto gospel-method, terms, conditions, and commands. (3.) For full dependence upon gospel-grace. (4.) For full experience of gospel-obedience, or the obedience of faith. All these are included in that "full assurance of faith," wherewith the apostle exhorts believers to "draw near to God;" (Heb. x. 22;) and every one of these acts of faith must be attained and put in practice before assurance can be attained.

Full assurance of hope.

3. *Labour for "full assurance of hope."* (Heb. vi. 11.)—And this supposes two things:

First. *An actual, explicit considering of the grounds of our hope, or a laying a good foundation.*—All saving hope is rational and well-built. Hope's anchor, in a believer, holds not by the strength of a spider's web, as the hypocrite's hope doth; but it holds by the strength of a threefold cord, not easily broken; it holds by the evidence of, (1.) Testimony, (2.) Sense, and, (3.) Reason. Bellarmine, fondly adhering to the philosophical definition of hope, and departing from the scriptural use and acceptation of the word "hope," (which is the ground of many errors in the church of Rome,) denies that reason and hope can consist together; and consequently denies also that there is any such thing as "full assurance of hope." But when he is urged with that plain text in Heb. vi. 11, where believers are exhorted to give "diligence" for attaining "full assurance of hope," which supposeth that a full assured hope is in the first place built upon good evidence and proof, the Jesuit, in answer to this, doth most egregiously trifle, and doth nonsensically distinguish between the certainty of the will, in opposition to the certainty of the understanding; although every tyro knows, that the will is no subject of certainty, nor can there be any certainty of will separate from the certainty of the understanding. And yet more ridiculous is the Jesuit's argument, when he tells us, that "what we have reason to hope for, we do not hope for it, but expect it;"[*] the folly of which distinction between hope and expectation, I need not say any thing further to it, than to assure you, that the apostle Peter was wholly ignorant of Bellarmine's logic, when he exhorts believers to be ready to give λογον ϖερι της εν ὑμιν ελπιδος, "a reason of the hope that was in" them. (1 Peter iii. 15.)

But, Secondly, the phrase, "full assurance of hope," supposes *an actual building of our hope upon these good grounds, or an actual conclusion from rational principles, that we are pardoned, and shall be saved.*—It is one thing to consider the grounds of such a conclusion, another thing to conclude actually from those grounds. Assured hope, as it is accompanied with rational evidences, so it is accompanied with right use of right reason to draw the inference. Weak hope sometimes acts as children will do,—it grants the premisses, and yet denies the conclusion; but strong hope is accompanied with a full power to infer the assured conclusion from those assured premisses, which those afore-named assuring graces did lay down. Knowledge saith, "Whoever believes shall be saved;" faith saith, "Peter doth believe;" "Therefore," hope saith, "Peter shall be saved."[†] And this hope is that which will never "make ashamed, because" hereby "the love of God is shed abroad" more abundantly "in our hearts by the Holy Ghost given unto us." (Rom. v. 5.) "Let every man" therefore thus "prove his own work, and then he shall have rejoicing in himself, and not in another." (Gal. vi. 4.)

SERMON XXI. (XX.)

BY THE REV. MATTHEW SYLVESTER,

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BAPTISM AND THE LORD'S SUPPER ARE THE ONLY SACRAMENTS OF THE COVENANT OF GRACE UNDER THE NEW TESTAMENT.

THERE ARE BUT TWO SACRAMENTS UNDER THE NEW TESTAMENT.

Add thou not unto his words, lest he reprove thee, and thou be found a liar.—Proverbs xxx. 6.

The independency of Proverbs informs us, that we may spare the labour of reflections upon the context; seeing every proverb is big with its own sense, and fully comprehends its own design and reach.

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[*] *Duplex est certitudo, alia voluntatis, alia intellectûs: et videtur non posse certitudinem intellectûs cum spe convenire, quia quod scimus nos habituros, non speramus, sed expectamus.*—Bellarminus *De Justif.* lib. xiii. cap. 11.

[†] *Dicit Fides, Parata sunt magna: dicit Spes, Mihi ista servantur.*—Bernardi *Serm. l.* "Says Faith, 'Great things are prepared:' 'For me,' says Hope, 'they are reserved.'"—Edit.

The words now read unto you, as the ground and measure of this Morning Exercise, are weighty as to their charge and arguments.

The charge is here imperative, born of authority, and brought into the light, to bound the daring usurpations of aspiring fools. The throne of God ought not to be invaded by the sons of men; nor must a peerage in his empire be usurped or claimed by distant mortals, whose policy and safety it is to be auditors and scholars, and not dictators, in the matters of God's kingdom. The best man is only *δυναμενος του αλλου ειναι*, ["able to be the property of another,"] and *φυσει δουλος*, ["a slave by nature,"] as Aristotle speaks; and therefore, as *he* said, Βελτιστοι *γινομεθα ϖρος τους ϑεους βαδιζοντες·* * so *ϖρος τον Θεον βαδιζων βελτιστος* ["he that goes to God is best"] in respect to God, whose absolute property, and unlimited prerogative by any thing but the blessed harmony of his own infinite perfections, together with his own omnipotence, omniscience, holiness, and all-sufficiency, being both matchless and incommunicable, do speak him so fitly and undoubtedly our Owner, Governor, and Father, as that tender observance and obsequiousness must unavoidably more become us than bold pretences to his throne and sceptre. God's words are like himself, such glorious emanations of his own majesty and excellence as will neither suit nor bear the mean additions of aspiring man. All men are subjects, and must act by their derived authority and commission. God's words are like the sun, moving in a distinct and proper sphere, and scorning the accessions of our more dim and languid lamps. All that put-in their claims for legislation in church or state, are under law for what they impose and speak, and are to be presented to the bar of God, in answer to this universal summon, namely, "Give an account of thy stewardship; for thou wast but a steward, and must be no longer so." (Luke xvi. 2.) "Add thou not" therefore "to his words, lest he reprove thee."

QUERY I. "What are those additions that are not forbidden to us here? Is every thing a sinful addition that is not found expressly in the words of God?"

1. Words that explain the sense, and force, and usefulness of God's words are not forbidden here. (Neh. viii. 8.) Letters, syllables, and words are not the mind of God, farther than their signification reaches. Words are the vehicles of sense, the indices of the heart; till they are known and opened, we are but barbarians unto others. (1 Cor. xiv. 11.) There is no commandment transgressed by a true explication of those words whereby God signifies his mind: and to acquaint men with the proofs and characters whereby it may be manifest that this is God's mind, is none of those additions which God forbids to make unto his words.

2. Express determinations of times and places in particular, for the discharge of such incumbent duties as must be done in general, and cannot be discharged in particular without the fixing of time and place. How can assemblies meet together, or public worship be discharged, till a particular time and place be both stated and known?

3. Pertinent and distinct applications of general rules unto particular cases, and consequently such express reasons and arguments as shall prove

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* PLUTARCHUS *Περι Δεισιδαιμονιας·* "We are then best, when we are approaching the gods."—EDIT.

them pertinent and improvable, as to the case in hand. Fastings and feastings, prayers and praises, alms, forbearance, silence and speaking, are, in the general, attended with laws imposed upon all; but *quoad hic et nunc*, the calls and circumstances of emergent providences must state and fix the case, and show the duty "in its season."

4. The modes of worship may vary in their frame and use, and may be, under circumstances, ordered so to do, and yet the precept of my text observed. I may be bound to preach, or praise, or pray; but yet the subject, length, or method, and the peculiar words and phrases, may be variously determined by present choice and order.

5. The use of natural or accessory helps, no ways destructive but subservient to our stated work, may be determined to be used, and yet this law remain inviolated. I may use or forbear my notes; use all those helps that are at hand, and "find out words acceptable." (Eccles. xii. 10.)

6. Whatever may commodiously preserve, promote, and quicken due purity, truth, and order, and is no ways inconsistent with God's laws, and the true interest, ends, credit, and harmony of Christian godliness, in all its exercises, comes not within the censure of my text.

QUERY II. "What is it that we must not add unto these words of God?"

I answer: These things:—

1. Nothing as God's which is not his; as articles of faith, new points of doctrine, promises, threatenings, prophecies, revelations, traditions, or miracles, pretended to be of God, that are not so, either as to God's errand or operation.

2. Nothing to vie with God's revealed truths or laws, as to authority or importance: for this is to usurp the throne of God, and claim a peerage with absolute supremacy.

3. Nothing that savours of such additional supplements as seem to argue God of ignorance, imprudence, or negligence: for this is to turn accusers or upbraiders of the Holy One, as guilty of defects, miscarriages, and mistakes.

4. Nothing that does destroy the end, or contradicts the errand, or tends to weaken the awful and successful influences, of the words of God: for this refers to nothing but disappointment and disturbance of the noble ends and proper course of laws and government.

5. Nothing that builds what God destroys, or ruins what God designs expressly and resolves to build. The wise and righteous Governor of the world is most impatient of such contradictions. When God takes down a ceremonial frame of worship, to clear his way to better dispensations, then to cloud his heavens with pompous institutions, is to disturb and vex the eyes of spiritual worshippers, even with the dust and rubbish of what was taken down and thrown aside. Thus also the commands of God must not be rendered void through men's traditions. (Matt. xv. 2—9.)

6. Nothing that makes a wrong construction of God's words. False glosses, and corrupt interpretations of the truths of God, are vain and bold additions. Can we imagine that those words can signify God's mind which have no sense in them nor stated import, before the pope and councils have set their stamp and seal upon them? Are they bound to

construe right? or are they at perfect liberty to make the same expression true and false at pleasure?

7. In one word: Nothing that supersedes, or is co-ordinate with, or derogatory to, God's words, in doctrine, government, and worship, or prejudicial, burdensome, or unprofitable unto the purity, peace, and order, edification, or needful harmony and consolation, of souls and churches, strong or weak.

Query iii. "What are those reasons that are produced in my text as dissuasive from these additions?"

1. *The case must be debated.*—The word used in the text comes from יָכַח that signifies "to dispute the case, and debate the matter by argument." God pondereth all the ways of man. All claims shall be inquired into. Bold usurpations and aspirings must be reflected on with a *Quo jure hoc fecistis?* ["By what right have ye done this?"] God will never prodigally diffuse his own prerogative. Others must act by deputation and derived authority; and both their commissions and discharge must be produced and canvassed in open court. He that will bring every thing into open court, will not forbear inquiries after those that so audaciously usurp his crown and sceptre, and storm his throne. Therefore we must carry [ourselves] as within the prospect of that great tribunal, where our precarious allegations must abide the test.

2. *The guilty will then be exposed in open court.*—God will be conqueror in judgment; and it will appear a crime unanswerable, to have the Broad Seal counterfeited. Woe to all the bold pretenders to the infallible chair, whose claims are larger than their right and warrant! If Aaron and Miriam found it so costly to challenge Moses or a peerage with him, what will become of those who will not suffer God to abide greatest and undisturbed in the throne, when Majesty appears to vindicate supreme authority from all those bold invasions which the usurping tyrant of God's church hath made? Its vigorous lustre will make his bold pretences, like a thin exhalation, to melt away and vanish. Supremacy is a tender thing; and to build "stubble, wood, and hay" upon the best foundation, will be found no man's gain. (1 Cor. iii. 12.) "What is the chaff to the wheat?" The word of God is tried, and may be trusted to; but he that leans upon the reeds of Egypt, will make his confident recumbencies at least assuredly preparatory unto his most shameful fall. He that is found a liar at the bar of God, cannot escape the smartest censures and most severe reflections that ever yet astonished and amazed delinquents. God will not patronize the lies and forgeries of any swelling or aspiring bubbles. Creatures must know their distance and the truth. It is here our reputation is the most tendered thing; and he that is found a liar here, as speaking from God that which is not of him, and that as for God which really is against him, must then expect a very round discharge from God. Hence then let us take occasion to inquire,

Query iv. "Whether baptism and the Lord's supper be the only sacraments of the covenant of grace under the New Testament."

1. We shall pass over now the consideration of those words in Greek and Hebrew which Bellarmine lays so great a weight upon; as, מִלֹּואִים, חֻקִּים, and רזא, and אוֹת, "a sign," (Gen. xvii. 11,) rendered by σημειον, σφραγις, ["a seal,"] (Rom. iv. 11,) αντιτυπον, ["a figure,"] (1 Peter

iii. 21,) ὑποδειγμα, ["an example,"] (Heb. viii. 5; ix. 23,) μυστηριον ["a mystery"]; *Latinè mysterium quod aliud existit, aliud significat;*[*] from whence it is also called συμβολον ["a symbol"]. All which words, being of larger or more restrained signification, may be applied to more or fewer things at pleasure.

2. Nor need we dwell upon the covenant of grace, seeing it is agreed on all hands to be a contract betwixt God and man, through the mediation of Jesus Christ, for the return and reconcilement of sinners to God; and so, their justification, adoption, sanctification, and glorification. And by our speaking of the sacraments of this covenant, we prescind the thoughts of sacraments in innocence. And as in our gospel-times this covenant is published in its last and best edition and impression; and hath been sealed and ratified with the blood of sprinkling, and, as the testament of our dying Friend, exhibited to the world by the Lord himself, and those commissionated by him; (Heb. ii. 3;) and held forth plainly, powerfully, and successfully, without the veil and burdens of its former dispensations under the legal economy; so are we to consider here what sacraments and seals are annexed to and fixed upon it, waving all former sacraments as to their frame or number.

3. Therefore the term "sacraments," well opened and applied, must clear and end the controversy in this article.

And here we must premise, that the term is unscriptural, not written in it, but derived elsewhere. And so we must inquire after such things as these:

I. *How many things in authors are signified by the term?*

II. *How far it may be applicable to more than these assigned in the question, and so how far the controversy lies more in words than things.*

III. *Wherein it is only applicable to these two.*

IV. *What are the arguments and reasons of the Papists, whereby they prove the number of them to be seven? and so give them their answer.*

V. *Why the Protestants assert but two.*

Which, when they are well dispatched, may better show the truth and measures of the case in hand before us.

I. *As to the various use and acceptation of the word.*—I find the word "sacrament" used in these several senses:

1. It is taken for that "pledge, pawn," or *pignus*, which they that fought did leave in the hands of their chief priest during their fight. When the fight was ended, the conqueror took his own, and the other, *in pœnam injustæ litigationis*, ["as a punishment for his unjust litigation,"] lost his, and it was devoted to the treasury. (VARRO *De Ling. Lat.* lib. iv.) And this pledge was called "a sacrament."

2. It is taken for that oath *quo quis sacris interpositis obligatur.*[†] And this oath or obligation was *sacramentum*, in that it was *obligatio Numinis et religionis interventu confirmata.*[‡] And hence *sacramentum militare* [is used] for such as were listed by oath, and bound to continue

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[*] "That which is one thing, but signifies another, is, in Latin, designated 'a mystery.'" —EDIT.

[†] "With which any one is bound after the performance of sacred rites."—EDIT.

[‡] "An obligation confirmed by the intervention of the Deity and religion."—EDIT.

till the war was done. So VEGETIUS. *(De Re militari,* lib. ii.) Thus also Jerome calls the oath of Hippocrates upon his disciples *sacramentum.* (Tom. i. *Epist. ad Nepot. de Vit. Cleric. et Sacerdot.)* And Juvenal, in his sixteenth Satire, calls the very *milites sacramento rogatos,* [" soldiers, who were bound with an oath or sacrament,"] "sacraments" themselves :

> *Præmia nunc alia atque alia emolumenta notemus*
> *Sacramentorum.**—JUVENALIS *Sat.* xvi. 35.

3. Hence probably it is, that our *votum baptismale* [" baptismal vow "] was called *sacramentum ;* as, *Recordare tyrocinii tui diem ; quo, Christo in baptismate consepultus, in sacramenti verba jurasti.*†

4. Sometimes it is taken for no more than a mere *arcanum,* or "secret ;" thus, "the sacrament of incarnation :" and often in this sense have you *sacramentum* in the Vulgar Latin. (Dan. ii. 18, 30 ; iv. 6 ; Eph. i. 9 ; iii. 4 ; Col. i. 27 ; 1 Tim. iii. 16.) Thus any thing of occult and sacred signification, (as parables, types,) in things or persons, &c.,—they may be called "sacraments," as Jerome, *ubi supra ;* and then our number may exceed a septenary.

5. Sometimes it is taken for the sign, the thing signified, and the action, inward and outward, and the word itself, whereby God commands the *signum propter rem signatam* [" the sign on account of the thing of which it is significant "].

6. Sometimes it is taken for any *sacræ rei signum.* And thus there may be as many sacraments as there can be signs of holy matters by words or things.

7. Most to our purpose, it imports our dedication of ourselves to God by vow, expressed by solemn ceremony, signifying a mutual covenant betwixt God and us, and his reception of us.

II. *As to its application to the case in hand.*—Let us inquire how far it may be accommodated to more than two ; and then how far only to these two,—baptism, and the Lord's supper. Which take as follows :—

1. If it be true what Bellarmine asserts, that "it suffices as to the nature of a sacrament that it is a sensible sign, let the sense be what it will," then, I confess, there are more sacraments than two ; for every word and thing may be a sacrament that may be seen, or felt, or heard, or tasted. Then can neither of these two be a single sacrament, but each hath many sacraments in one. Then penance, matrimony, orders, confirmation, &c., are truly sacraments. Then books and sermons will be sacraments. Yea, our very words and actions in all our joint approaches unto God, will mutually be sacraments from each to other. But did not all the sacraments of the Old Testament consist of visible signs? Is there no difference betwixt the preached word and sacraments as such ? Did Christ administer the sacrament to all he preached or spake unto ? How is it that St. Austin makes the word and elements to constitute a sacrament ? And do not sacraments require a consecration ? If not, what makes the elements a sacrament ? If they do, then what

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* " But there are other benefits, my friend,
And greater, which the sons of war attend."—GIFFORD'S Translation.

† HIERONYMUS, tom. i. epist. 1, *ad Heliodorum, de Laude Vitæ solitaris.* " Remember the day of thy first campaign, or initiation ; on which, being buried with Christ in baptism, thou swarest to the words of the sacrament."—EDIT.

must consecrate the words of consecration? And so *in infinitum*. And, lastly, did the council of Florence determine aright or not, when, in their definition of a sacrament, they did distinguish the matter and form each from other? If they did, then a sensible sign, barely as such, is not a sacrament. For if it were, then could it not derive its sacramental use and nature from Christ's institution; for its own aptitude, if men had pleased to use it and determine it, had been sufficiently productive of its sacramental use and nature. If they did not, what confidence can we put in councils that have mistaken in such weighty cases? The truth is, at this rate of speech they have secured their seven, and made sufficient room for twenty thousand more.

2. If "sacrament" only import "a secret," then Babylon itself becomes a sacrament; then types and parables, and all the intrigues of church and state, are sacraments; and so, whatever needs interpretation.

3. If by "a sacrament" they mean the shadowing forth by signs of any thing of a sacred nature, then there are more than seven; then all the furniture of the tabernacle and temple, and all the instituted rites of Moses, must have been sacraments; and *pari ratione* ["by like reason"] all gospel-ordinances, institutions, and transactions.

4. If by "a sacrament" they mean all dedicating signs, then there may be more than two. All signs of dedications unto office and relations, as well as all entire Christianity, may be called so: thus if I lift my hands or eyes to God, or solemnly subscribe an instrument whereby I give myself to God in any service, I make a sacrament and receive it.

5. If by "a sacrament" they mean the signification of a vow or promise in any kind to God; thus orders, confirmation, &c., may be called "sacraments;" and the signification of every thing I undertake for God, as master, servant, subject, or sovereign, may be called so: nor shall we say, there are no more than two.

6. If by "a sacrament" they mean something of divine institution, as expressive of some sacred undertaking and relation, I shall yet grant there are more sacraments than two. Thus matrimony, orders, confirmation, penance, and extreme unction, too, as stated and intended under those circumstances in James v., are sacraments.

7. If by "a sacrament" they mean something in some respects of the same nature, use, and ends with baptism and the supper of the Lord, I shall grant there are more sacraments than two. All offices and relations bind to respective faithfulness. Confirmation is the fresh owning of the same obligations which baptism laid upon us: I am called to regular penance by both these sacraments. I may remember Christ by reading, speaking, &c. I may signify my owning of my covenant, and may renew it, by fasting, praying, and professing many ways.

8. If by "a sacrament" be meant some significations of the grace of God to me, both relative and real, so there may be more sacraments than two: thus every ordinance, providence, and thing, expressive of God's grace to me, may bear the name of sacrament. All helps, encouragements, and advantages for heaven and holiness do clearly signify God's care and kindness to me. Thus the apostle's ministry may be a sacrament, as a clear indication of God's kindness to him.

9. There are some sacraments of order that may be truly such, as

holy orders, matrimony; and of office, civil, economical, and ecclesiastical, whose root may be the covenant of grace: but sacraments of Christianity import something more.

III. *As to its more restrained and intended use.*—A sacrament is a stated ceremony ordained by Christ, made up of visible signs; whereby our hearty dedication and full consent to all the terms and tenders of the covenant of grace, and God's acceptance of us thereunto, is signified, solemnized, and ratified by God and us, according to the propositions and injunctions of the New Testament. Which, when it is proved, will make it manifest, that either their asserting of seven is a most shameful and abusive noise both of provoking and dividing words, or else of deep and dangerous mistake in things, and too weak to bear their Tridentine anathema. Now if we view the whole description in its parts, we must consider these things, to state and clear the case in hand:—

1. *Whether the whole was not intended, in the first use and accommodation of the word "sacrament," to the concerns of Christianity.*

2. *Whether all this be not included in baptism and the eucharist.*

3. *Whether it can be possibly included in any of the five sacraments besides?*

1. Therefore, *as to the first use and application of it to the case in hand.*—It is clear it was thus used by Tertullian, and by him applied to baptism. For, speaking *ad Martyres* about their solemn abrenunciation which was made in baptism, and about other interrogations proposed at the same time, *Vocati,* saith he, *ad militiam, in sacramenti verba respondimus, &c.:* * "And thence," saith he, "did the whole action receive its name." And so, *Adversùs Praxeam: Fides in Patrem, Filium, et Spiritum Sanctum, secundùm Christianorum sacramentum, &c.:* † which must at least oblige us to, and influence, all suitableness of spirit and practice to the sacred Trinity, according to their several σχεσεις and "relations" to us, according to Rom. vi. 3—6. And on the same account the Greeks called our two sacraments *mysteria* ["mysteries"]; and the church generally understood the word in this sense, in opposition to the Heathens' initiation of their disciples into their idolatrous religions. And thus the ancients write of only two sacraments; as Tertullian, Justin, Irenæus, &c. Though Tertullian mention indeed unction, and imposition of hands; *(De Resur. Carn.;)* yet doth he not relate them as distinct, but as appendent, ceremonies to baptism. Thus also Cyril of Jerusalem intends the same of chrism. The time would fail to speak of Dionysius, Ambrose, &c. And it is manifest, that the doctrines of the seven sacraments were not started till broached by Hugo and Peter Lombard, from whom the Papists at first sucked it; and terribly have they improved it, to bring about their most mischievous ends.

2. As to the second, *that this description doth suit the eucharist and baptism,* [there] is no dispute.—Whence Bellarmine himself, reflecting upon Chemnitius, who asserted eight things as constitutive of a sacrament in that sense that baptism and the eucharist are such:—as, (1.) A visible material element or sign. (2.) A divine institution of it.

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* "Being called into active service, we responded to the words of the sacrament."—EDIT. † "Faith in the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, according to the sacrament of the Christians."—EDIT.

(3.) And that commanded in the New Testament, and instituted there. (4.) And this to the end of the world. (5.) Attended with a promise of grace. (6.) And this annexed to the sacramental sign, and clothed therewith, even by divine ordination. (7.) And this promise comprehending all the benefits of our redemption in close and full relation to eternal life. (8.) And all this signed, sealed, offered, and applied *virtute Dei,* ["by the power of God,"] to all that entertain these sacraments by faith:—hence Bellarmine, instead of denying the truth and full propriety of this application, attempts to prove them applicable unto penance, and thence would argue it to be a sacrament.

3. As to the third, *whether the other five can be as truly and fully called "sacraments" with equal correspondence to these eight particulars,* this must be tried by an equal balance and true examination of all particularly. And therefore the five sacraments which must be brought unto the test are these: (1.) *Confirmation.* (2.) *Extreme unction.* (3.) *Matrimony.* (4.) *Orders.* (5.) *Penance,* which is transferred unto the last, to introduce the residue of my work.

(1.) *As to confirmation.*—What elements are made the visible and proper signs? By what institution is it ordained? and by what promise of grace, with respect to pardon and eternal glory, is it encouraged and annexed? Or wherein will they fix its common and adequate relation and proportion to the two great sacraments? What is their confirmation (by chrism on infants) for the receiving of the Holy Ghost, but an audacious, apish imitation of miraculous operations by the apostles' hands? Nor can their equivocal juggles about the promise of the Spirit relieve them in the case, if the gift thereof, as sanctifying and comforting, of equal necessity and extent to all times and Christians, be distinguished from its miraculous and extraordinary operations and dispensings, which were to be appropriated to that sealing age, both as to Christians, and extraordinary officers and circumstances.

(2.) *As to extreme unction,* grounded upon Mark viii. 23, James v. 14.—When they can prove that these things are to be referred to ordinary and perpetual ceremonies in the church throughout all ages, and not to the extraordinary circumstances and ceremonies of a sealing day, wherein it is necessary that the gospel be sealed and proved by miracles at its first introduction into the world, they are more likely to win the day, and prove their unction sacramental. But do not their own Waldensis, Alphonsus e Castro, and famous Estius himself, conclude, that James and Mark speak of miraculous cures? Were not the parties to be anointed stricken and held with great diseases, partly contracted and deserved by grievous provocations, and partly inflicted to illustrate that miraculous power which was then on foot? What, though there be somewhat of analogy betwixt bodily diseases, and sin itself? yet certainly oil had been more proper to the *vitium* ["viciousness"] than the *reatus* ["guilt"] of their sins. An analogy is requisite in a sacrament; and the promise in James v. is of remission; and oil, that may have some analogy to wounds, bears little or none to spots, or guilt of punishment.

(3.) *As to matrimony.*—Who made it a sacrament under the New Testament? Or what is there in the ordinance to make it answerable to the thing? And if it be a sacrament, yet it is but economical. And it is no more divine than as it is an instituted relative state by God; and so is the covenant betwixt masters and servants; and thus the inauguration of a king may be a civil sacrament. But a sacrament of the covenant of grace is made compatible to all believers; but this is not so, but the priest must be barred from this sacrament, lest it impair his purity. But they allege, "It is called 'a mystery.'" (Eph. v. 32.) And have not the woman and the beast the same name? (Rev. xvii. 1, 5, 7.) Yea, doth not Cajetan affirm this place no argument that matrimony is a sacrament? Aware, it is likely, he was of that which follows closely in the text; namely, "I speak of Christ," &c. What trifling subtleties do they (the Papists) use to amuse the world! as if they did design to be more studious to walk in darkness, than to prevent or heal the wounds and breaches of the church.

(4.) *As to orders.*—Though this may be a sacrament of order, and truly so, yet is not that commensurate with a sacrament of Christianity. All are not ministers that may be possessed of present grace, and have a title to remission of sins and everlasting glory. And it seems something odd, that one sacrament of the same covenant should make men uncapable of another; as also that two different sacraments, inconsistent on the one hand, should have the same sign. And it is yet more strange that this should be equal to baptism and the eucharist, and yet should want a visible element for its sign.

(5.) *And as for penance.*—As far as God requires it, and states its use and nature, doth not baptism relate and bind us to it? Is it not baptism of repentance for the remission of sins? What is the external rite? and where is the accession of the word unto the sign whereby it must be made a sacrament? What is there in this penance commensurate with baptism?

IV. *As to their many reasons amongst the Schoolmen for their septenary number.*—Let them name any thing substantial that is not reducible to these two sacraments. Their septenary number of different conditions, or virtues, or distempers,—these two sacraments will comprehend them all; for they contain what is fully suitable to every state, urges to every virtue, and tends to cure our spiritual distempers. And what need we seven of theirs, when Christ hath instituted two to do the work? But let us consider what they say.

1. We will insist upon the reasons therefore, whereon they would establish the septenary number of their sacraments, and answer them.

(1.) They tell us, that the number seven is famous, and of frequent use and strict importance, in the scriptures; as Aaron's garments put on by his sons seven days, the atonement for the altar seven days, blood sprinkled seven times, Naaman washing seven times. Thus it is a number famous in expiations, and otherwise. Hence now Eliphaz must take seven bullocks and seven rams, and go to Job. (Job xlii. 8.) Seven gifts of the Spirit; and thus seven of the apocalyptical seals, trumpets, stars, &c. To which I answer: It is wonderful, they took no notice of this too,—that the number of seven commenced from the complete finishing of nature as to its order and existence, and God's resting from his labours; all which was done within a septenary of days, making the first week, as it was in the beginning.*

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* Since the writing of this head, I have found [that] some Papists insist on this very thing.

(2.) Were this digested into an argument, thus it would run: Whatever number is of famous use and mention in the scripture, must be the number of sacraments, under the New Testament, of the covenant of grace: But seven is such a number, &c.: *Ergò* it is the number of sacraments; and consequently, there are seven. And what, if the major proposition be denied? will they not be sorely exercised to prove it? What, if we change the number in the minor, and say, that one is the number of famous use and frequent mention? will it not then be found, that whatsoever answers this medium for one, will do their work for seven? I mean to answer it. How many ones are used and mentioned in Eph. iv. 4, 6?—one God, Christ, faith, baptism, church, Spirit, hope, heaven, &c. What do they think of two lights or luminaries, two tables of the law, two cherubims, two covenants, two commandments? What do they think of twelve patriarchs, twelve tribes, twelve apostles, twelve thousand sealed, twelve gates, &c.? Are these therefore twelve sacraments? And so of other numbers. Now if this argument be followed close, they must be brought to this,—that either this is no argument for their number of sacraments, or that their number must rise and fall according to what number we shall pitch upon, and so there may be one, or two, or seven, or twelve sacraments, &c.; and so in what sense, and why so many and no more? And, further, thus the reason would press as hard for seven sacraments under the law as gospel. And, as to expiations and consecrations, do not two rams, two goats, two turtle-doves, or two young pigeons, bid as fair for only two sacraments, as seven of other things can bid for seven sacraments?

And thus much for this argument fetched from the congruence or apt agreement of numbers.

2. Let us take notice of those arguments which Aquinas brings for the proof of seven sacraments. *(Pars Tertia,* quæst. lxv. art. 1.)

(1.) *The analogy or proportion betwixt natural and spiritual life.*—And here it is worth inquiry, whether all they say be not intended in these two:

(i.) For the *esse per generationem* ["existence by generation"]: this is designedly in our baptism, which is the laver of regeneration, considered relatively, as we are baptized into new relations, to which our cordial acceptance in capable subjects (I mean, the adult) is absolutely necessary before God, and a profession thereof (probably serious) before the church. And whether this be grace or no, let it be considered for the doubting under its proper head.

(ii.) And as for those that talk of inward, real, subjective grace, by the application of the outward elements, and that this grace is in the elements, they must assert this to be wrought at the rate of a miracle; which, when it is proved to be wrought by proper, necessary, instituted resultancy from the sacraments, shall be assented to. And I believe they will find it hard to prove subjective grace wrought by the sacraments themselves, otherwise than by moral objective influence. And whatever else is wrought, is done by some distinct operations of the Spirit, even as it is done when the word of God is made to work effectually. And as for the rest, the same answer will serve them all. As increase in confirmation, nourishment in the eucharist, medicinal reparations of the lapsed by penance, removal of the relics of diseases by exercise and diet, to which they make extreme unction to be analogous; orders in relation to public exercise, to complete vital perfection; and matrimony for the propagation of a holy seed. For these, I would fain know, whether the two sacraments which we plead for and they own, do not refer to all these things, in that they bind us to, and, in their kind, help us in, all that is pretended as designed by the other five. And as for confirmation, doth it bind us to, or seal to us, any thing new, distinct materially from baptism? Or is it not rather (orderly dispensed) the renewal of the baptismal covenant?

(2.) *As for what is alleged, by way of remedy against distempers, or in relation to those distinct graces and virtues wherein we are concerned.*—Both are considered, and abundant provisions against the one and for the other are made, in these two sacraments; so far as they are proper to Christianity, as such; and so speak all Christians, as such, to be concerned in them. And if any thing falls out to some that is not incident to all, it is fit that it be referred to its proper head, in order, or prudence, or the like. And if they will contend about the name of "sacrament," let them have it, provided that in things they will distinguish (and let us understand they do so) betwixt what is a sacrament of order, and what is a sacrament of entire Christianity; and that they will explain their own Tridentine words. (CARANZÆ *Epit. Conc., in Conc. Trid.* sess. vii. cap. 3, *de Sacram. in Genere.* See Rainolds against Hart, in his "Conference," chap. viii. div. 4, p. (mihi) 602.)

V. And having now despatched the point of the seven sacraments, (about which I could have spoken more, but that I care not for those controversies that are made so intricate by a resolved espousing of words and phrases, whose sense is arbitrary and undetermined,) amongst which, penance was transferred unto the last, it will not be amiss to make some short reflections upon the Popish doctrine of human satisfactions, which they make a branch of penance, and, with contrition and confession, to be constitutive of it.*

The council of Trent asserts it false and alien from the word of God, to say, that the fault is never remitted by God, but the whole punishment is pardoned too.† And so the Trent doctors, striking harmony with the Roman Catechism, assert, that when God forgives a sinner, he yet forgives not all the punishment, but leaves the party by his own works to satisfy till it be washed away; and these works are all good actions, inward or outward, proceeding from virtue; as confessions, alms, fastings, prayers, sufferings in this life, or in purgatory: and the things that we satisfy God for by our good works, are, 1. Temporal punishments. 2. The relics of sin. 3. The fault itself. 4. The same punishments wherewith the damned are afflicted, eternity only being abstracted from them.

And here we must consider,

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* I cannot now speak to this head or part of human satisfactions largely; but I shall content myself at present with some brief touches and reflections thereupon. For this matter is *divisim et membratim* ["separately and by pieces"] more closely and fully handled by others in this Exercise.

† *Concil. Trident.* sess. xvi. cap. 8, 9; *Rom. Catech. de Satisfact.*

(I.) How they *distinguish.*

(II.) What they *conclude.* And so how far they come to us, and wherein we part.

(I.) *For the distinctions.*—They are upon three heads principally.

Distinction i. *They distinguish upon sin.*—And they tell us, that it is considered here as, 1. Either before baptism; or, 2. After baptism. 1. That before baptism is either original or actual; and, 2. That after baptism is considerable either, (1.) In relation to its object most immediately concerned, which is either, (i.) God, or, (ii.) Man; (though in the general notion every sin against man is against God too, whose laws are broken by our irregularities as to ourselves, or one another;) and then, as, (2.) In relation to its quality or aggravation; it is either venial or mortal: and here you must consider, (i.) The fault, (ii.) The stain, and then, (iii.) The punishment; which we transfer to be considered as the next head of distinctions, where we shall consider it; and to the other part, it is thus replied:—

1. *Sin is considerable in the general notion as a transgression of the law of God.*—Now the law is transgressed in reference to either our *hearts* or *actions.*

First. *Sin in the heart* is considerable as to,

(1.) *Its derivation into the heart or nature of man, by original transmission to all the children of apostate Adam;* or,

(2.) *Its interest and indwellings in the heart, and corrupting prevalent influences upon it.*

(1.) And so here we must distinguish betwixt, (i.) What God doth as an offended righteous Ruler in a course of punishment, making severe and just reflections upon our nature because of the violation of the law of our creation; and, (ii.) What is done by man as under the circumstance of his primitive forfeiture and disease, which our parents' first miscarriage brought into the world. And then we say, (i.) God justly might and did withdraw that Spirit of holiness from Adam which he by sinning thrust away, and left him in that ataxy and disorder which man so willingly threw himself into, so as that he had no holiness and rectitude to transmit to his posterity. And, (ii.) Apostate, and thereupon corrupted, Adam could not communicate a better nature to posterity than he had himself. Nor, (iii.) Was God bound in governing justice to set his seed under such comfortable circumstances as he did set himself: And, (iv.) The rather because the miseries of all his seed was part of the punishment which was due to him; even as their holiness and felicity ought to have been a powerful motive, and should have been a sure reward, to his obedience and continuance in his due integrity.

(2.) *Now as to its indwellings and interest in the heart, and dreadful influences upon it.*—They still abide, in some measure, and are owned and acknowledged in our baptismal covenant, wherein we do accept of the Spirit as our Sanctifier; which he could not be unless we were defiled, and acknowledged ourselves to be so. Nor can we any more conclude the perfection of the sanctification of our natures by our being baptized into the Holy Ghost, than we can conclude our perfect glorification and salvation by being baptized into the Father and the Son; all being to be wrought and perfected in a way of gradual motions, proficiently, answerably to those healing rules and remedies that are before and with us, to be observed and improved by us.

Secondly. *And as to sinful actions,* they are the products of our sinful hearts; and we promise to prevent them, as much as in us lies, for time to come, even as we do profess and exercise repentance for what is past and gone. And here our covenant-closures, and answerable conversations afterwards, are no further satisfactory unto God, than as they answer his commanding will, as our obedience to him, and as the performed conditions of our salvation which God hath made such.

2. *Sin, in relation to its object, is either against God or man.*—Consisting either in doing what we ought not, or not doing what we ought, and as we ought to do, with reference to all those circumstances and relations in which and under which we stand as to God and man, either ourselves or others; and on both these we should or do reflect with an answerable frame of spirit thereunto, as far as our miscarriages have been and are known to have been committed against God or man, or both. And here by God, I mean, the sacred Trinity, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. And thus our sins before and after baptism are the same as to their formal nature, (namely, they are transgressions of the law of God whenever they are committed,) although by some accessary circumstances they may differ in degree. And thus it is true, that to break the laws of God after the solemn vow of baptism to the contrary is worse than to do it before, and may require some smarter discipline and repentance, in that the obligation of a vow that is made (and such a solemn vow as is baptism) doth greatly aggravate the sin. And hence, it is likely, did arise that primitive penance imposed upon professors lapsed after baptism into Heathenism, or other scandalous miscarriages, in order to their own recovery and establishment; the satisfaction of the church about the useful truth of their repentance with reference to their restoration; the vindication of the purity of Christianity, against the calumnies of others; and the prevention of the revolts of others; and so the quickening of all to regular care and watchfulness about their perseverance and proficiency in Christian growth and godliness; that so thereby it might be manifest in the eyes of all about them, how much the rules and discipline of Christianity did secure, promote, and quicken all righteousness, sobriety, and godliness, at the highest rate in the world.

3. *Sin, in relation to the strength and measures of its malignity, and as it refers to the quality of our state, is either consistent or inconsistent with the state of saving grace.*—And here it is not so much to be considered what is lawful or unlawful, as what is possible or impossible to be in a truly regenerate heart. It is possible, a good heart may not do every thing that is required of him, and yet it is unlawful to let the least thing be by him neglected. I have yet met with none that dare declare and stand to it, that there hath never been the least remissness or neglect that by their utmost possible care could be prevented, since they were first converted unto God; but all, in every thing they do with God and for God, dread to be dealt with according to their best performances in exact proportion to their merit. We do depend upon Christ's merits and intercession, and use his name to beg our pardon

for irregularities even in our holiest performances; and certainly the serious heart will dread to compliment with its God. And therefore when the Papists talk of venial and mortal sins, and tell us that mortal sins can have no satisfaction but from Christ, but venial sins may be satisfied for by ourselves, let them but freely tell us what they mean.

(1.) Is any sin so venial as that it cannot merit the wrath of God hereafter, by any law which he hath made? Is not the transgression of God's law the formal nature of sin? Doth not that very law pronounce every delinquent worthy of death? Is not death the indication and execution of divine displeasure? Is not death comprehensive of all miseries, as it was stated in the sanction of the first law? Are not sins dignified from their object? A gentle stroke, when given in anger, though in its nature it be but little, yet if given to a prince, receives another stamp and character. And as to God, if the matter be great, there is no dispute but the sin is great, as blasphemy, &c.; if it be small, the sin is great, because the great God is denied his will, although his claims were mean and easy as to the matter of them. Did God bid us do some great thing, would we not do it? How much more when he commands what is but small for us to do! would not the neglect savour of great contempt even in a small affair?

(2.) Do they by "venial sins" mean such as do not prove our full revolt from God, because it is possible such a sin may be committed by one that yet doth hold to God as his great and only end and rest? Why, then, we own, as well as they, that every fault and slip proves not a person to be forthwith graceless.

(3.) Do they by "venial sins" intend such sins as do or may be pardoned upon repentance, faith, and new obedience? If so, it will put them sorely to it to mention any sin, though never so heinous in its nature, (the sin against the Holy Ghost excepted,) which a right hearty, practical repentance and faith in the Lord Jesus, &c., may not obtain the pardon of; and in this sense no sins are mortal but those which unavoidably bring the soul to hell at last, and that through final infidelity and impenitence. And hence we shall the better understand what can be meant by these sins being to be satisfied for by us, and in what sense they may be so. For if they mean that the blood of Jesus was not needful to make them pardonable upon those terms, proposals, and conditions of their pardon which God hath tendered in the gospel, Christ is apparently contemned and undervalued; but if they mean, that the pardon will not be had unless the conditions be performed by us, it is most true; and if they mean something else, they must declare and prove it to us.

DISTINCTION II. *As for the things for which our satisfactions must be made*, they tell us they are, 1. Temporal punishments: as, (1.) All the miseries of this life in relation to our bodies, goods, or name. (2.) Death itself. (3.) The pains of purgatory, which are loss and pain, the same with hell itself in kind and nature, though different in duration, and, it may be, something in degree. For as to the eternity of pains in hell, it is but an accident thereof; and for substance we must satisfy; for the eternity thereof Christ is responsible, who hath made them temporal that they might be removed by our satisfactions. And then we must satisfy, 2. For the relics of sin. 3. For the fault itself. And, 4. For the punishment of the damned in hell, if the eternity thereof be but abstracted from it. To which I answer,

1. *Whoever is concerned to make satisfaction, is considered either in relation to property, as a debtor, &c. ; or in relation to law, as a malefactor.*—Now as to the case in hand, as *sinners are looked upon as debtors,* so they relate to *God as their Proprietary,* and absolute Lord of his own ; and so they may be looked upon as having taken or detained from God *something that is not theirs, but his,* which yet he might have parted with, and yet do himself no hurt ; or else *something which they have neither right unto, nor can God part withal without his prejudice or damage.*

1. If in their former sense the thing be taken, (1.) Then satisfaction demanded from ourselves, or from another, rather resulted from God's will than from his wisdom. For it had been no incongruity for God to have retreated from his right, where neither his truth nor wisdom is concerned to forbid it : for who can blame a creditor for want of goodness, (where there wants nothing else,) in that he doth forgive a debtor? (2.) Then there was no need of satisfaction in the case. God's single power could have recovered his own. (3.) For God to have his own again, was all that he could look for, in that he had no prejudice but the mere alienation of his own again, and that not so much from his property as his possession. For no man's apostasy from God could rob God of his title unto the man ; for that is too fast and absolute to be changed. And if God be only concerned as to his possession, when his goods are come again into his own hands, no greater satisfaction can be made. (4.) When God hath all his own again, there can be nothing left to make him satisfaction with, seeing God hath a right to all that we can do as our Proprietary, and ever had, and could never justly be denied it.

But, secondly, if you take the matter in the latter sense, as [*that*] *something is taken or detained, unto God's real prejudice and damage :*—(1.) Then also God's omnipotence could have repaired his loss. But, (2.) Nothing can possibly impoverish God, whose absolute and infinite happiness and riches are nothing but himself, whose property is absolute, and his omnipotence its full security.

But now, if our sins speak a relation to a violated law, and so *God be considered as a Ruler,* then we must mean, that we must compensate that injury which, in the course of government, we have already done to God, by the dishonour we have done him in contradicting God's righteous will, breaking his laws, and disturbing or dissolving his fixed course in government ; or we must do something else that shall as well secure the Governor's honour, answer his ends and will in government, as our destruction for our folly can amount to ; and what that is, we possibly may understand hereafter, as the Papists do interpret and intend it.

2. *As to the things for which these human satisfactions are required.*—They are, it seems, temporal punishments. But, (1.) Is it not strange, the punishment should be borne in our own persons, and in its kind too, and yet that satisfaction should be made at the same time too? Is it good sense to say, that there must be *redditio ejusdem,* " the payment or restoring of the same thing exacted," which is the bearing of the penalty ;

and yet at the same time doing or bearing *æquivalentis*, "something proportionable and in lieu thereof." (2.) As for the pains of purgatory, I shall leave that to a better pen, that is concerned in that head; and thither I refer the reader. (3.) As to death itself, are voluntariness and patience satisfactory here? If so, for what? Is it the stroke of death? Why is it not then dispensed with, and so we made immortal, to scape that dreadful blow? And, further, why may not such a frame of patience and submissiveness prevent the stroke? What makes them satisfactory? Is it because they are pleasing unto God? Then Enoch satisfied for his death, and therefore scaped it; (Heb. xi. 5;) and yet another doth as truly satisfy for death that bears it, as he that bears it not. (4.) As to those other punishments in this life, the holiest man may have them all, and ofttimes feels them more than he that never was solicitous to please his Maker, or make him satisfaction. It is not at the choice of any whether the punishments that God inflicts shall be borne or no; and nature teaches men to choose the gentlest strokes; and if the sufferings of this life be not voluntary, undue, equivalent, they make not compensatory satisfaction. (5.) As to those relics of sin, what satisfaction are they capable of, distinct from their being purged away by the grace of God in the due use of proper means, and from our release as to their binding of us over to the wrath of God, and the due sentence of his law? (6.) As to the fault itself, how, and in what sense, is it capable of our satisfaction? Can any thing make it true, that I was never guilty of the fact I did? That a sinner hath been a sinner, is an eternal truth, after delinquencies and faults committed. Can any thing make it true, [that] I ought to have done what I have done amiss? Can any thing make it true, that what was done amiss never deserved the wrath of God? or that it was not just and fit, that he who broke the law of God should die? Can any thing make it warrantable, that I should break the law of God, or safe for me to do it, when God saith it is not? And when you have considered in sin the fact and faultiness, and the chargeableness of both upon the sinner, and the truth of all, and have prescinded these in the consideration of its being satisfied for by us, you will find it can in no sense be capable of satisfaction, but as to our being purged from its commanding, or released from its condemning, power. And can I do any thing for God that can be as grateful to God, as it would have been to him that I had never sinned against him? Or can any thing be done by me that can do equal service to my Ruler's will and honour, and the due ends of government, with my perfect innocence and obedience? Or can I do any thing for God, that in strict proportion of desert can merit any being cleansed from the stain and blemish which a fault hath left upon me? If not, then let the Papists tell me in what sense a fault can be capable of our satisfactions that shall keep it from connoting, either, (1.) Punishment; and so it is no further pardoned than the punishment is remitted; or, (2.) Purgation; and then it doth import no more than being sanctified or reformed.

From whence it follows, that their fundamental maxim is a precarious though confident assertion and conclusion, or an ambiguous cheat; namely, that "they that say, that the fault is never remitted by God, but the whole punishment is pardoned too, speak that which is false, and in no wise owned by the word of God." For, (1.) It is evident, that nothing can make an act that was sinful when committed clear from the charge and censure of having been a fault; and in this sense, sinful actions are incapable of remission, and therefore foreign to the case in hand. (2.) If they mean hereby, (I mean, by "a fault remitted,") the extirpation of a sinful principle, and prevention of the same sinful action or miscarriage in kind; and so that this may be in many who are not excused from the just inflictions of miseries of life, and pains of death; it is granted, that the best men alive are not unjustly dealt with, if they be visited with the punishments of life and death, because of the garden-quarrel, and those corrupted natures which were derived thereby, together with our personal delinquencies. (3.) But if they mean by "the remission of a fault," God's taking off those punishments, and discharging from the sentence of the law, whereto the fault had bound me, the remission of the fault and punishment are of the same extent.

DISTINCTION III. *They distinguish upon satisfaction,* and say that satisfaction either doth relate to *rigorous justice,* or to *gratuitous acceptance.* 1. The former cannot be made by any thing but, (1.) What is our own; (2.) What is undue; (3.) What is of equal dignity and value. And these things, say they, cannot be attributed to any but Christ himself, who alone can *Deo paria reddere* [" render what is of equal worth to God"]. But then, 2. The latter satisfaction is by *gratuitous acceptance;* and so, by the favourable condescension of the offended Ruler, men may satisfy as far as God will give them assisting and accepting grace. And thus what with the Spirit's help by inward grace, and the tincture of the blood of Jesus by God's grace upon our works to make them satisfy, we, being one with Christ our Head, and communicating of his satisfaction for us, derive that merit from him into our works which make them satisfactory; which works, being the works of the Spirit, and coming thence, derive a certain infinity and equality; whereupon ensues the grace of evangelical counsels, whereby we are exhorted and persuaded to what we are not commanded; and thereupon it follows, that we have something that is our own, and undue to God, and therefore satisfactory; and the more easily satisfactory because of the third grace of remission, which removes the eternity from the punishment, and makes it temporal, that so our satisfaction for it may be more possible and easy. So then that may be done by grace for satisfaction, which in strict justice is impossible. And then do but consider what, (i.) God enjoins you to: as vehement and intense contrition; and this will do your work for death and purgatory;—outward laborious works, as fastings, prayer, &c.; as also almsdeeds. (ii.) Consider what may be enjoined by others: as the priests' enjoining the visitings of shrines of saints, so many Aves and Pater-nosters, and other penance. And, (iii.) What you may do yourselves, by voluntary pilgrimages, fastings, scourgings, sackcloth, weepings, prayers in such numbers and measures, and all other severities by self-punishment; and set upon these with an intent to satisfy, and the punishment of your sins will be reversed, because these things are more than you are bound to do, or God required of you.

I pretermit the points of indulgences, purgatory, and other men's satisfactions; for they are the business and employment of better heads and pens, engaged in this Morning Exercise. And as for treasuries, and the pope's power to dispense them, I think, if he can do it, he is bound to pardon all on earth, and release those in purgatory; and lives in mortal sin if he love not his neighbour as himself. And I believe, were he in purgatory, he would thank those kindly that would release him quickly; and then the precept binds him to do as he would be done by. But, on the other part, these reflections may suffice which follow.

1. Satisfaction is defined by the Schoolmen, by "a voluntary reddition of something equivalent, otherwise undue;" (for so the word *satis* doth import, and satisfaction signifies "something that is sufficient;") and sufficiency imports "an equal correspondence of that which is returned, to that for which it is returned," and that both *in beneficiis et pœnis*, "in benefits and punishments." * And hence it follows, that he who returns less for sin than divine justice doth exact, doth not satisfy, although he do to the full what is enjoined him by his confessor. Though yet he do *aliquam pœnam peccato suo debitàm solvere, soluturus in futuro quod minùs injunctum est et solutum in præsenti;* † yet even here they are not agreed in the case. For though those mentioned in the margin assert this doctrine, yet others say, that satisfaction is not to be made by something otherwise undue; as, Durandus, dist. xv. quæst. 1; Cajetanus, *Tract. de Satisfact.* quæst. 1: and Angles *(Flores Quæst.* pars i. quæst. *de Satisfact.* p. (mihi) 253) concludes, that works otherwise due *ratione præcepti*, "as commanded," if they be done in grace, are satisfactory for the pains of purgatory; ‡ and martyrdom is his instance; and he tells us, that he is injurious that prays for a martyr to him; and this he makes to be the sense of Cajetan and Durand. But, to address ourselves unto the case in hand: satisfaction, being the doing of something that is sufficient, hath a relation to either,

(1.) *Commutative justice*, relating as to personal debts or injuries. And here the ground of his demanding satisfaction that is wronged, or creditor, is his own personal just interest and title to what he claims; and the just measures of our satisfaction are to be fetched from both the just intrinsical value and worth of what we are to make him satisfaction for, and also its relative worth to him whose loss by the absence of his own proper goods, and all the damage that accrues to him thereby must have its equal compensation from him that is debtor or injurious; unless some other accidents, as the debtor's inability, or creditor's distance, or the like, make it impossible to make this satisfaction; and then *nemo tenetur ad impossibile* ["no one is bound to that which is impossible"]. Or,

(2.) It relates to *distributive justice*, as the wrong which doth require our satisfaction may relate to law and government. And here the Ruler's honour and the ends of government must give and state the measures of our satisfaction. For, in the whole, our satisfaction, if truly such, must bear proportion hereunto. And then whatevèr, upon the whole, doth exceed the bounds and claims of God's propriety, excellence, authority, and beneficence, and all that merit which doth and must result herefrom, cannot be called "undue," and therefore amount to satisfaction in the strict sense. But in a comprehensive and large sense, God may be said to be satisfied in several senses. (i.) As his will is pleased by doing what is demanded of us under our present or supposed circumstances; and thus we satisfy his will as far as we do what he commands us. (ii.) By reparation of the governing wrong and injury that is done him; and thus that satisfaction which must answer the wrong that is already done by our apostasy from God, is and can be only made by Christ. But that injury which would ensue from the impunity of delinquents, (here I mean such delinquents as finally reject the remedy that God hath given them by Christ,) must be prevented by their own bearing of their deserved and entailed penalty; and thus God is satisfied against their wills by their effectual transmission to their deserved racks and tortures. Or, (iii.) By perfect innocent obedience to the whole law; and they that challenge, let them maintain, possess, and prove it. Or, (iv.) By a full answering of God's vindictive justice, by suffering here what is equivalent to the full latitude and importance of their deserved punishments in hell. And where is that self-austerity and discipline here in exercise, or possibly to be met with, that is equivalent to God's revenging strokes and wrath in hell? Who hath an arm like God, to strike like him? Or who would, if he could, afflict himself at the proportionable rate of God's omnipotent revenge, whenas the prospect of Christ's approaching cup had such impressions on his heart and countenance? But we pass on to the next head.

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* ALTENSTAIG *in Lexico;* GABRIEL, dist. ib. quæst. ii. artic. 1; ex SCOTO in dist. iii. quæst. i. lib. 4.

† "Though yet he do pay some punishment due to his sin, being about to pay in future what has not at present been enjoined and paid."—EDIT.

‡ And the same Angles concludes a little after, that the priest can *imponere pro satisfactione peccatorum opera aliàs debita* ["impose, for satisfaction for sins, works otherwise due"]. And for their differences through most of this doctrine of satisfaction, see WHITE'S "Way to the Church," p. 133.

2. Satisfaction is here spoken of under a double notion and relation, and so divided into, (1.) That which refers to *strict and rigorous justice;* or, (2.) To *gratuitous acceptance.* In the former, Christ only is concerned, as only capable of making it; because what Christ did, and was to do, as satisfactory, was, (i.) His own, (ii.) Undue, (iii.) And of equal value and dignity. But in the latter, our capacity is large and good. And here we have, (i.) The matter of our possible satisfaction: some things voluntary,—pilgrimages, fastings, &c.; some things enjoined, First. By God; as vehement and intense contrition, laborious works, and almsdeeds, &c. And, Secondly. By the priest; as the visiting of shrines of saints, so many Aves and Pater-nosters, with other penance. And then we have, (ii.) The grounds and means whereby our voluntary and enjoined works are ripened into such dignity and value as shall make them satisfactory; namely, First, God's condescending and accepting grace. Secondly. The tincture of the blood of Christ, our union to him, and communicating of his satisfaction, from whence our works derive their merit. And, Thirdly, The inward workings and assisting grace of the Spirit, by which our works proceed from inward virtue, and so derive a certain infinity and equality. So that now the door is widely open to evangelical counsels, to which you are exhorted and persuaded, but not commanded.

(1.) Then, let us hence consider *how far Christ's satisfaction doth extend itself, and see what room there is left for human satisfactions, that so we may the better find and fix them, and so consider them more exactly in their proper place and office.* And, (i.) They here acknowledge, that the matter of Christ's satisfaction, beside its being undue and his own, is of equal dignity and value. But then I ask, With what is it of equal dignity and value? Is it not with the injury which he, as Governor, received by the apostasy of his creatures? or with that rectoral gain which he would otherwise get from their destruction? or both? What injury could God be capable of, but contradicting his governing will, eclipsing his governing honour, and preventing or obstructing his noble ends in government, whereby it was made and rendered unbecoming God to place his heart upon, and distribute his choicest blessings to, the sons of men, in such methods, and upon such terms, as might make his subjects justly think he was grown regardless of his honour, laws, and government? Revolted man must either be destroyed or saved. If he be ruined, the glorious explications of God's incomprehensible love and wisdom, by pardoning grace and mercy, in such consistency with his truth and holiness, had been prevented; together with such wise supplantings of Satan's projects, hopes, and triumphs, as now He is effecting in his gospel-methods, and the revivals of religion in an apostate tribe. Had man been saved immediately, without the execution of God's violated law upon him, and any equivalent consideration in the case, the glorious effects and proper demonstrations, and so all suitable and useful apprehensions, of governing justice, wisdom, holiness, and truth, so dear and proper to the Ruler, had been prevented; and both their honour and essential existence had been exposed unto the jealousies and suspicions of his subjects; the trust and title of a ruler had not been answered by its due administrations and discharge; hopes of impunity had been started, notwithstanding after-miscarriages, to the great prejudice of laws and government, and suitable obedience thereunto. And hereupon, nothing amounts to satisfaction that brings not things unto this issue,—that sinful and apostate man's salvation shall as much secure, promote, and speak the harmony and honour of God's whole name as Governor, and all his ends in government, as man's destruction.

(ii.) They must acknowledge, that Christ hath only and effectually satisfied his Father thus far, by what he did and suffered, as that repentance, faith, and new obedience, are by the covenant of grace made the conditions of our full recovery and salvation, so as that they who fulfil the conditions of the gospel shall reap the blessings of it.

(iii.) Nor are they able or ready to deny, that all assisting and accepting grace, and all the means of grace subservient thereunto, only result and issue from Christ's satisfaction. Nor,

(iv.) Will they say, that any thing in man without respect to the Redeemer's satisfaction, and the Father's arbitrary, compassionate, and condescending grace, could have deserved of God to be accepted as a sufficient ground for re-admission to his favour, or a sufficient compensation of our demerits. For what Christ did was needless, if the great ends thereof could have been answered and attained by us without it. They dare not say, that God was bound in justice to accept of that *without*, which now is made acceptable *by*, Christ's satisfaction.

(v.) Therefore the meritoriousness and availableness of their supposed or asserted human satisfactions must, in their judgments, be derivative from Christ, and that assisting and accepting grace that comes must be upon the reckoning of Christ's satisfaction.

(vi.) Whatever is commanded by God in Christ upon the penalty of otherwise forfeiting all the benefits of Christ's satisfaction, and our eternal happiness thereupon, can be no further called "satisfaction," than as our stated doing of what is commanded as our duty, and as the condition of our salvation performed by us; which can no further merit our impunity, than as God hath promised and entailed that to and upon what is required of us.

(2.) Let us consider *what this satisfaction by gratuitous acceptation doth amount unto, and in what things we are to fix it.* And,

(i.) Whatever is accepted or acceptable is either so from its own intrinsical value, and then, as such, it cannot be acceptable beyond its worth; or from its usefulness and aptitude unto its ends,* and is acceptable but as expressive of the temper and purpose of the heart, were but the ability answerable to the heart. And then we must consider the nature and degree of its mediate usefulness; as also its consistency with other means at hand, or instituted; for if it cannot be used, but some better means, and more grateful to him that is most concerned in the end that must be prosecuted and attained unto, must be neglected, it cannot be acceptable. And hereupon it is worth considering how far their voluntary or imposed satisfactions justle out those needful exercises and duties that in society must be done, and all those exemplary and encouraging influences which we are bound to give to others by our own cheerfulness, praise, and joy in the possession and improvement of what we do and may enjoy with God, and for him. Or it must be judged acceptable from some clear and grounded testimonies and assurances from God, either mediate or immediate, that he will accept our voluntary offerings as satisfaction; and, under the discovered notion and respects in which the Ruler tells us they shall be accepted, we must use and offer them. Now it is plain, that whatever God exacts from us is to be referred to either his authority, and so it must be done as duty; or to his wisdom, and so it must be done by virtue of that proper tendency it hath unto its end; and then the end must give the just proportion to the action, and also duty cannot be avoided in the case. For should God's counsels be neglected, we make reflections upon his wisdom, and tell him, that though he hath advised us to such a way or course, yet we have discovered another course as good; and if we quit God's counsel and espouse our own, we practically tell him that our way is better; and then that will prove strange "satisfaction," and "human" with a witness, that hath contempt of God and his advice inviscerated in it, or wrapped up in its bowels. Or it must be referred unto his holiness, and so it must be expressive of his image upon our hearts. And what relation the matter of mere human satisfactions has hereto, beside that "show," (Col. ii. 23,) it will be hard to prove. Or it must relate unto his covenant, compassions, grace, and love, and so be performed as its condition; and then that doth import command, and something more. And therefore,

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* I know, a little in another sense may be accepted as a testimony of thankful resentments [feeling] of favours, or an acknowledgment of distance, duty, subjection, &c.: but this is not to the case in hand.

(ii.) Gratuitous acceptation doth hold out something, in the very name and notion, that might most justly be refusable even as satisfaction, and speaks a retreat in God from what he justly might demand, though satisfaction were admitted and concluded on; which they themselves allow, by their distinguishing it from that satisfaction which hath respect to rigorous justice.

(iii.) Many things are excluded from being satisfaction, from the consideration of their being commanded, as things that must be done as ever we hope for life and glory. As, First: Whatever hath a true and proper reference to God's glory. (1 Cor. x. 31.) And, Secondly: Whatever doth promote, become, and is expressive of, our universal powerful love to God and man. (Matt. xxii. 37—40.) And, Thirdly: Whatever as to the matter of it is "true or honest, just or pure, lovely or of good report, and that hath either praise or virtue," (Phil. iv. 8, 9,) it is a comprehensive claim. Fourthly: Whatever is proportionable or suitable in measure and circumstances to our abilities, places, gifts, and offices. (1 Cor. vii. 17; 1 Peter iv. 10, 11.)

And thus to "fear God and keep his commandments is the whole of man," and in these things must he be tried for life or death at last. (Eccles. xii. 13, 14.) And now when these things are discharged, there will be little left for satisfaction-work; and I believe it will put them sorely to it for to name any thing under present circumstances, that is materially worthy of a man or Christian, that can escape the claim and discipline of these commandments; especially if you take-in that comprehensive text, Titus ii. 12, and well consider the special, indispensable duties of every relation, in families, church, and state, and also what we are bound to do to credit Christianity, and to promote its interest, influences, and repute, to the recovery and salvation of all about us. These things shall be accepted, by God's favourable condescension, in order to our everlasting happiness, on the account of Christ, as readily, heartily, and effectually, as if we had never sinned, or satisfied for our sins ourselves, notwithstanding all former laws and provocations to the contrary.

Duty discharged is grateful to God; and God's commanding will is satisfied, as far as things commanded are performed. And the fulfilling of federal conditions do satisfy, and are available to the instating of us in covenant-rights and privileges, as far as the covenant of grace hath made them forcible and pleadable to these ends. And no other satisfactions can be, in whole or in part, necessary and available to procure this covenant of grace, and make the merciful, moderate, gracious conditions thereof required of us, to be performed by us, so pleadable and effectual to their ends in our recovery and salvation, as Christ hath made them.* And they, if they would leave their clouds, and face us in the open light, might see, that satisfaction, if human, which they talk of so much, cannot be found in sense, if any thing be meant thereby, save pleasing God in doing his will, and answering those proposals and fulfilling those conditions on which we may attain and reap the benefits of Christ's satisfaction; which conditions would not have done our work, had not Christ by virtue of his satisfaction deserved and obtained of God to give us life upon such low and gracious terms. And how then can they find another sense or place for satisfaction by their works? Let them but freely tell us *where it lies,* that any works of ours can be satisfactory, and *for what they can be so.*

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* No works of ours could join with this that Christ did undertake and do: for his satisfaction is of itself entire, complete, and successful.

As to the First, *wherein their value for satisfaction lies,* let them deal freely with us. Is it by something derived from Christ, or not? If not, they had been as available as now they are, if Christ had never died for us; for the substance of eternal punishments may now be done away, and their eternity had been nothing without their substance; for the eternity of that which is not, is but a mere chimera. And as to death, that universally and unavoidably entailed stroke on all, patience and voluntariness would have satisfied; but for what? Not for the stroke; for that is borne: and who would satisfy for what he cannot escape by satisfaction? Is it not hard to pay something equivalent, and bear the stroke withal? For satisfaction is not *ejusdem,* ["of the same,"] but *æquivalentis* ["of an equivalent"]; as, if it be some worse punishment, he that destroys the substance of the punishment, need never fear the eternity thereof, although there should be no satisfaction. But this will need no further confutation.

If, then, the value of our works for satisfaction be derived from Christ, it is either done *by his allowance,* or *by his ordination,* or *by mere advice.* If *by mere allowance,* this is no more than lawfulness by bare permission; and if this be enough to make a satisfaction, then every thing neither commanded nor forbidden will do the work. And this absurdity needs no loads, it being unable to bear itself. But if it be *by ordination from Christ,* where is the order? what is the place and quality thereof? Is it instrumentally causal? Then let them show wherein. Is it as a condition constituted in a covenant-way? Where then is the covenant that can make it so, and hath entailed this promise on it? Is it *by mere and bare advice?* If so, all counsel doth result from skill, and wisdom, and kindness too, in either reality or pretence. If therefore such works be expedient means, there is no friendship nor wisdom in the case; for nothing can be advised by wisdom that is not advisable in the case; for this must be resolved into will, not wisdom: *Sic volo, sic jubeo;* * and then it ceases to be at our liberty, because it is commanded. And if it be expedient in the case, it is either so by absolute order, and then neglect is sinful; or proper tendency, and then God hath made it so, and Christ's advice is the discovery of his Father's will; and then God's authority makes it duty, and our great and absolute concernment makes it necessary; and thus, arbitrary can it no longer be. For I am bound to take the most proper and expedient course and way to bring about my best concernments and designs, as far as they are laid within the compass of my utmost possible knowledge. And therefore here I am under duty and commandment still; and if I can serve God better by vows of poverty, chastity, &c., or any other evangelical counsels, than otherwise, the male of the flock ought to be offered up to God, and given him; and it is a strange course for satisfaction, to take a meaner and more improper course, when other ways are made my duty. I cannot be allowed to satisfy for punishment by the neglect of duty, or by remissness in it.

* "Such is my will; thus do I command."—EDIT.

Nor can it be imagined by me, what references the imposed visiting of the shrines of saints, or such a number of Aves or Pater-nosters, can have to compensate my faults to God, seeing apostate and depraved man had rather travel far, and say a many prayers, (as being truly and apparently a more easy task, and, in the eyes of wicked men, readily taken so to be,) than to leave sins and fall to thorough duty here, or bear the flames of hell for ever, yea, or in purgatory, were there such a state and place. Nor are these courses likely to prevail on others for timely, universal, and effectual reformation and conversion.

And for the Second, *for what they can satisfy*, this will bring us to consider the second general head.

(II.) *What they conclude* either by concession or denial. And here they grant that Christ hath satisfied for sins before baptism, original and actual; for mortal sins after baptism, for the eternity of punishment, for our former incapacity of making satisfaction, which is deducible from this,—in that they make such grace so necessary to our capacity of making satisfaction, as could not come upon us unless Christ had satisfied before; namely, 1. The grace of justification, whereby the Spirit dwells in us, makes [us] one with Christ, and interested in his satisfaction; from whence that merit is derived into our works, that makes them to be satisfactions too, though in relation to another head, namely, gratuitous acceptation. 2. The grace of evangelical counsels, whereby something is rendered undue from us to God as being not commanded. 3. The grace of remission, making eternal punishments temporal, to make our satisfaction easy; and then it is plain, our venial sins and temporal punishments may be satisfied for together, and with ease and great success, by us.

To this I answer: All this hath been considered before and answered; and therefore my weary thoughts and pen shall close with some reflections upon temporal punishments and satisfactions for them; and therefore (passing by purgatory, as considered by another) temporal punishments are either such absolutely as are entailed, 1. Upon all; as death, and that is considerable as to its *stroke* or *sting*. Or, 2. Only upon some; and that as either *consequent upon their own miscarriage* in a natural or legal sense, or merely resulting *from the wise but arbitrary providence of God*. And thus my replies are these: 1. Nothing that Christ hath done, or man can do, can make us hope, conclude, or think, *the stroke of death* can be avoided; (Rom. v. 12; Heb. ix. 27; Job xxx. 23;) for God hath nowhere promised that. 2. *As to the sting of death*, covenant-grace and faithfulness, through Christ, can only pluck out that. Reflections upon grace and faithfulness at a dying hour can only make our souls triumph over their sorrows, fears, and jealousies, through the apprehensions of our approaching judgment and retributions in an eternal state. Nor can I think that any will find relief at last from pilgrimages, shrines, and scourges, &c., if this grace and faithfulness be wanting. 3. *As to strokes consequent upon our own miscarriages, through our intemperance or imprudence, or misdemeanours in reference to the laws of God or man*, our temperance, providence, and innocence, through God's good hand upon us, may prevent them as to their strokes, and full repentance, faith, and holiness may possibly allay, if not remove, both bitterness and strokes. 4. *As to the strokes that come by the arbitrary providence of God,* as the best men may not scape them, so covenant-faithfulness shall not lose by them.

And thus you see, by what is said already, the sense and grounds of what is controverted betwixt the church of Rome and us about this head of human satisfaction; and thence you may gather what to say to what this controversy may be summed up in: the sum whereof lies in these following things, which they assert: as,

1. That "all those afflictions and temporal chastenings which God inflicts on men, with reference to their graces, sins, and exemplary usefulness, are true expiations of and satisfactions for their sins past to divine justice."

To which it is answered: (1.) God satisfies himself in what he doeth, in that his strokes are grounded, proper, and successful to his ends,—to show his name, to execute his laws, and so prevent all inconveniencies to his name and government. (2.) They that endure these strokes, and make a right improvement of them, do so far satisfy God, as satisfaction may signify their pleasing God, and answering his ends in discipline. (3.) As far as this improvement and regular bearing of God's discipline is a condition of our escaping that smarter wrath which former sins deserved, so far the fulfilling hereof shall satisfy God; that is, answer his commanding and covenanting will so far. But, (4.) It is Christ's satisfaction only, and not any proper merit in our sufferings, as antecedent thereto, or abstractedly considered therefrom, that makes our sufferings of all kinds, and our carriage under them, available to these comfortable ends and issues of being pardoned and accepted.

2. That "good works, expressive of repentance, piety, and gratitude, and tending to promote religion, mortification, self-denial, &c., or preventive of further strokes and judgments, are truly satisfactory to God for sin."

Answer. No further than as they, (1.) Please God's ruling, his commanding and covenanting, will; in which sense God is satisfied but only as he is pleased: and, (2.) As Christ is considered in the case, to make them acceptable and available to obtain our pardon and recovery, and final bliss, by what he hath done and suffered and obtained for us.

3. That "penance imposed by primitive Christians upon the scandalous or apostate, in order to their cure and re-admission to the church, with their consent, and to their satisfaction, and other Christian ends, is now made a satisfaction for their sins to justice."

Answer. God in Christ, and for his sake, is so satisfied, that is, pleased, with our repentance, as our obedience to his command, our compliance with his covenant terms, our qualification in state and temper for his further image, favour, and presence, and all the favours that conduce thereto, and result therefrom, and as our disgustings and bemoaning what hath been done amiss, and preventing the lamentable consequences of impenitence to both the church and unbelieving world, as that where it is duly exercised and expressed toward God and man, in such works as ordinarily and in special cases and circumstances become repentance, as that it shall suffice on their parts, under Christ, for their restoring to what their scandals and apostasy bereaved them of. But it is only Christ that hath deserved that our repentance through grace, and only grace, should reach these ends and benefits.

The sum of all is this: When we have abstracted the human satisfactions of the Papists from what God hath made our duty, and the condition of our salvation; or from what is due to the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost from us as creatures, subjects, and delivered sinners by price and power, to be trained-up according to the methods and assistances of gospel-laws and grace; and so from what I am bound to do to satisfy my injured and endamaged neighbour, offended Governor, and the church of Christ, according to the institutions, and for the necessary and, by God and Christ, enjoined ends and interest of the gospel; how narrow and useless will human satisfactions appear to be!

And thus I have gone through this task, as thoroughly as God's breaches on my family, my manifold diversions, great distractions, mean abilities, and slender furniture, and other hinderances, would admit of; and with my closing words, and to my last gasp, (if sensible so long,) must I bewail the miserable state of church and world, that must be scandalized, disturbed, and divided by wanton fancies, prurient wits, proud hearts, and sinister designs, in having doctrines clouded or sophisticated with dark and doubtful words and phrases imposed on them.

SERMON XXII. (XXI.)

BY THE REV. EDWARD LAWRENCE, A.M.

OF MAGDALEN COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

THERE IS NO SUCH THING AS TRANSUBSTANTIATION IN THE EUCHARIST; AND IT IS IDOLATRY IN THE PAPISTS TO WORSHIP THE CONSECRATED BREAD, THOUGH THEY THINK IT IS TURNED INTO THE BODY OF CHRIST.

THERE IS NO TRANSUBSTANTIATION IN THE LORD'S SUPPER.

For I have received of the Lord that which also I delivered unto you, That the Lord Jesus the same night in which he was betrayed took bread: and when he had given thanks, he brake it, and said, Take, eat: this is my body, which is broken for you: this do in remembrance of me. After the same manner also he took the cup, when he had supped, saying, This cup is the new testament in my blood: this do ye, as oft as ye drink it, in remembrance of me.—1 Corinthians xi. 23—25.

God hath exalted man above all creatures of the visible world, in giving him a being capable of religion, and thereby of eternal life and happiness in the enjoyment of Himself. And to the end that God may make himself glorious in making lost man happy, he hath in infinite wisdom and grace given us his written word, to be a perfect rule of that Christian religion by which we may obtain eternal life and happiness in God by Christ; in which word he hath not only revealed this glorious happiness to us, and "brought life and immortality to light through the gospel;" (2 Tim. i. 10;) but also told us what gives us a title unto, and fits us for, and the way that leads unto, the full possession of it.*

And therefore what tongue can express the desperate madness and folly of those men who forsake the good "word of the grace of God," (Acts xx. 32,) for a religion that hath no other foundation than the words of lying men? And such is the Popish religion, which, as it is Popish, is devised only by devils and men, to feed lusts, and to serve a carnal and worldly interest, and tends to the damnation of millions of souls.

Their doctrine of transubstantiation in the Lord's supper, which I am now called to bear witness against, is one of the chief articles of this religion; and if this falls, their idolatrous worshipping their host, their most abhorred propitiatory sacrificing Christ in their Mass, their sacrilegious robbing the people of the cup, and a great part of their religion, must fall with it: and yet, by the grace of God, I shall in this ensuing discourse make it appear, that transubstantiation is such a hideous error, that the very nature and clear consequences of it do cry of the true Christian religion, as they cried of Jerusalem, "Rase it, rase it, even to the foundation thereof!" (Psalm cxxxvii. 7.)

I shall therefore fall immediately to my work, which is to prove two things:—

1. *That there is no transubstantiation in the eucharist or Lord's supper.*

And take notice, that I do not question but the name "eucharist" hath been anciently, and may be still fitly, given to this sacrament; but I shall choose to call it, according to scripture, "the Lord's supper," it being better known among us by that name.

2. *That it is idolatry in the Papists to worship the consecrated bread, though they think it is turned into the body of Christ.*

Now because in these words (with those in the three evangelists, Matt. xxvi. 26—28; Mark xiv. 22—24; Luke xxii. 19, 20, which I would be understood to take into my text) the institution of the Lord's supper is fully and clearly delivered from Christ to his church; and because these words do carry us in a right line to the Author and nature and use and ends of this ordinance, and are the true standard by which we must try all doctrines and opinions and practices touching the Lord's supper; and also because our adversaries pretend to receive their doctrine of transubstantiation from Christ in these words; I have therefore chosen them for the most proper subject of this discourse.

And herein I shall proceed in this method:—

I. *I shall briefly acquaint you with the true doctrine of the Lord's supper, taught by Christ in these words.*

II. *Acquaint you with the doctrine of transubstantiation, which the Papists pretend to receive from Christ in these words.*

III. *Prove that there is no transubstantiation in the Lord's supper.*

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* *In his quæ apertè posita sunt in scripturâ, inveniuntur illa omnia quæ continent fidem moresque vivendi.*—AUGUSTINUS *De Doctrinâ Christianâ*, lib. ii. cap. 9. "Amongst those things which are clearly revealed in the scripture, are found all those which relates to belief and the conduct of life."—EDIT.

IV. *I shall make application, and therein prove the second proposition,* namely, "That it is idolatry in the Papists to worship the consecrated bread, though they think it be turned into the body of Christ."

I. *I shall give you a brief and plain account of the doctrine of the Lord's supper, taught us in these words,* in six particulars, which I shall further improve in the following discourse.

1. *Jesus Christ hath in infinite wisdom and love appointed bread and wine for this sacrament.*—This is evident by those words, "Jesus took bread," and, "He took the cup," wherein was "the fruit of the vine:" (Luke xxii. 18:) our dying Lord being about to institute and administer the Lord's supper, in order thereunto he solemnly took bread and wine.

2. *It is the will of Jesus Christ that bread and wine be blessed and consecrated by the ministers of the gospel.*—This bread and wine must be changed from that common use which they had before consecration, by being blessed to a holy and spiritual and sacramental use. This appears by our Saviour's practice, recorded in the text: "Jesus took bread and blessed it; and he took the cup, and gave thanks." The word ευλογησας, translated "blessed," and ευχαριστησας, translated "gave thanks," do here signify the same thing, and do assure us, that Christ blessed the bread and wine; which obligeth all ministers in this case to do the same; and therefore saith the apostle, "The cup of blessing which we bless," and, "The bread which we break;" (1 Cor. x. 16;) meaning "the bread of blessing, which we bless and break;" for both were blessed by our Saviour, and are to be blessed by his ministers, and are thereby made blessed bread and blessed wine.

3. *It is the will of Jesus Christ that this blessed bread be broken by his ministers.*—This was a holy rite or action of Christ, recorded by the three evangelists, and by St. Paul in the text, which tells us, "He blessed the bread, and brake it;" from which sacred rite expositors conceive that this sacrament is called "breaking of bread." (Acts xx. 7.) And it is clear, that our Saviour made this bread, as thus broken, to signify, "the body of Christ, which is broken for us:" and therefore saith the apostle, "It is broken bread," that is, "the communion of the body of Christ." (1 Cor. x. 16.) And though I cannot stay to quarrel with the Papists for lighter matters, yet take notice of their bold superstition in affronting Christ herein, by making their bread into little round wafers, and not breaking it, but putting it whole into the mouths of the communicants.

4. *Jesus Christ hath appointed that this blessed bread and blessed wine be administered to believers.*—This is clear by our Saviour's example mentioned in the text, which tells us, that "the bread which he took, and blessed, and brake, he gave to his disciples;" and, "The cup which he took and blessed, he gave to them." Jesus Christ administered the blessed bread and blessed wine in this sacrament.

5. *It is the command of Jesus Christ that believers do "take and eat and drink" this blessed bread and blessed wine.*—For Christ gave and administered them with a command to "take, and eat, and drink" them. The words are clear: "Take, eat;" "Drink ye all of it;" which command the disciples obeyed, and did take, and eat, and drink the blessed bread and wine which Christ gave them. And so we see this

blessed bread and wine passing from Christ to his disciples in the Lord's supper, and eaten and drunk by them. And therefore, Christians, be sure to hold fast these two things in the Lord's supper:—

(1.) *Never yield to part with the bread and wine out of the Lord's supper.*—For they are blessed: "Destroy them not; for a blessing is in them." (Isai. lxv. 8.) All the blessings that come from the infinite love of God in Christ by the covenant of grace, for the salvation of believers, are in this blessed bread and blessed wine; and if ye lose the bread and wine, ye lose those blessings as conveyed by them.

(2.) *Take and eat and drink this bread and wine, as the bread of blessing and as the cup of blessing.*—Take the blessing that is offered with them; for it is the blessing that makes this glorious feast of the Lord's supper.

6. *Jesus Christ hath declared the use which this bread and wine are blessed and consecrated unto;* in these words: "This is my body," or, "This is my body which is given," or "broken, for you." "This cup is my blood of the new testament, which is shed for many," &c.; or, "This cup is the new testament in my blood."

These words declare two main uses whereunto this bread and wine are blessed and consecrated:—

(1.) *To be sacramental signs, to signify and represent to us Jesus Christ crucified, and all the benefits of his death.*—For the words do clearly speak of Christ crucified, and that with respect to us: "This is my body, which is broken for you;" "This cup is the new testament in my blood, which is shed for you." And by faith, whereby the heart doth assent to the truth of these words, we do in this ordinance discern the Lord's body broken for us, and his blood shed for us, and have our souls filled and suitably affected with the holy knowledge and remembrance and contemplation of Christ crucified for us.

(2.) *To be a seal to confirm the new testament or covenant of grace, whereby Christ and all the benefits of his death are conveyed to believers.*—This appears by these words, "This cup is the new testament," &c.; and by the apostle's explication of the words, "This is my body," "This cup is my blood:"—"The cup of blessing which we bless, is it not the communion of the blood of Christ?" And, "The bread which we break, is it not the communion of the body of Christ?" (1 Cor. x. 16:) teaching us plainly, that by this blessed bread and wine there is a communication of the body and blood of Christ, and of all the benefits of his death, which believers are made partakers of in the Lord's supper. And therefore we are commanded to take and eat and drink this blessed bread and wine, for this use also; which we do, not only by seeing Christ crucified as here represented to us, but also by accepting and receiving and feeding upon him by faith as he is here offered to us, to be the most glorious feast of our souls. And although it is the great duty of believers to see and feed on Christ crucified, as revealed and offered to us in his word, and by other ordinances, yet this is proper and peculiar to this ordinance,—for believers to see and feed upon him, as he is represented and offered and given in the appointed use of bread and wine.

And thus I have given you a plain and brief account of the doctrine of the Lord's supper, taught us by Christ in these words; and for your confirmation in the truth thereof, I shall commend three things to your serious consideration:—

1. *That for the matter of this feast, the Papists cannot with their transubstantiation declare it to be greater or more or better than we do without it.*—For we say, "Here is Christ and all that is purchased by his blood; here is all that is revealed and conveyed to us, from the infinite love of God, by the covenant of grace; here is God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost in covenant with us, to pardon our sins, and to bring us, through holiness, unto eternal life and happiness in heaven."

2. *For the guests or communicants, we declare them to be the holy society of true believers,* who are in union with Christ as his blessed bride and spouse and members.

3. *We further declare, that all the glorious things of this feast are so far really present with these guests, that their souls do truly feed upon them, and are feasted with them.*—But there is no necessity of a local presence of the objects of the soul with the faculties, to make up this feast; but believers are here feasted by the remembrance of Christ's death, which is above one thousand six hundred years past, and by their hopes of glory in heaven, and at the day of judgment, which is to come; and in seeing by faith the crucified and glorified body of Christ in that place and order which the scriptures reveal it to them, though his blessed body be at a local distance from them. And so, according to this doctrine, you see sufficient reason in all thankfulness to acknowledge, that the Lord's supper is such a feast as is for the honour of the great Jehovah, to entertain his beloved children and friends withal on earth, till he call them to feast for ever with him in heaven, without the use of bread and wine.

II. *I proceed to acquaint you with the Popish doctrine of transubstantiation, which the Papists pretend to receive from Christ in these words.*—This transubstantiation is declared in the council of Trent thus: "That by the consecration of the bread and wine, there is made a conversion of the whole substance of the bread into the substance of the body of Christ, and a conversion of the whole substance of the wine into the substance of his blood, which conversion the Catholic church doth fitly and properly call 'transubstantiation.' And if any shall say, that in the sacrament of the eucharist, the substance of the bread and wine do remain, and shall deny this wonderful and singular conversion of the whole substance of the bread into the body, and of the whole substance of the wine into the blood, of Christ, the species of the bread and wine only remaining, which conversion the Catholic church doth very fitly call 'transubstantiation;' let him be accursed." *

But, saith Solomon, "As the bird by wandering, as the swallow by flying, so the curse causeless shall not come:" (Prov. xxvi. 2:) and therefore "let them curse, but," Lord, "bless thou." (Psalm cix. 28.) For, in defiance of their brutish execrations, I do with detestation deny this monstrous and blasphemous doctrine; and do therefore proceed to the

III. Third particular, *to prove that there is no transubstantiation in the Lord's supper.*—Which I shall prove by these following arguments:—

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* *Concil. Trident.* sess. xiii. cap. iv. can. 2.

ARGUMENT I. *The scripture is not for transubstantiation in the Lord's supper; but is fully against it, and condemns it.*—We have only the words of Papists for it; but there is not one tittle of the good word of God for it. But although there is no ordinance of worship more fully and plainly delivered from Christ in the scriptures than this of the Lord's supper, yet therein is not the least foundation for transubstantiation; but God saith in effect of it, as he did of that abomination of the Jews, "Which I commanded not, neither came it into my heart:" (Jer. vii. 31:) and if it came not into God's heart, God forbid that it should ever come into our hearts!

That the scripture is not for but against transubstantiation, will appear by examining those scriptures which our adversaries allege for it; and they are principally these two; namely, the words in the text, "This is my body," "This cup is my blood;" and John vi., where our Saviour hath a large discourse of eating his flesh, and drinking his blood. Now I shall vindicate both these scriptures from the sense of the Papists, and make it appear, that there is not in them the least warrant for transubstantiation.

(I.) I shall begin with the first, which they chiefly insist upon. And here take notice that their whole doctrine of transubstantiation is contained in these seven particulars, all which they pretend to prove from these words, "This is my body," "This cup is my blood."

1. They say that "consecration of the bread and wine is made by these words only."[*]

2. That "by virtue of these words, the substance of the bread and wine are turned into the body and blood of Christ:" and this is their transubstantiation.

3. That "after these words are pronounced by the priest, there is no substance of the bread and wine remaining in the Lord's supper."

4. That "the species or accidents only of the bread and wine do remain in the Lord's supper: and these do signify the spiritual feast, and are essential to this sacrament."[†]

5. That "by virtue of these words, the very material body and blood of Christ are locally and corporally present in the Lord's supper, and are contained under these species or accidents of bread and wine."[‡]

6. That "with these species or accidents of the bread and wine, the true, material body and blood of Christ are taken into the mouths and stomachs of the communicants, and corporally eaten and drunk by them."[§]

7. Lastly. That "the plain and necessary sense of these words, 'This is my body,' is this; namely, 'This substance contained under the accidents of bread and wine is my body.'"[||]

Now I shall make it appear, that all these are Popish inventions, contrary to the mind of Christ in the words; and for that end I shall speak briefly in confutation of each of them.

1. To the first I say, that consecration of the bread and wine is not

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[*] *Sententia communis, non solùm theologorum recentiorum, sed etiam veterum patrum, Christum consecrasse illis verbis:* Hoc est corpus meum; hic est sanguis meus.—BELLARMINUS *De Euchar.* lib. iv. cap. 13.

[†] Idem, *ibid.* cap. 6.

[‡] *Concil. Trident.* sess. xiii. cap. 1, can. 1.

[§] BELLARMINUS *De Euchar.* lib. i. cap. 11.

[||] Idem, *ibid.*

made by these words, "This is my body," "This cup is my blood; but it is made by the blessing of the bread and wine by Christ and his ministers.

(1.) That consecration is not made by these words, is evident; because these words do speak of bread and wine already consecrated, or else they cannot be true; for it cannot be said truly of any bread and wine in the world, "This *is* the body," and, "This *is* the blood, of Christ," but only of blessed and consecrated bread and wine.

(2.) That consecration is made by the blessing of the bread and wine, is also manifest; for it is by the blessing that they are made blessed bread and blessed wine; or else the blessing was in vain, and Christ and his ministers were not heard in the prayers and thanksgivings which they offered to God for a blessing on those elements. But if men would be concluded by scripture, the apostle doth fully decide this controversy: "The cup of blessing which we bless, is it not the communion of the blood of Christ? The bread which we break, is it not the communion of the body of Christ?" (1 Cor. x. 16.) Where we see plainly that it is the blessing of the bread and wine which makes them the communion of the body and blood of Christ.

2. They say, that "by virtue of these words, 'This is my body,' 'This cup is my blood,' the substance of the bread and wine are turned into the body and blood of Christ;" which conversion they call "transubstantiation."

I refer you to all my arguments against transubstantiation, to convince you of the falsehood and odiousness of this sense; only here take notice, that this cannot be the meaning of the words; for the words declare what the bread and wine are, namely, what they signify, and not what they shall be when these words are pronounced. For it is not said, "Let this bread and wine be turned into the body and blood of Christ;" but, "This is my body," "This cup is my blood." Which words, being an affirmation of a truth, do affirm and report that which was a truth before the words are spoken; and not that which by the speaking of the words must be made true.

3. They say, that "after these words are pronounced by the priest, there remains no substance of the bread and wine in the Lord's supper."

This is such a prodigious error, that they may as well say that God would have all men turn infidels and madmen, and go out of their senses, to become Christians. But I shall here only give you three reasons against this opinion, whereunto I shall add more in the following discourse.

(1.) If these words destroy the substance of the bread and wine out of the Lord's supper, then Jesus Christ did by these words frustrate and make void his own blessing of the bread and wine; and so did cross his own will in praying for the blessing, and his Father's will in granting his prayer. For, according to this opinion, when Jesus Christ by prayer and thanksgiving had blessed the bread and wine, he presently utters words which make them neither bread and wine, nor blessed; and thus they make Christ curse his own blessing.

(2.) That bread and wine are in the Lord's supper, appears, because Jesus Christ himself did in this ordinance administer bread and wine to his disciples, and that with a command to them to take and eat and drink bread and wine; which command the disciples obeyed, and did accordingly take and eat and drink them. For proof of this, weigh the words: "Jesus took bread, and blessed, and brake, and gave to his disciples, and said, Take, eat; this is my body. In like manner he took the cup, and gave thanks, and gave it to them, saying, Drink ye all of it; for this is my blood," &c. Now Bellarmine himself saith, that "it cannot be doubted but all these words, 'He took bread, he blessed and brake and gave to his disciples,' referred to the same matter of bread which was in his hands." * Seeing then that in our Saviour's administration of the Lord's supper to his disciples, which is the standing rule and pattern to all ministers and Christians to the end of the world, we find Christ himself administering bread and wine, and see bread and wine passing in this ordinance from Christ to his disciples, and Christ commanding them to eat and drink them; (for what he gave, he commanded them to take and eat and drink; and they did accordingly take and eat the bread, and take and drink the wine;) what prodigious folly and wickedness is this, to deny that bread and wine are in the Lord's supper!

(3.) The apostle Paul himself doth no less than three times call it "bread" after consecration; and likewise tells us, that the communicants do eat the bread and drink the cup. See verses 26—28: "For as oft as ye eat this bread and drink this cup." "Whosoever shall eat this bread, and drink this cup of the Lord." "Let a man examine himself, and so let him eat of that bread, and drink of that cup." See, Christians, how the Papists do contradict and quarrel with the blessed apostle. Paul saith, that the communicants do oft eat this bread, and drink this wine, in the Lord's supper; the Papists say, that they never eat bread, nor drink wine. Paul saith, "Whosoever shall eat this bread, and drink this cup;" the Papists say, "No man doth ever eat this bread, nor drink this cup." Paul saith, "Let him eat this bread, and drink this cup;" the Papists say, "Let him not eat this bread, nor drink this cup." See, I say, the difference betwixt God and the apostle on the one hand, and the pope and Papists on the other hand, and choose whether ye will believe; for if God be to be believed before the Papists, there is bread and wine in the Lord's supper.

There are several objections which the Papists make against this last reason: I shall only instance in two of the chief of them.

OBJECTION I. "The scripture calls it 'bread,' because it was once bread: as, after Moses's rod was turned into a serpent, it is still called 'a rod;' (Exod. vii. 12;) and after the water was turned into wine, yet it is still called 'water:' (John ii. 9:) so," say they, "after this bread is turned into the body of Christ, it is still called 'bread,' because it was bread before this conversion was made."

ANSWER. The scripture calls the serpent "a rod," because that which was then a serpent was before a rod; and the wine is called "water," because that which was then wine was water a little before: but Christ's body never was bread, and therefore there is not the like reason to call it "bread."

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* BELLARMINUS *De Euchar.* lib. i. cap. 11.

OBJECT. II. "The scripture often calls things, not from their nature, but from their outward appearance to us. So the angels that appeared to Abraham in the likeness of men are called 'men;' (Gen. xviii. 2;) and so, because this hath the outward appearance of bread, therefore the scripture calls it 'bread.'" This is Bellarmine's objection.*

ANSWER. As the scripture calls it "bread" before consecration, because it is so, and hath the true nature and properties of bread, so it calls it "bread" after consecration, not because it is like bread, but because it is bread; for consecration doth bless the thing consecrated, but never destroys it. And therefore this objection is vain, because these angels never were men, nor had the beings of men, but only appeared in the likeness of men; but this had the true substance of bread before consecration, as our adversaries grant, and hath the true substance of bread after consecration, as we have proved; and for that reason, both before and after, the scripture calls it "bread."

4. They say, that "the species or accidents only of the bread and wine remain in the Lord's supper, and these do signify the body and blood of Christ, and are essential to this sacrament." By "species or accidents" is meant the colour, smell, sweetness, length, breadth, moisture, &c., of the bread and wine: "And these," say they, "ye see, taste, feel, smell, eat, and drink; but ye do not see, nor taste, nor smell, nor touch, nor eat, nor drink bread and wine."

I shall only at present say two things against this opinion.

(1.) This, as our divines well argue, is a plain contradiction; for the essence and being of accidents is to be inherent in the subjects which they are accidents of; or else they subsist by themselves, and so are not accidents, but substances. To instance in the present case: if there be whiteness and redness and length and breadth and heaviness, there must be some substance that is white and red and long and broad and heavy; or else the communicants must, in the Lord's supper, solemnly eat and drink white and red and long and broad and heavy nothing.

(2.) There is the same reason to deny that the accidents of bread and wine do remain in the Lord's supper, as to deny that the substance of them do remain there; for if these words, "This is my body," "This cup is my blood," do destroy the substance, certainly they must destroy the accidents too; for they are pronounced over the whole blessed bread and wine, and make no distinction between the substance and accidents, but speak the same of both together. And therefore I shall here expostulate this case with our adversaries thus: When our Lord Jesus blessed the bread and wine, did he bless the substance with one kind of blessing and the accidents with another? did his blessing on the substance destroy it, and the same blessing on the accidents preserve them? Or when Christ said, "This is my body," "This cup is my blood," can they persuade themselves, that he therein said one thing of the substance, and another thing quite contrary of the accidents, so that by virtue of these words, the substance of bread and wine is turned into the body and blood of Christ, and the accidents of bread and wine are preserved without the substance, and appointed to signify his body and blood? Or if by virtue of these words the substance be destroyed, by virtue of what words are the accidents preserved, and consecrated to a use quite contrary to the use of the substance? If they say, their senses tell them [that] the accidents remain there; we say, and shall make it appear, that their senses and ours also tell us and them, that the substance with the accidents remains there also: and if faith must conclude against the senses in the case of the substance, why must it not also conclude against the senses in the case of the accidents? But if, against scripture and reason and sense, the Papists will usurp a power to keep and destroy what they please in this sacrament, let us keep our Lord's supper, and let them take their pope's supper.

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* BELLARMINUS, *De Euchar.* lib. i. cap. 14.

5. They say, that "by virtue of these words, the very material body and blood of Christ are locally and corporally present in the Lord's supper, and are contained under the accidents of bread and wine."

I might plead many arguments against this, but I must remember that I am limited in my work, and shall therefore give you only one argument to convince you of the falseness and madness of this opinion; and that is this:—

Argument. If these words, "This is my body," "This cup is my blood," &c., do make the body and blood of Christ to be locally and corporally present in the Lord's supper, then his body crucified and dead upon the cross, and his blood there shed out of his veins, are locally and corporally present in the Lord's supper. Observe, Christians, where these men's principles lead them. I know, our adversaries do confess, that the body of Christ is no where found dead since his resurrection; and therefore, saith Bellarmine, "God doth not cause, nor ever will cause to all eternity, that the body of Christ be any where found dead;" * yet I say, it doth necessarily follow this doctrine, that his body is found dead upon the cross, and his blood there shed, in the Lord's supper. For if these words do make his body and blood locally and corporally present under the species of bread and wine, as they affirm, then it must be his body and blood as these words do expressly declare: "This is my body broken for you," "This cup is my blood shed for the remission of the sins of many;" which words do clearly speak of his body crucified and dead, and of his blood shed upon the cross. And therefore the apostle doth teach us, that in this ordinance we "do show forth the Lord's death;" so that nothing can be more clear, than that by this doctrine the bread and wine are turned into the dead body of Christ, and into his blood shed upon the cross; and that his body crucified and dead upon the cross, with his blood there shed, are locally and corporally present under the accidents of bread and wine. And so, by this doctrine, Christ's body was really and actually dead upon the cross, and so present under the accidents of bread and wine, when, at the first institution and administration of the Lord's supper, he said, "This is my body given or broken for you," and, "This is my blood shed," &c. And also, in despite of the apostle, that saith, "Christ being raised from the dead dieth no more," (Rom. vi. 9,) his body must be dead upon the cross, and as so dead must be locally and corporally present in the Lord's supper, under the accidents of bread and wine, whensoever or wheresoever

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* *Deus non facit, nec est facturus in æternum, ut Christi corpus alicubi reperiatur mortuum.*—Bellarminus *De Euchar.* lib. iv. cap. 21.

this sacrament hath been or shall be administered since his resurrection to his coming to judgment. And, moreover, it must also follow from this doctrine, that the very material cross on which Christ was crucified, and all the instruments of his death, must be locally and corporally present at the Lord's supper, and the very soldier that pierced him must be there present, piercing his side with a spear; yea, the very hour of his death, though so many years past, and the place of his death, so many miles distant, must be present in every time and place the Lord's supper is administered. Christians, these consequences are not forced; but these and a hundred more such wild contradictions do necessarily follow this doctrine, as appears to any who will but grant, that which cannot be denied, namely, that these words, "This is my body which is broken for you," "This cup is my blood shed for many," do directly point at the body of Christ crucified and dead upon the cross, with the manner, and all the instruments and circumstances, of his death, as recorded by the evangelists in the history of his passion.

6. They say, that "with these species or accidents of bread and wine, the true material body and blood of Christ are taken into the mouths and stomachs of the communicants, and corporally eaten and drunk by them."

I have three things to say against this odious and barbarous doctrine.

FIRST. *It asserts that which is impossible.*

SECONDLY. *That which is unprofitable both to soul and body.*

THIRDLY. *That which is impious and flagitious.*

FIRST. *This opinion asserts a multitude of impossibilities and contradictions, and that in a very great and weighty point of religion.*—Now, that ye may understand the strength of these kinds of arguments, take notice, that when two things are affirmed that are altogether inconsistent, so that one of them fully destroys the truth of the other, and if one be true the other must necessarily be false, this is an impossibility or contradiction; as to affirm, that the same man is dead and alive at the same time, is a contradiction; because he cannot be dead of a natural death and live a natural life at the same time. Now I say, in this opinion of corporally eating the body and drinking the blood of Jesus Christ, is a multitude of most horrid contradictions, which are found in three cases:

(1.) *In the case of Jesus Christ, his eating and drinking the Lord's supper;* for our adversaries agree with us, that Jesus Christ did eat and drink the Lord's supper.

(2.) *In the case of the disciples, at the first administration of this ordinance.*

(3.) *In the case of all communicants ever after.*

(1.) *In the case of Jesus Christ, his eating and drinking the Lord's supper.*—I shall here only instance in three plain and gross contradictions.

(i.) That Jesus Christ did with his body eat his own whole body, and yet his body continue as it was before, whole and uneaten; and so the same body was eaten and not eaten at the same time; and the eater and that which is eaten is every way the same; and that which was eaten did eat the body, which was the eater of it, in the same action, and at the same time.

(ii.) That the same sacred body of Jesus Christ was, in all its dimensions and proportions, sitting at the table in the view of his disciples; and yet was at the same time in his own mouth and stomach; and so either this one body of Christ was multiplied into two, namely, one within the other, or else the same whole body and flesh and bones was enclosed in a little part of his own body.

(iii.) That Jesus Christ did drink his own precious blood, and that the same material blood of Christ was shed, and was in the cup, and did pass out of the cup into the mouth and stomach of our Lord, and yet at the same time his blood [was] not shed, neither did move out of his veins. These are most filthy, odious, and hideous contradictions.

(2.) *There are many contradictions in the case of the disciples, who by this doctrine are said corporally to eat and drink the material body and blood of Christ, at the institution and first administration of the Lord's supper.*—For either they did eat and drink his body and blood *as he was then alive before his death*, or *as dead and crucified with his blood shed on the cross*, or *as glorified in heaven*, or *as all these together.* Now in every one of these there are many horrid contradictions.

(i.) *If they say, that they did eat and drink his body and blood as he was alive before his death*, then there are these two contradictions therein:—

First. That his whole body was sitting at the table with his disciples, and also in the mouths and stomachs of his disciples at the same time; and so every disciple had the same whole body in his stomach, which they all saw sitting before them at the table.

Secondly. That his blood was shed out of his body, and taken into the mouths and stomachs of his disciples; and yet not shed, but continued within his own body at the same time.

(ii.) *If they did eat his body dead and crucified upon the cross*, and corporally drink his blood there shed, then his body was dead and crucified on the cross, and dead in their stomachs, and alive at the table, at the same time.

(iii.) *If they did corporally eat his glorified body, and drink the blood of his glorified body*, then his body was glorified in heaven after his death, and as such was in the disciples' stomachs, and yet at the same time was upon earth in the state of his humiliation before his death.

(iv.) *If they did eat his body and drink his blood as alive and dead and glorified, and so considered altogether*, then his body was really alive before his death, and dead upon the cross, and glorified in heaven, and, in all these cases, in the mouths and stomachs of his disciples, at the same time. These and many such blasphemous contradictions are in the disciples' corporally eating the body and drinking the blood of Jesus Christ.

(3.) *There are also many plain and horrid contradictions in the case of all communicants eating and drinking the body and blood of Christ, under the species of bread and wine, since the institution and first administration of this ordinance.* I shall only instance in this one:—

That one and the same body of Christ which is a finite being, should be wholly in heaven, and at the same time wholly under the accidents of bread and wine in the Lord's supper, wheresover it is administered, and nowhere else in the world; and that this one body in heaven should be wholly present with these accidents, in all the mouths of the many thousand communicants in Rome, Spain, France, England, and in all other parts of the world where this sacrament is administered; doth speak as many contradictions as there are communicants in the world, and all as impossible as it is for the same particular man to be preaching in a pulpit at Rome, and at the same time to be preaching the same sermon in all the pulpits of the world. And thus I have showed you, that this corporal eating the body and drinking the blood of Jesus Christ with the species or accidents of bread and wine, is impossible.

SECONDLY. *It is unprofitable, and doth neither good to soul nor body.*—This appears by our Saviour's words: "The flesh profiteth nothing;" (John vi. 63;) that is, the corporal eating the flesh of Christ profiteth nothing. And that this is our Saviour's meaning is evident; because it is the design of our Saviour, in the foregoing words, to show *the necessity* and *the great profit and advantage* of eating and drinking the body and blood of Christ spiritually by faith: *the necessity* hereof is expressed in verse 53: "Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you." And this, saith Christ, *is profitable*, as the means of our union with him: "He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me, and I in him;" (verse 56;) and is also profitable to eternal life and happiness: "Whoso eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, hath eternal life; and I will raise him up at the last day." (Verse 54.) Now the Jews were startled at his words, understanding that he meant a corporal eating of his flesh; and therefore say they, "How can this man give us his flesh to eat?" (Verse 52.) This was such a mistake as that of Nicodemus, who when our Saviour spake of the necessity of being born again,—he wondered, and said, "How can a man be born when he is old? can he enter the second time into his mother's womb, and be born?" (John iii. 3, 4.) And the disciples themselves, understanding our Saviour in that gross and carnal sense of corporal eating his flesh, were offended, and said, "This is a hard saying; who can hear it?" (John vi. 60.) And therefore Christ explains his words: "It is the spirit that quickeneth; the flesh profiteth nothing: the words that I speak unto you, are spirit, and are life:" (verse 63:) that is, "My words, as you mistake them for a corporal eating my flesh and drinking my blood, are not true; for the eating my flesh so profiteth nothing: but that eating my flesh and drinking my blood by faith, in a spiritual manner, will make you blessed for ever; and so my words which I speak of this matter 'are spirit, and they are life.'" And hereby it is manifest to all but such who study to corrupt and pervert the scriptures, that our Saviour himself tells us, that corporal eating his flesh and drinking his blood is altogether unprofitable. And I say, it neither doeth good to *body* nor *soul*.

(1.) *It doeth no good to the body.*—For it doth neither gratify the palate, nor allay or satisfy hunger or thirst, nor turns into any bodily nourishment; and so hath no use or property of bodily food.

(2.) *It doeth no good to the souls*, either of *the wicked* or of *the godly*.

(i.) *It doeth no good to the souls of the wicked,* as our adversaries themselves confess; and yet they will have this glorious body and precious blood of Christ to be taken corporally into the blasphemous mouths, and into the open sepulchres, of the throats of swearers, and into the beastly maws or stomachs of drunkards and gluttons, and within the rotten bodies of whoremongers and harlots; and there to lodge till the accidents of bread and wine be digested, and then to remove nobody knows whither, leaving the cursed inhabitants no better than he found them.

(ii.) *Neither doth this corporal eating the flesh or drinking the blood of Christ do any good to the souls of the godly.*—It kills no sin, begets or quickens no grace, yields no comfort, and indeed is not desirable to any wise and holy Christian, who never hungers and thirsts to have the body and blood of Christ in his mouth and stomach. Neither is it Christ's way, by entering into the mouths and going down into the stomachs of his people, to feed and feast their souls; but Christ is spiritually formed in their hearts, (Gal. iv. 19,) and the Spirit doth glorify Christ in them, (John xvi. 14,) and by the word and sacraments their souls are feasted with the remembrance of his death, and with seeing him by faith "crowned with honour and glory" in heaven, (Heb. ii. 9,) and in their joyful expectation of all the benefits of his death and resurrection and intercession in the holy and blessed world; but the bodies of believers shall never meet the body of Christ till they "meet the Lord in the air, and so be for ever with the Lord." (1 Thess. iv. 17.) But, for this doctrine of the corporal presence of Christ in the mouths and stomachs of men, which the frantic Papists would make us believe, it is a doctrine fitter to make our hairs stand an end, than to feed our souls; and is good for nothing but to make the Popish religion odious to all wise and sober Christians.

THIRDLY. I have this further to charge on this doctrine, that *it teacheth a practice most horribly impious and flagitious.*—For to feed on man's flesh and to drink man's blood was ever accounted a most barbarous transgression of all the rules of piety and humanity; and therefore this must be the height of that kind of impiety, to eat the sacred flesh and to drink the precious blood of Christ in a corporal manner; which the Popish cannibals teach men to practise, and which they pretend to prove, both from the text, and from John vi. Against which odious sense, holy Austin pleads the same argument which I now use, saying, "If there be a precept forbidding sin, and commanding good, it is not then a figurative speech; but if it seem to command a horrible wickedness, or forbid that which is profitable, then it is a figurative speech." And he gives this example in John vi. 53: "Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man." "This," saith he, "seems to command a most heinous wickedness; and therefore it is a figurative speech, commanding us to communicate with the sufferings of our Lord, and sweetly and profitably to lay up this in our memories, that his flesh was crucified and wounded for us." *

But the Papists proceed in their blasphemy, and are not ashamed to tell us, that if dogs, or mice, or rats, or worms, do eat the consecrated host, they do therewith eat the body of Christ; and therefore, according to their wisdom, they have provided in their Missal, that "if rats or worms do eat the body of Christ, they must be burned."[*] What, for heretics? because their senses took it only for bread? But if their host be not God, why do they worship him with divine worship? And if he be God, why will they cast their God into the fire?

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* AUGUSTINUS *De Doctrinâ Christianâ,* lib. iii. cap. 15, 16.

And Thomas Aquinas, their Angelical Doctor, as they call him, (and of whom they tell us this tale,—that his doctrine of the sacrament was confirmed by this miracle: A wooden crucifix miraculously saluted him with these words: *Bene scripsisti de me, Thoma:* "Thou hast written well of me, Thomas,") doth assert and plead for this dirty ribaldry, saying, that "it doth no more detract from the dignity of Christ to be eaten by dogs and mice, than his being willing to be crucified for our sins."[†] A goodly argument for such an acute Schoolman; as if, because Jesus Christ in the state of his humiliation was willing to be crucified for our sins, therefore in the state of his exaltation he is willing that his glorified body in heaven should be eaten by dogs and mice! But thus they talk, as if their doctors had sat in the council with devils in the gates of hell, to debauch the faith of Christians, and to disgrace the body of Christ.

7. Lastly. They say, that "the plain and necessary sense of these words, 'This is my body,' is this: 'This substance contained under the accidents of bread is my body.'"

What I have already spoken to the former particulars doth fully conclude against this sense; and yet I shall here add two things against it.

(1.) *That this sense is inconsistent with their own doctrine.*

(2.) *That it is repugnant to the true and plain and necessary sense of Christ in the words.*

(1.) *That this sense is inconsistent with their own doctrine* appears in two particulars.

(i.) *In their forcing two different, and both false, senses on these words, "This is my body."*—Namely, "This substance contained under the accidents of bread is my body," and, "These accidents of bread do signify my body." And so the word "this" must both mean "this substance," namely, Christ's body, and also "these accidents of bread;" and the word "is" must both be "is properly and essentially my body," and "is figuratively and significatively the sign of my body."

I know, Bellarmine sometimes grants, that it is truly most absurd, to say that by the word "this," is meant "these accidents;"[‡] yet the same Bellarmine tells, that "the accidents of bread and wine do signify the spiritual feast," meaning, as he explains himself, "the body and blood of Christ," and that "the accidents of bread and wine, as well as the body and blood of Christ, do pertain to the essence of this sacrament."[§] Now, that they force this sense on these words is clear, because all their pretended miracles in the Lord's supper, whereof the preserving the accidents without the substance is one, are with them effected by virtue of these words, and also because consecration, one effect whereof must be to consecrate the accidents of bread to signify the body of

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[*] Can. 39; *Glossa* in can. 2, *de Consecratione*.

[†] AQUINATIS *Summæ* pars tertia, quæst. lxxx. art. 3.

[‡] BELLARMINUS *De Euchar.* lib. i. cap. 11.

[§] Idem, lib. iv. cap. 6.

Christ, is in their sense made by these words. So that it is evident, that they distort these words, "This is my body," to both these senses: "This substance contained under the accidents of bread is my body;" and, "These accidents of bread do signify my body:" which are so inconsistent, that all the rope of popes can never be able to tie them together.

(ii.) *This sense is inconsistent with their doctrine, which teacheth, that the substance of the bread is turned into the body of Christ by virtue of these words.*—"And," saith Bellarmine,* "in the last moment when all these words are spoken, then this conversion is made." Now, to say that the conversion of the bread into the body of Christ is not made till all these words are spoken, and yet to say that the first word "this" doth demonstrate Christ's body, are plainly inconsistent.

(2.) I proceed to prove, that *this sense is repugnant to the true and plain and necessary sense of Christ in the words.*—For which purpose observe that excellent rule of holy Augustine: "It is as manifest an error in the explication of scripture to take figurative words properly, as to wrest those words which are properly spoken, into a tropical or figurative sense:" † by both which ways of perverting the holy scriptures, multitudes of heresies have troubled the church of God. And this doctrine of transubstantiation, with all the mischiefs in doctrine, worship, and practice which attend it, proceeds from the Papists' interpreting these words, "This is my body," in a literal and proper sense, which must be understood in a figurative sense. The hinge of the present controversy is turned upon these two words, "This is." Now I shall make it appear, that by the word "this" is meant "this bread," and that by the word "is" must be meant, "is a sign," or "doth signify;" and so that the true sense of our Saviour in the words is this; namely, "This bread is a sign of my body;" or, "This bread doth signify or represent my body."

First. That by the word "this" is meant "this bread," appears by three reasons.

(i.) By the order and course of the words; by which it is plain, that of that bread which Jesus took, and blessed, and brake, and commanded his disciples to eat, he said, "This is my body."

(ii.) Because Jesus Christ saith expressly of the cup which he took, and blessed, and gave, and commanded them to drink, "This cup is the new testament." So say Luke and Paul in the text; therefore we must conclude, that of the bread, which he took, and blessed, and brake, and gave, &c., he saith, in effect, "This bread is my body."

(iii.) St. Paul's interpretation of the words may fully convince all, that the word "this" doth demonstrate "the bread:" "The cup of blessing which we bless, is it not the communion of the blood of Christ? The bread which we break, is it not the communion of the body of Christ?" (1 Cor. x. 16.) Which speak the same thing,—though in other words,—as, "This bread is the body of Christ;" "This cup is the blood of Christ." So that it is clear, that by the word "this," is meant "this bread."

Secondly. Hence it follows, that the word "is" cannot be taken properly; but must mean "is a sign," or "doth signify or represent." It cannot be taken properly; for bread and the body of Christ are two substances essentially different; and therefore it cannot be properly said, that bread is essentially Christ's body.* But this is a sure rule,—that when the word "is" stands between the sign and the thing signified, then it must mean "is a sign," or "signifieth," or "representeth." And this is the present case: the blessed bread is a sign of Christ's body, and therefore the meaning of Christ must be, "This bread signifieth or representeth my body;" according to that known saying of Augustine: "Christ doubted not to say, 'This is my body,' when he gave the sign of his body." †

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* *De Euchar.* lib. ii. cap. 11.

† AUGUSTINUS *De Doctrinâ Christianâ*, lib. iii.

Observe yet further, that whereas there is no example in all the scripture of a sign being turned into the thing signified, yet it is very ordinary in scripture-similitudes to give a thing the name of that whereunto it is likened: "I am the rose of Sharon, and the lily of the valleys." (Canticles ii. 1.) "I am the living bread." (John vi. 51.) "I am the door." (John x. 7.) "I am the true vine." (John xv. 1.) All these saith Christ of himself; but is he therefore turned into a rose, or lily, or bread, or door, or vine? No: the words taken literally and properly are blasphemy; but the meaning is, He is like these, as to the particular cases whereof he speaks.

So the scripture ordinarily gives to signs the names of the things signified: "The three branches are three days." (Gen. xl. 12.) "The three baskets are three days." (Verse 18.) And of such things we have a multitude of examples. And thus the Holy Ghost gives to sacramental signs the names of the things signified by them. Circumcision is called the "covenant," whereof it was a sign and seal. (Gen. xvii. 13.) The lamb is called "the passover." (Exod. xii. 11.) And so in the text the bread is called Christ's "body," and the wine his "blood," because they are signs and a seal to signify and convey Christ, with the benefits of his body broken and of his blood shed for us.

And thus I have proved, that this scripture is not for, but against, transubstantiation, in all the branches of it.

(II.) The other scripture which they allege for transubstantiation, is our Saviour's discourse of eating his flesh, and drinking his blood, in John vi. And Bellarmine pretends to prove that doctrine from verse 51 of that chapter, almost to the end of the chapter.‡

To this I say, that I do readily grant, that the flesh and blood of Christ here spoken of, which include the benefits of his death, is the spiritual matter of the feast of the Lord's supper; and that believers are here required to feast their souls by faith on the body and blood of Christ, and on all the benefits of his death, in all those ways which God is pleased to offer it to them. And therefore, though the Lord's supper be since instituted, yet they are bound by this scripture to feed on the body and blood of Christ in that ordinance, in the appointed use of bread and wine. But yet this scripture also is fully against transubstantiation and the corporal presence of the body and blood of Christ under the accidents of bread and wine, and the communicants eating and drinking the same; and this appears by these three reasons:—

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* *Disparatum de disparato non propriè prædicatur.* "That which is negatively opposed cannot with propriety be predicated of that to which it is opposed."—EDIT.

† *Non dubitavit dicere,* Hoc est corpus meum, *cùm signum daret corporis sui.*—AUGUSTINUS *Contra Adamantum Manichæum,* lib. xii.

‡ BELLARMINUS *De Euchar.* lib. i. cap, 5, 6.

1. Because, as I have proved, our Saviour tells us, that his flesh, namely, the corporal eating his flesh, "profiteth nothing." (Verse 63.)

2. Because the eating the flesh and drinking the blood of Christ here spoken of is of absolute necessity to salvation: "Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you." (Verse 53.) But though none can be happy who do not eat the flesh and drink the blood of Christ in the sense of this scripture; yet our adversaries do not deny but many have eternal life who never ate and drank the Lord's supper.

3. Because eternal life is certainly settled and entailed on all those who do eat the flesh and drink the blood of Christ in the sense of this scripture: "Whoso eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, hath eternal life, and I will raise him up at the last day." (Verse 54.) And yet the Papists tell us that wicked men may corporally eat the flesh and drink the blood of Christ: so that the Popish eating the flesh and drinking the blood of Christ, and that eating his flesh and drinking his blood which our Saviour here speaks of, are as far different as heaven and hell.

ARGUMENT II. *It is impossible that this transubstantiation should be in the Lord's supper.*—This is evident by the nature of the thing; for whoso understands the nature of this act of transubstantiation, and the terms thereof, (namely, the bread and wine, which are the things that are turned, and the body and blood of Christ, into which this bread and wine are turned,) must clearly see, that as hereby the bread and wine must be taken away, so the body and blood of Christ must be hereby made and produced. And therefore in their Litany of the sacrament they do invocate it thus: *Panis, omnipotentiâ Dei caro factus, miserere nobis:* "O bread, which by the almighty power of God art made flesh, have mercy upon us;" implying that the flesh and body of Christ is made by this transubstantiation: and thus by this blasphemous contradiction they make the substance of the glorious body of Christ, so long since born of the Virgin, to be the birth of this prodigious monster of transubstantiation. Now I say, it is impossible to make that which was made before, to do that by an act which was done before the act; it is impossible for the effect to be before the cause; and it is impossible for bread of a few hours old to be turned into the substance of the body of Christ, which was continually of the same substance for above a thousand years before.

And therefore, though these blasphemers seem devoutly to adore the almighty power of God, which by this conversion hath wrought *stupendum supra omnia miraculum,* "the most stupendous of all miracles," as they invocate it in the same Litany of the Sacrament; yet all in effect that they can say is this,—that the great God, out of his infinite love to his church, hath, in this blessed ordinance of the Lord's supper, by many astonishing miracles, done just nothing. And thus they most profanely abuse the fearful name of God, in ascribing a work to his dreadful omnipotency which is beneath the power of his meanest creature; namely, to make that which was made before; which indeed cannot be a work of any power at all. I know, some learned men of the church of Rome do undertake to decline this impossibility and contradiction, and yet to defend this doctrine of transubstantiation as defined in the council of Trent; and therefore Bellarmine, with many of his brethren, the Jesuits, to avoid the aforesaid impossibility, explains this action of transubstantiation thus:—that the conversion of the bread into the body of Christ *non esse productivam, sed adductivam;* that "it is not such a conversion that produceth the body of Christ; for that was extant before; but it is such a conversion whereby the body of Christ, which was before in heaven, is now (yet without any local motion from heaven) made present under the accidents of bread in the Lord's supper." * But whilst their champion by another contradiction (in making the same body of Christ, which is in heaven, to be under the accidents of bread on earth, and yet without receiving any new being or moving from heaven to earth) pleads for transubstantiation, he destroys both *the name* and *nature* of it.

He destroys the name of it.—For that conversion which he speaks of may be called "a desubstantiation" or "destruction" of the bread, and "a translocation" or "transposition" of the body of Christ, whereby it is placed where it was not before; but can by no means bear the name of "transubstantiation," which, saith the council of Trent, the catholic church doth very fitly and properly give it.

Again: *He destroys the nature of transubstantiation.*—For in every substantial conversion, whereby one substance is turned into another, the latter is always produced, and receives being, upon the destruction of the former. As when Moses's rod was turned into a serpent, (Exod. iv.,) had God only destroyed the substance of the rod, and set a serpent, that was extant before, in the place of it, this had not been a turning the rod into a serpent. So when, at the marriage-feast, (John ii.,) Christ turned water into wine, had God only destroyed the substance of the water, and set wine that was extant before in some wine-cellar, and placed it in the water-pots, this had not been a turning water into wine. But the true substance of the serpent and the true substance of the wine were by those miraculous conversions made and produced; and so if the true substance of the bread and wine be miraculously turned into the substance of the body and blood of Christ, as the council of Trent will have it, upon the destruction of the substance of the bread and wine, there must necessarily be produced the substance of the body and blood of Christ, as the effect and product of that conversion: and, notwithstanding all the noise which our adversaries make in the Christian world about this matter, they must either assert this monstrous impossibility and contradiction, or disclaim their own doctrine of transubstantiation.

ARGUMENT III. *This doctrine of transubstantiation destroys the Lord's supper.*—My reason is, because this doctrine takes away those sacred signs of bread and wine which God hath appointed to be of absolute necessity to the being of this sacrament; and if these be taken away, there is no such thing as the Lord's supper in the world.

Our adversaries grant, that it is necessary to the being of a sacrament that there be a sensible and sacred sign, and that must signify a sacred and holy thing; and this sign must be of God's institution.* Now the sign or signs in this sacrament of the Lord's supper, must be one of these three things:—

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* BELLARMINUS *De Euchar.* lib. iii. cap. 18.

1. It must be either the body and blood of Christ.

2. Or it must be the accidents of bread and wine.

3. Or it must be true bread and wine.

1. It cannot be the body and blood of Christ; for these are not sensible: and they are the things signified; and therefore they cannot be the signs.

2. It cannot be the accidents of bread and wine, though Bellarmine, as I have showed, makes these to signify the body and blood of Christ, and so to be essential to this sacrament; but this cannot be, for two reasons:—

(1.) Because, as I have proved, the accidents without the substance are nothing, and so can signify nothing; and therefore can be no signs.

(2.) Every sacramental sign must be, as our adversaries confess, of God's institution. Now God never ordained the accidents of bread and wine without the substance to signify the body and blood of Christ. If he did, either they must be consecrated to this use by virtue of these words, "This is my body," "This cup is my blood," &c.; or these words must declare them to be of this use. But our adversaries dare not stand to either of these; for then they must yield, that the meaning of these words is, "These accidents of bread and wine are signs of," or "do signify," "the body and blood of Christ." But that by the word "this" is meant "these accidents," Bellarmine, as I have showed, denies; and that the word "is" doth denote "is a sign," or "doth signify," they will by no means admit, because it doth justify our sense of that word, as speaking of the bread and wine, and overthrows all their disputations to prove that the word "is" must not be taken in a figurative but proper sense, and indeed overthrows their whole doctrine of transubstantiation. So that it is manifest, that neither Christ's body and blood, nor the accidents of bread and wine, can be the signs in this sacrament.

3. It remains therefore, that the true bread and wine must be the only sacred and appointed signs of the body and blood of Christ in the Lord's supper; and that therefore the Papists, in destroying the bread and wine, do utterly destroy this blessed sacrament, and tear off this sacred seal from the covenant of grace, and rob the church of God of the body and blood of Christ, and of all the benefits of his death, as signified and conveyed to them by this ordinance.

ARGUMENT IV. *Those miracles which the Papists affirm to be wrought by transubstantiation in the Lord's supper, are all false and feigned.*—In pursuance of this argument, I shall,

First. *Repeat some of those miracles which are said to be wrought by this act of transubstantiation.*

Secondly. *Prove them to be false and feigned.*

First. *I shall only repeat four of their pretended miracles.*

1. That the substance of the bread and wine is turned into the body and blood of Christ; and yet his body and blood were extant above a thousand years before the bread and wine were in being.

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* THOMÆ *Pars Tertia*, quæst. lx. art. 1, 2, 5.

2. That the substance of the bread and wine is destroyed, and the accidents made to remain without the substance; and yet no sensible difference made between the natural properties of this blessed bread and wine, and all other bread and wine in the world, wherein the substance continues with the accidents.

3. That at the first administration of this sacrament, the body of Christ should be in all its complete parts, head, arms, limbs, and all his flesh and bones, at the table, and there seen and to be felt; and yet the same body at the same time in the mouths and stomachs of his disciples, and they not have the least sense of it.

4. That the same body of Christ should be glorified in heaven, and at the same time be in the mouths and stomachs of all the communicants in the world, and be with those accidents of bread, wheresoever they are, and nowhere else; and yet not move from heaven to earth, nor from one place of the earth to another, and still be one and the same body.

Secondly. I say, *These and all such are feigned and false miracles;* as appears by these six reasons:—

1. Because, though they are pretended to be the stupendous and miraculous works of the almighty power of God, yet are they no miracles at all, but impossibilities and contradictions, as I have proved; and so are nothing, and are not works of so much power as for a worm to creep, and a grass-hopper to leap.

2. Because no miracles were ever wrought upon sensible creatures but the change made by them was discerned, or at least discernible, by the senses of men, for whose sake they were wrought. The serpent which Moses's rod was turned into, the wine which the water was turned into, and all the miracles wrought by Moses in Egypt, with all other such miracles recorded in scripture, not one excepted, were perceived by the senses. And so if one sensible creature be turned into another sensible creature, that which the former is turned into must be made sensible; or if a sensible creature be turned into an insensible, that which is so turned must pass out of the reach of the senses, and become insensible. And therefore there is no such miracle wrought as is here pretended, because here is sensible bread and wine, and the senses of men do see and handle and taste as plain bread and wine, as there is any in the world.

3. Because God never settled such a power on any order of men, for every one in that order to have in all ages a constant power to work miracles; and yet by this doctrine of transubstantiation, every priest doth carry about him a power to work more and greater miracles than ever were wrought by Christ and his apostles.

4. Because God never set up any stated ordinance in the church for the working of miracles, nor bound himself, upon any men's using any scripture-words, always to work miracles; and yet the Papists will have God always bound to work miracles, upon every priest's rightly pronouncing in the Lord's supper these words, "This is my body."

5. God never gave men a power to work miracles on the glorified body of Christ. Moses had power to divide the waters of the Red Sea; (Exod. xiv. 21;) and Joshua had once power to say to the sun and

moon, "Sun, stand thou still upon mount Gibeon; and thou, Moon, in the valley of Ajalon;" (Joshua x. 12;) and the disciples had power to "cast out devils;" (Matt. x. 8;) and Christ tells his disciples, "If ye have faith as a grain of mustard-seed, ye shall say unto this mountain, Remove hence to yonder place; and it shall remove." (Matt. xvii. 20.) But for every dirty priest to practise such a miraculous power upon the glorified body of Christ, as, upon the using of these words, "This is my body," to call it to be locally and corporally present in all the mouths and stomachs of all the communicants at the Lord's supper, is such a Popish dream, as exceeds all the fanatic enthusiasms in the world; but can never be reckoned in the number of any true divine miracles.

6. All these pretended miracles are of no use and to no purpose, as to the ends of this ordinance; but without them we have the body and blood of Christ, with all the benefits of his death, represented and communicated to us, and so do attain all the ends of this sacrament in the appointed use of this blessed bread and wine.

Argument v. *The doctrine of transubstantiation is false, because all the senses of all men in the world do testify, that bread and wine remain in the Lord's supper after consecration, and this testimony is true.*—That all the senses of all men in the world, who are in their senses, and know what bread and wine are, and have them so placed that the senses may perceive them, do testify that this is bread and wine, is not denied; but that which is denied, and I am to prove, is, that this testimony of the senses is true; and that I prove by these four reasons:—

1. Because by this testimony a man hath the same evidence that bread and wine remain in the Lord's supper after consecration, as he hath that there are any visible or sensible creatures in the world. For if when a man sees and toucheth and tastes and smells bread and wine, and hears the wine poured out, he cannot truly know, and upon his knowledge by his senses truly say, that what he so sees and tastes and toucheth and smells and hears is bread and wine; he cannot upon his knowledge by his senses truly say, that there is a sun, or moon, or stars, or men, or birds, or beasts, or trees, or stones, or earth, or water, or any bread and wine in the world; for the senses cannot give him a more full and sure evidence of the being of any of these creatures, than they do of the being of bread and wine in the Lord's supper.

2. Because, if the testimony of the senses be not true, then all that religion which is founded on God's manifesting himself by the creatures to the understandings of men in the use of their senses, is not a true religion, but is quite extinguished out of the world; and so there is no law of nature binding men truly to know and love and praise God, as he is manifested in the creatures; and then it is no sin at all for men to take no notice of the glory of God, which the heavens and earth, and day and night, declare to them. (Psalm xix.) And then the apostle's words are not true, in telling us, that "the eternal power and Godhead are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made." (Rom. i. 20.) For if by the use of our senses we cannot know that these things are true, then we neither can nor are bound to know and honour and love the wisdom and power and goodness of God in them.

3. If the testimony of the senses be not true, we have no certainty of

the Christian religion; for we cannot know there is a Bible, or letters or words in it; or that there is a church, or any such society of believers, or that there are ministers, or sermons, or sacraments in the world; for all these are perceived by our senses.

4. If our Saviour's argument was good, to prove that by his flesh and bones perceived by the senses, he was no spirit: "Behold my hands and my feet, handle me and see;" (Luke xxiv. 39;) then this argument is also good: "Behold, handle, taste, and smell, and thereby judge if there be not a sensible substance, and this particular substance of bread and wine, in the Lord's supper."

There are two main objections which the Papists make against this argument, which I shall answer, and so proceed.

Objection i. "Senses do not indeed err in their testimony of their own objects: but accidents only, and not substances, are the objects of the senses; and therefore the testimony of the senses concerning substances is not to be trusted."

Answer. If so, then we can judge of no substance in the world by our senses, and we cannot know but we are only in a world of accidents; namely, of colours and smells and sounds, &c.; and our understandings cannot perceive by them that there are any substances in the world, much less discern betwixt one substance and another. But every man by the use of his senses perceives sensible substances by means of the accidents inherent in them; or else no man can swear in judgment any thing concerning any man, or beast, or house, or lands, or goods, neither can there be any civil converse among men in the world.

Object. ii. "Sense must yield to be corrected and over-ruled by faith; and God's word must be believed before our senses."

Answer 1. This is but a Popish trick, to hide the truth of God. For it is not our present question, whether we must believe God or our senses; but whether we must believe the words of a company of cheating Papists, or believe God speaking to our understandings by scripture, by reason, by the creatures, and by our senses, and by all those things which are witnesses of his truth to our souls.

2. We do in this matter give faith its due place in our hearts. For our understandings do here perceive, by that use of our senses which God hath made them for, that here is bread and wine; but that this bread and wine are blessed to signify and convey to us the body and blood of Christ, this we assent unto by faith; and by faith we do "discern the Lord's body" and blood, in the use of that bread and wine which we discern by our senses. And thus we own both the truths of God; namely, that there is bread and wine in the Lord's supper, and that Christ crucified is therein presented to our souls in the use of them: and so we give both faith and sense their due place and use in us.

3. We believe, that the truths revealed to our understandings by the visible creatures, in the use of our senses, are, as the apostle speaks, "the truths of God;" (Rom. i. 25;) and that it is a truth of God, that the creatures we speak of are bread and wine, because we understand by our senses that they have the nature and all the properties of bread and wine; and we know that the God that cannot lie, cannot speak a truth to

our understandings by the creatures and by our senses, and then deny and contradict it by his word to our faith.

It may now be expected that I should here give you an account of the doctrine of the ancients in this matter; but to this I shall only say these three things:—

1. That this is undertaken, and I doubt not is effectually performed, by a reverend brother, whose work assigned him is to prove the novelty of Popery both in this their great article of transubstantiation, and also in other Popish doctrines, to whose discourse I refer you for satisfaction herein.

2. That I do profess to honour the ancient fathers in the church of God, who have in their several ages been faithful witnesses to this and other truths of God revealed in the scriptures; and I do rejoice in my hopes of being in the same blessed body of Christ with them. But I have chosen to insist on these arguments, which I hope to defend, knowing that all that the scripture, reason, and senses do speak, God speaketh by them; but I cannot say of all that Justin Martyr, Tertullian, Cyprian, Ambrose, Austin, Jerome, &c., do speak, that God speaketh by them. And if it had happened, that any of these men had contradicted scripture, reason, and sense, could their opinions have been as old as the devil in hell, I would say with the apostle, "Whatsoever they were, it maketh no matter to me: God accepteth no man's person;" (Gal. ii. 6;) for God and his truth must not be tried by the judgments of fallible men.

3. That the same doctrine which I have delivered had its beginning from Christ, and hath passed from him by the scriptures through all true antiquity, is fully proved by bishop Jewel, bishop Morton, Crakanthorpe, Moulin, and Albertinus, and many others, who have said more in this case than I have either time or ability to speak, or than would be fit for this discourse. And it is as manifest that the judgment of the ancient fathers is against transubstantiation, as it is that there were such persons, and that their writings are extant in the world; insomuch that had they lived under Popish persecutions, they would have burnt those very men on earth, and cursed them to hell, whom they canonize for saints, and vainly and impiously crave their intercession in heaven.

I shall yet answer two objections, and then conclude with a brief application.

Objection i. "The pope and his council have determined that transubstantiation is in the Lord's supper, and we must believe them."

Answer. Chemnitius hath told them that it is the confession of Scotus, Cameracensis, and others, that neither scripture, nor the opinion of the ancients, compels us to believe the doctrine of transubstantiation.* And Bellarmine confesseth, that what Scotus saith, is not improbable; namely, that "there is no express place of scripture [which] compels us to admit transubstantiation without the declaration of the church." † And so, after all their disputations and curses and bloodshed, and deluding so many souls, we must believe this doctrine of transubstantiation, because the pope and his council have said it. But how shall we be infallibly assured that God doth transmit his mind and will to us by the pope and his council? Or where doth God command us to go to this infallible oracle, the bishop of Rome, either singly, or conjunctly with his council, to be concluded by him or them, in matters of faith? But, alas! what a dreadful case is this,—that a whole world of precious souls must have no better a foundation for their religion and salvation than this; namely, that we must all believe the Papists, and that we must believe them for this reason, because they tell us we must believe them! But if they will damn their souls in believing one another, let us labour to save ours by believing the God of truth, speaking to us by his word.

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* Chemnitii *Examen Concilii Tridentini*. † Bellarminus *De Euchar*. lib. iii. cap. 23.

OBJECT. II. "These words, 'This is my body,' &c., are the words of our dying Lord, and to his disciples, to whom he would not speak darkly in figures: and they are the words of a testament, and of a law, and expressed in entire propositions, all which require plainness, and to be spoken properly, and not in dark figures." Do not these seem plausible objections, and cunningly devised to trepan poor souls into error? Why, these are Bellarmine's objections.*

ANSWER 1. They themselves are forced to confess, that the words, "This cup is my blood," &c., which are "the words of our dying Lord, and to his disciples, and words of a testament, and of a law, and an entire proposition," are yet spoken in a figurative sense, which overthrows all their pretended reasons for a proper or literal sense of the words.

2. Words are not therefore dark because they are figurative; for figures often do explain, and not darken, the sense of words. I confess, a trope, a figure, a metonymy, a synecdoche, &c., are hard words to vulgar ears; but you must know that these are words of art, which learned men have wisely invented, but they are grounded on the natural way of men's expressing themselves, in their ordinary and familiar language: and therefore even children, and unlearned men that cannot read, do ordinarily speak and understand the language that is spoken in tropes and figures, though they know not what trope or figure to reduce such expressions unto. For example: if a man say, "Drink off this cup or glass;" or, as he looks on the signs in the streets, saith, "This is a swan," and, "This is a lion;" or saith of pictures in a chamber, "This is Alexander," or "Cæsar;" or saith of a written parchment wherein he hath signified his will, in bequeathing his estate, "This is my will;" all this is plain and easy, and familiar language; and yet few understand the tropes in these expressions. And so the words, "This is my body," "This cup is my blood," are plain and intelligible words, though few understand the names of those tropes or figures which they are spoken in.

3. Whereas the Papists pretend to give a proper or literal sense of these words, yet their sense to justify their transubstantiation is so full of monstrous and blasphemous contradictions, and so dark, that neither they themselves nor others understand them. Sometimes the word "this" must signify "these accidents;" sometimes, "this substance contained under these accidents:" but this substance must neither be the bread nor Christ's body, but an *individuum vagum* [a "vague individuality"]. And though the word "this" applied to a substance doth always determine

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* BELLARMINUS *De Euchar.* lib. i. cap. 9.

and demonstrate the said substance, yet here they make it to signify such a vagrant, that all the world knows not where to find it. And in like manner they rack the word "is," which must sometimes mean "is properly and essentially," when it speaks of the accidents; sometimes, "is made;" sometimes, "is transubstantiated;" and one [*] will have it to denote all these. And thus they torture this plain scripture, to serve their odious doctrine of transubstantiation; and when they have done all, they have nothing but the word of a blasphemous pope and factious council for it.

IV. *Application.*

USES. SIX INFERENCES.

INFERENCE I. *That it is idolatry in the Papists to worship the consecrated bread, though they think it is turned into the body of Christ.*

I should here speak to two things:—

1. *That their worshipping the consecrated bread is idolatry.*

2. *That their thinking it to be the body of Christ, doth not excuse them from idolatry.*

1. For the first, I shall briefly speak to three things:—

(1.) *Acquaint you with their doctrine herein.*

(2.) *Acquaint you with their practice.*

(3.) *Prove that their practising this doctrine is idolatry.*

(1.) *Their doctrine is declared in the council of Trent thus:*—that "it is an undoubted truth, that all Christians ought to give the same worship to the sacrament of the eucharist which they give to God himself;" and that "if any deny this, let him be accursed." [†]

(2.) *They practise this doctrine.*—For in their Roman Missal, the priests are taught to lift up the host, and to worship it themselves, thrice striking their breasts, and saying, "O Lamb of God, that takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us." And among many instances that may be given of their idolatrous practice herein, I shall only give you this: "In the year 1666, at Lyons, in France, it was instituted, that a company of devout persons, taking their turns, should perpetually day and night adore the holy sacrament, some of them always kneeling before it in a certain church chosen by them. And in a large place more spacious than Lincoln's-Inn Fields, London, called Belle Cour, the sacrament was exposed on a rich and magnific altar, set on a high scaffold, to be adored by all the town together; and there were about threescore thousand people on their knees together, worshipping it; the most glorious triumph that ever was seen," saith a Jesuit in his late description of this city. And thus do these poor deluded wretches solemnly give that worship to wafers which is only due to God himself.

(3.) *That this practice is idolatry,* appears,

First. *By all that I have said against transubstantiation.*—For, seeing the substance of the bread remains, as I have proved, the Papists' worshipping this bread must needs be gross idolatry: for the council of Trent makes transubstantiation to be the ground and reason of this solemn adoration.* And it is a known saying of their own Costerus to this purpose, that "if by transubstantiation the bread be not turned into the body of Christ, their worshipping the host is the greatest idolatry in the world."

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[*] CORNELIUS A LAPIDE *in* 1 *Cor. xi.*

[†] *Nullus itaque dubitandi locus relinquitur, cùm omnes Christi fideles, pro more in Catholicâ ecclesiâ semper recepto, latriæ cultum, qui vero Deo debetur, huic sanctissimo sacramento in veneratione adhibeant.*—*Concil. Trident.* sess. xiii. cap. 5. *Si quis dixerit in sancto eucharistiæ sacramento Christum, unigenitum Dei Filium, non esse cultu latriæ etiam externo adorandum, venerandum; neque in processionibus, secundùm laudabilem et universalem ecclesiæ sanctæ ritum et consuetudinem, et solenniter circumgestandum, vel non publicè, ut adoretur populo, proponendum; et ejus adoratores esse idololatras; anathema sit.*—Can. 6.

Secondly. *It is gross idolatry to give that worship to a creature which is only due to God.*—And yet these men fall down unto and worship and call upon this bread, as all believers fall down unto and worship and call upon God. Their practice herein is much like their idolatry in worshipping their graven images, mentioned in Isai. xliv. 16, 17: "He burneth part thereof in the fire; with part thereof he eateth flesh; he roasteth *the rest*, and is satisfied: yea, he warmeth himself, and saith, Aha, I am warm, I have seen the fire: and the residue thereof he maketh a god, even his graven image: he falleth down unto it, and worshippeth it, and prayeth unto it, and saith, Deliver me; for thou art my god:" in like manner do the idolatrous Papists by this bread: part thereof they take into their mouths, and grind with their teeth, and eat it; and part of it (as in the case of the rats and worms eating the consecrated bread) they cast into the fire and burn it; and part thereof they reserve for their god, and carry it about, and fall down to it, and worship it, and pray to it, as to their saviour, to save them from their sins.

2. *I proceed to prove, that the Papists' thinking this bread to be the body of Christ, doth not excuse them from idolatry.*—This is evident; for God's law being sufficiently revealed, man's wilful ignorance thereof cannot extinguish the obligation of it, nor alter the nature of that sin which is a breach of that law. The Heathens' worshipping the sun is idolatry, though they think it to be God; so the Papists' worshipping the wafer is idolatry, though they think it to be the body of Christ with his soul and Godhead; as to kill the saints of God, is murder and persecution, though the enemies may think they do therein God service. (John xvi. 2.)

INFER. II. *Hence see under what characters we are to look upon Papists.*—We are told what names some of their flatterers have given to some of their popes. In the council of Lateran, it is said of the pope, "All power in heaven and earth is given to thee;" and Panormitan saith, "The pope can do all things that God can do." The ambassadors of Sicily cried to one pope, "Thou that takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us;" and saith a bishop, in a profane quibble, of pope Leo, "Behold the Lion of the tribe of Judah! We have waited for thee, O most blessed Leo, to be our saviour!" (See Brightman on Rev. xiii. 3.) And we know, "His Holiness" is the name given him by the Papists; and the Romish church doth arrogate the name of "the only holy catholic church." But if we will give the Papists a name from their religion and practice, we must give them three characters.

First. *They are an idolatrous people;* as appears by what I have now said, and as is made known to you by more arguments from other hands; and therefore we need not envy their grandeur and kingdom upon earth, seeing the apostle assures us, that "no idolaters have any inheritance in the kingdom of God." (1 Cor. vi. 9, 10.)

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* Sess. i. cap. 4, 5.

Secondly. *They are a most uncharitable and cruel people.*—And though their Schoolmen do ingeniously plead, that charity or love is the most excellent of all graces, and measure the worth of other graces, and the evil of all sins, by charity; yet are they a most inhuman and barbarous people. And this is not only evident by all the blood of the saints that lies crying at their doors for vengeance; but also that they will have all men cursed and damned who will not, in defiance of God and scripture and reason and sense, say that bread is no bread, and who will not believe that the God of truth doth speak all the hideous contradictions in their doctrine of transubstantiation; as if, having usurped the keys of hell and death, they had decreed that all believers shall be damned, and that none but atheists and infidels shall be saved.

Thirdly. *A perjured people;* in that they impose, and many of them take, this oath: "I, N. N., do swear, that this conversion, which the catholic church doth call 'transubstantiation,' is made in the eucharist, without the belief of which no man can be saved." What horrid perjury is this,—to swear that bread is no bread, and wine is no wine; and that all the contradictions in the doctrine of transubstantiation are true, and that all are damned who do not believe the same!

INFER. III. *Hence we see, that there is no communion to be had with the church of Rome.*—For except we will all renounce our present Christianity, and profess that we are no members of the church of God till we are in union with the pope, and so proclaim ourselves, and all Christians in the world who are not Papists, to be a generation of dissembling knaves; and except we first turn atheists, and believe that God speaks lies and contradictions; we cannot turn Papists.

INFER. IV. *Hence see what a dreadful slavery it is to be the servants and slaves to the devil, who engageth his servants to debauch their consciences, and rack their wits, and to spend their precious time and parts and learning, to spread and defend nonsense and lies.*—Bellarmine saith, he spent fifteen years about controversies in religion:* a fearful thing, that a man of so great learning and parts should waste a great part of his age, and much of it in contradicting God and the truth and himself! But though I will not judge any one that is gone into the eternal world; yet I would warn all to take heed especially how they venture to sin in print, lest their books should be speaking for the devil on earth, when they themselves are tormented with the devil in hell.

INFER. V. *Be faithful to the truths of God, and let them not be held in unrighteousness in your judgments, but let them rule in your hearts and lives.*—If truth prevail to make you holy, then though seducers may make merchandise of your estates, yet they shall never make merchandise of your souls; but if you will not love the truth, and walk in the truth, all our arguments cannot secure you from the temptations of the devil and seducers, nor keep God from being angry with you, and from giving you up to strong delusions to believe lies.

INFER. VI. Lastly. *Bless God for your religion;* that your religion comes from the grace of God by his word, to make you holy here, and

* *Epistola Sexto V.*

happy hereafter; and not from the devil and pope, to feed your lusts, and damn your souls, and to make you go ignorantly and quietly to hell. *And bless God that you have in this nation the true doctrine of the sacrament of the Lord's supper;* which, as I said in the beginning of this discourse, so I say again in the conclusion, is clearly and fully delivered from the mind of Christ in these words, and which hath been sealed by the blood of those blessed martyrs in our own land who have been sacrificed to death for the service of your faith, whose blood was of more value than all the popes' that ever usurped supremacy over the church and body of Christ.

SERMON XXIII. (XXII.)

BY THE REV. RICHARD STEELE, A.M.

OF ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

THE PAPISTS GO PRESUMPTUOUSLY AGAINST THE INSTITUTION OF CHRIST, AND CHANGE AND CORRUPT HIS ORDINANCE, AND ARE INJURIOUS TO THE PEOPLE, IN DENYING THE USE OF THE CUP TO THEM IN THE LORD'S SUPPER.

THE RIGHT OF EVERY BELIEVER TO THE BLESSED CUP IN THE LORD'S SUPPER.

And he took the cup, and gave thanks, and gave it to them, saying, Drink ye all of it; for this is my blood of the new testament, which is shed for many for the remission of sins.—Matthew xxvi. 27, 28.

The declared will of God being the most certain and happy rule of man's practice, especially in those duties which have no foundation save in divine revelation, it is the greatest arrogance and affront to the wisdom and will of our Lawgiver to contradict him therein: but when our blessed Redeemer hath in his institutions plainly consulted our benefit and comfort; when he hath stooped so low, to raise us up so high; to cross and correct him therein, is the strangest folly and ingratitude that is imaginable.

Yet hereof we have a sad instance in the present church of Rome, in the business of the Lord's supper; where nothing can be more plain than our Saviour's institution on the one side, nor more palpable than their corruption of it on the other: wherein is evident the lamentable degeneracy of the human nature, together with the power of prejudice, and the mischief of a wilful obstinacy, especially when accompanied with the worldly interest of profit or honour.

It hath been indeed the more ordinary humour of that church to invent and add burdensome superfluities to other of God's ordinances; but they whose consciences will permit them to add, will easily adventure also to diminish, when it serves their turn; as appears in their denying to God's people the one-half of the Lord's supper, to wit, the sacred cup, against the stream of scripture and all antiquity.

The vindicating of this blessed ordinance of God is my present work; and I cannot have a better ground to build upon than the words of the holy evangelist which are before you.

Wherein you may please to consider,

1. *The connexion*, "and;" that is, having immediately before taken bread, blessed it, and delivered to his disciples, in like manner he now takes the cup.

2. *The narration.*

(1.) *Of what our Saviour did.*—The ordinary actions of princes are observed; with what careful reverence then should we ponder this extraordinary action of the King of heaven, especially when he was at death's door! Three things he did: (i.) He took the cup. (ii.) He gave thanks. (iii.) He gave it to them. It was the practice of the Jews, (unto which certainly our Saviour had regard herein,) at the end of their feasts, for the master thereof to take a cup of wine, and, after a short thanksgiving, to drink a little thereof, and so the cup passed round the table; and this they termed, כוס הלל "a cup of thanksgiving." * This use He was pleased to translate and sanctify to be a sacred rite at the Lord's supper to the end of the world, as he did adopt their washing of their proselytes in the institution of baptism.

(2.) Here is an account *of what our Saviour said*, when, if ever, "his lips were like lilies, dropping sweet-smelling myrrh:" (Canticles v. 13:) where there is,

First. *A command:* "Drink ye all of it:" wherein you have,

(i.) *The thing commanded:* "Drink of it;" that is, by an usual figure, of the wine contained in this cup; or, as some translations (Dutch) read, "Drink out of it."

(ii.) *The persons intended:* "Ye all;" that is, "All ye my disciples," in the first place; who, upon occasion of celebrating the passover, they being our Saviour's ordinary family, were then alone with him at the table. But forasmuch as he commanded them to do this "in remembrance" of him, that is, when he was dead, and the apostle Paul declares, that this sacramental action must continue "until he come," and that by "all that are sanctified in Christ Jesus," that are able to "examine themselves;" (1 Cor. i. 2, with 1 Cor. xi. 28;) therefore the "all" in the text must neither be confined to the persons of the apostles, nor to them that succeed them in any particular office; but concludes all that are adult disciples of Jesus Christ to the end of the world.

Secondly. *A reason or argument* to urge the due participation thereof, drawn from the sacramental nature of that cup: "For this," to wit, the wine contained in this cup, "is my blood of the new testament:" or, as the evangelist Luke (xxii. 20) delivereth it, "This cup is the new testament in my blood," that is, "the new covenant sealed with my blood." For neither the cup, nor the wine in it, nor the blood of Christ, is properly the new covenant or testament; but by this that is contained in this cup, the new covenant, which is sealed and confirmed by the blood of Christ, is kept in remembrance. He saith in effect, "As covenants used to be confirmed by the shedding of blood, so do I by my blood seal to you a new covenant,* far better than the old; which demanded perfect obedience, and denounced the curse for defect thereof; but this promiseth remission of sins: and a covenant far clearer than when it was administered under the shadows of the law, which hereby are abrogated. And therefore 'drink ye all of this,' that have an interest in that covenant, and that have need of this blood."

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* PAULUS FAGIUS *in Deut. viii.* 10, *ex Rabbin.*

And this blood is illustrated,

(i.) *By a necessary adjunct to it;* namely, "This cup doth represent my blood which is shed;" which cannot be exemplified by eating the blood with the body, but as shed out of the veins; for "without shedding of blood there was no remission." (Heb. ix. 22.) And this our Saviour expresseth in the present tense, "is shed," to assure his disciples *then,* that it would certainly and suddenly be done, and to assure all true believers *now* of the reality of it, though it be past, as if it were now in doing.

(ii.) *By the* finis cui, *or "the persons for whom" it is shed:* "For many;" so this evangelist, and the next, that doth epitomize him. To show, 1. That he died not for himself, but for others; or perhaps, 2. By this restrained expression to exclude Judas; or rather, 3. "This blood is not only shed for you apostles, but for abundance more." † Which the evangelist Luke, and Paul after him, express in other terms, and say, "My blood shed *for you,*" that each of them might apply it to themselves. So that all believers, for whom this precious blood was shed, have an undoubted right to drink of it.

(iii.) *By the* finis cujus, *or "the end for which" this blood is shed;* and that is expressly "for the remission of sins." This "Lamb of God" came and lived and died to "take away the sins of the world." For though sin was satisfied for by Jesus Christ, and so we are said to be redeemed; yet because no satisfaction was made by us, therefore we are said to be remitted. So then whosoever can triumph in the benefit of remission of sins, hath a just right to drink of this cup, which seals the new covenant, and the forgiveness of sins.

From these words thus explained I lay down this assertion or doctrine:—

DOCTRINE. *That every adult believer hath an undeniable right to the blessed cup in the Lord's supper.*

In the handling of which truth, I shall briefly,

I. *State the question.*
II. *Prove the position.*
III. *Refute the objections.*
IV. *Make application.*

I. For the right *stating of the question,* you may observe,

1. That our business is not to debate whether a man may or may not receive Christ and all his benefits under one element in the Lord's supper; for we acknowledge, that this may be done by the Spirit of God working faith in the heart, as with, so without, either of them.

2. We undertake not to prove, that to partake of both bread and wine

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* So the word διαθηκη is most commonly taken; and so most properly in this place; as the epithet "new," which is adjoined, evinceth.

† MALDONATUS *in loc.*

in the Lord's supper is absolutely necessary, and that to salvation. We affirm, that the spiritual eating of Christ's body and blood is absolutely necessary; but there is not the same necessity of feeding upon them sacramentally; and accordingly, that it is the wilful neglect, not the inevitable defect, thereof that is damnable. The divine command doth indeed impose a necessity of observance in all cases, where his providence doth not supersede the same; and therefore they that unwillingly are deprived of this entire ordinance may escape hell, but they that willingly neglect it cannot escape guilt. We only conclude, that there is the same necessity of communicating in the one element as in the other.

3. Our asserting the believer's right to the sacred cup doth not urge an obligation upon such as are naturally or irremediably disabled from participation thereof. If in an infant there be an incapacity to "discern the Lord's body;" (1 Cor. xi. 29;) if there be an incurable antipathy to the taste of wine; if, after receiving that sacred bread, death come between the cup and the lip, or the like; as our doctrine obligeth not to impossibilities, so "all laws that do intend a general obligation, yet do admit of some extraordinary and particular exceptions," [*] especially when the lawgiver himself (as in such case he doth) creates the hinderances. Thus many have "a rightful interest" *(jus ad rem)* in things whereof they never have *(jus in re)* "the rightful possession."

4. Our doctrine is, that "both parts of the Lord's sacrament, by Christ's ordinance and commandment, ought to be ministered to all Christian men alike;" [†] that "Christ's ministers ought to take and break the bread, to take the cup, and to give both to the communicants;" [‡] that "believers do receive what is given to them by the Lord's minister, and do eat the bread of the Lord, and drink the cup of the Lord;" [§] that "both parts of the sacrament are given to the laity in the Lord's supper, because the sacrament was instituted not only for some part of the church, to wit, the priests." [||]

5. We affirm, that "no man can justly infringe this right, or deny to adult believers this blessed cup:" [¶] that "the cup of the Lord is not to be denied to the lay-people;" that "the denial of the cup to the people is contrary to the institution of Christ:" [**] that "they are disallowed that withhold the one kind, to wit, the cup of the Lord, from the faithful;" yea, "they sin grievously against the Lord's institution, which saith, 'Drink ye all of it,' which he did not say so expressly of the bread:" [††] that "no human authority ought to forbid the appointment of Christ, and the most received custom of the ancient church." [‡‡]

One would wonder how so clear an institution should ever come into question. Some few superstitious persons, and some heretics, did long ago choose to communicate in one kind; but they were still corrected by orthodox councils.[§§] And afterwards, out of fear of shedding the blood of

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[*] *Jura constituenda esse in iis quæ* επι το ϖλειστον, *accidunt, non quæ* εκ ϖαραλογου, *ex inopinato; nec in singulas personas, sed generaliter, constitui.—Reg. Jurisconsult.*

[†] Article 30.

[‡] *Confessio Anglic.* cap. 29.

[§] *Confess. Helvet.* cap. 21.

[||] *August. Confess.* So the Saxon, &c.

[¶] Article 30.

[**] *Confess. Anglic.* cap. 29.

[††] *Confess. Helvet.* cap. 21.

[‡‡] *Confess. August.*

[§§] *Comperimus quòd quidam, sumptâ tantummodò corporis sacri portione, a calice sacrati cruoris abstinent: qui proculdubiò, quoniam nescio quâ* SUPERSTITIONE *docentur astringi, aut integra sacramenta percipiant, aut ab integris arceantur; quia divisio unius ejusdemque mysterii*

Christ, there were some that, being loath to lose either element, did use to dip the consecrated bread in the wine; and this some councils did allow to persons that were infirm. *(Concilium Turonense.)* But it was about fourteen hundred years after the institution, before ever any public contradiction was made thereunto; and then the council of Constance, *(anno* 1414,) then that of Basil, *(anno* 1431,) and lastly that of Trent, *(anno* 1545,) forbade the use of the cup, not only to the people, but to the priests also; except to him only that for the time officiates. They at Constance say, "Though Christ did administer this venerable sacrament to his disciples under both the kinds of bread and wine, yet, notwithstanding this, the custom of communicating under one kind only is now to be taken for a law." Again: "Though in the primitive church this sacrament was received by the faithful under both kinds; yet, notwithstanding this, the custom that is introduced of communicating under one kind only for the laity is now to be taken for a law." (Sess. xiii.) They at Basil, not many years after, being warned by a learned man, (Johannes Gerson,) who was employed to put a better face on so foul a matter, left out those strange and presumptuous "notwithstandings," and thus made their canons or decrees, that "the laity, as also the clergy who do not consecrate, are not bound by the Lord's command to receive both kinds." Again: "The church hath power to order how the sacrament shall be ministered; and, so that people do communicate according to the appointment of the church, whether under one or both kinds, it is sufficient for the salvation of the worthy receiver." (Sess. xxx.) Then come they at Trent, and, notwithstanding all the instances of Christian princes and the arguments of great divines there to the contrary, they declare, that "the laity, and clergy that do not consecrate, are bound by no divine precept to receive the eucharist under both kinds;" and do "accurse" all those that affirm the contrary. Again: They declare, that "though at the beginning of Christianity both kinds were frequently received, yet that custom, for good reasons, being altered, the church now approves of communion in one kind, which custom no man can lawfully change without the authority of the church;" and do "accurse" all such as do affirm, that they do err herein. (Sess. xxi.) And this is the true state of this matter, and thus we fall at variance.

II. And now you shall see *the proof of our doctrine and position*, which is the second thing incumbent on me; and that will be sufficiently done by these arguments:

ARGUMENT I. *From the institution of this sacrament, and our Saviour's command annexed thereunto.*—For sacraments depend merely upon their institution; hence doth their being result, and upon this their matter and signification do depend. "The institution with the element makes the sacrament;" * and so the only rule and balance for them must needs be their institution. This being the ground of this ordinance, no man or angel may violate, under a fearful curse. (Gal.

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sine grandi sacrilegio provenire non potest.—GELASIUS Papa, dist. ii. *de Consecr.* anno 492. For a translation of this passage, see the last sermon in this volume, sect. vii. of Doctrines taught before Luther.—EDIT.

* Vide CYPRIANI *Epist. lxiii. ad Cæcil.*

i. 8.) And, indeed, if men's will or wisdom might alter and change the revelation of God, nothing would abide firm in religion. It is true, the laws of men may be corrected or annulled, because they foresee not their inconveniences; but our Saviour certainly, when he appointed this ordinance, well knew what was necessary and useful for his church to the end of the world. And for this reason the apostle Paul, when some disorders were broken into the church of Corinth in the use of the Lord's supper,—he recalls them to the institution, and endeavours by that straight rule to rectify their irregularities: "For I have received of the Lord," &c. (1 Cor. xi. 23.) By which place it is evident, that there is no such way to obviate any mistake which in after-times creeps upon God's own ordinance, as by going back to the spring, by considering the institution: * insomuch as the same apostle, for their violating Christ's institution in their administration of this ordinance, saith, "This is not to eat the Lord's supper." (1 Cor. xi. 20.)

Now you may plainly see our Saviour's institution in this text: "And he took the cup, and gave thanks, and gave it to them, saying," &c. (Matt. xxvi. 27.) And, in Luke xxii. 20, the evangelist comes with a "likewise:" "Likewise also the cup after supper," &c.; that is, "As he gave the bread, in like manner he gave the cup." They have an equal ground in their first institution; and so ought to be given to and received by the faithful, the one as well as the other: what Christ hath joined together, no man ought to put asunder.

I shall give the substance of the opposition which is made to this branch of this argument. To the antecedent, one saith, that "Christ did institute many things in the church, but not with a design to oblige every man to the use of them; it being sufficient that some in the church do one thing, and some another:"† that "God, in instituting marriage, did not intend to oblige every one to marry." ‡

To this I answer, that the design of our Saviour is best known by the command which did accompany the institution, which is, "Drink ye all of it;" and by the use the cup was expressly designed unto in the sacrament, which was to keep "in remembrance" his death, and his blood-shedding therein; both which relating to all believers alike, do make it plain, that the intent of the institution was to oblige all believers.

Others do say, that "though Christ did institute this sacrament in both kinds, yet the church hath power to alter his institution;" alleging that "the like was done in the case of baptism, which, being appointed to be administered in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, was afterwards done only in the name of the Lord Jesus."§ (Acts xix. 5.)

To which I answer, that the Holy Ghost doth not, in the place specified, describe the manner how baptism was celebrated, but showeth that they there were "baptized in the name," that is, according to the doctrine

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* *Indignus est Domino, qui aliter mysterium celebrat, quàm ab eo traditum est. Non enim potest devotus esse qui aliter præsumit quàm datum est ab Authore.*—AMBROSIUS *in* 1 *Cor. xi.* "He who celebrates the sacrament otherwise than it was delivered by the Lord, is unworthy of Him. For he cannot be devout who presumes to celebrate it in a manner different to that in which it was given by its Author."—EDIT.

† BELLARMINUS *De Euchar.* lib. iv. cap. 25.

‡ ESTIUS *in lib. iv. Sent.* dist. xi. sect. 8.

§ ROFFENSIS *in refut. art. xvi. Lutheri.*

and appointment, "of the Lord Jesus." It no more intends, that they were baptized only in Christ's name, than St. Paul's styling himself "the servant of Jesus Christ" excludes the Father and the Holy Ghost. And thus it is understood not only by the ancients, but by divers of the learnedest of the Roman church themselves.[*]

To make sure the consequent, that our Saviour did institute this sacrament in both kinds for all believers, I add hereunto the command of our Saviour at the institution of it: "Drink ye all of it." (Matt. xxvi. 27.) "This do ye as oft as ye drink it." (1 Cor. xi. 25.) The institution is dogmatical, lays down the law; but this is preceptive, and charges the execution of it. Which command could not be terminated in those present apostles, but extendeth to all believers to the end of the world; for so saith the apostle, By so doing, "ye do show the Lord's death till he come." (1 Cor. xi. 26.) And without doubt, if one of the elements be sequestered from believers, then must by the same reason the other also; for the apostle saith, "After the same manner also he took the cup, and delivered it," and commanded the same use of it, just as he had done before of the bread.

I shall not stand upon that observation of the express mentioning of "all," when the cup was given; the like not added when the bread was delivered; as if our Saviour had on set purpose added that word, to confute the sacrilege which he foresaw would be committed about it. It is sufficient, that here is a plain command, to all that had eaten the bread, to drink in like manner of the cup. And if this do not indispensably oblige both the apostles there present, and also all believers after them till Christ come again, there is no ground for the administering of either element to any whomsoever at this day; which is directly contrary to the apostle's inference from hence, (1 Cor. xi. 26,) and to all men's sentiment, that have not quit both their religion and reason.

And yet behold what subterfuges they that would be mad with reason have found out to avoid our Lord's command!

Objection i. First, they say, "This only imports a liberty given hereby; such as that, 'Increase and multiply,' which lays no obligation upon every one to marry for the increase of the world."[†] Or, as others, "This is only an invitation, such as that, 'Receive ye the Holy Ghost;' but no command."[‡] Which comments do not only deprive the people of the blessed cup, but do release both ministers and people from both elements; for (the fate of both being just the same) where there is no command or law, there is no transgression. And were it but an invitation, yet, as they manage it, it is not very civil. For the priest saith, "Drink ye all of it;" and when he hath so said, he drinks it all himself. If it be said, that "all others did drink in and by the apostles, and now do drink in and by the priest," it must needs follow, that in their eating, all others do eat, and then there is no need of either.

Object. ii. They say, that "this command did only concern them that were present; or at furthest, that it only concluded with the apostles' successors."[§]

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[*] Photii *Bibliotheca*, p. 1603, ex Eulogio; Estius *in lib. iv.* dist. iii. sect. 4; Fabr. Paulutius *in Act. xix.*; Dominicus a Soto *in Tertiam*, dist. xli. art. 6.

[†] Jacobi a S. Maria *Serm. vii. de Solen. Corp. Christi.*

[‡] Suarez *De Sacr.* disp. lxxi.

[§] Bellarminus *De Euchar.* lib. iv. cap. 25.

Answer. A poor refuge. For then, "Take, eat," only concerned them also; and so they give the other element to the people without any warrant. And so also will they exclude even their priests themselves, that do not administer, from the cup; whereas, for all that, they pretend to be successors to the apostles; for the apostles at that time did not administer, and so did rather represent the people, or non-officiating ministers, than any else. But we affirm, Whoever succeeds the apostles in their faith, though they succeed them not in their office, have a right to the blood of Christ in the sacrament; forasmuch as they all have a right in the new covenant or testament, whereof that cup is a seal, and are all commanded to "drink it in remembrance" of his death, "till he come."

Object. iii. They say, that "this is an affirmative precept, and therefore binds not always, but when there is a necessity; but in the church of Rome there is no such necessity; for there they are all content without it."*

Answer. But to this we answer: The command for consecrating the bread and wine is also affirmative; which yet to omit, they hold a crime. So also is the precept of receiving the bread affirmative; yet by this rule there would lie no obligation from the precept on any, in either of these cases. Affirmative commands do always bind, though not to the performance of them at all times: and it were a strange way to evade them, by making a law on earth, that none should desire to fulfil the laws of heaven.

Object. iv. They allege, that "our Saviour said not at the giving of the cup, 'Do this;' nor the apostle Paul; but, 'As oft as ye drink it;' that is, 'When ye do drink it,' 'do it in remembrance of me.'"† And this they triumph in, as a wonderful providence of God in so describing it.‡

Answer. But the answer is easy. 1. This word "as oft as" is also applied to the bread, as well and in the same manner as to the cup: "As oft as ye eat this bread, and drink this cup." 2. The command of "doing this" is clearly implied in saying, "As oft as ye do it:" for he that commands to do it worthily, doth imply a command to do it. And, 3. If "do this" were not included in, "As oft as ye do it," there would be no ground to administer the cup to any person at all in the church.

It remains then, that by virtue of our Saviour's institution a right accrues [to], and by virtue of his command an obligation lies upon, believers to partake of the blessed cup in the Lord's supper.

Arg. ii. The second argument is taken *from the example and appointment of the apostles.*—Their example is plain: "And they all drank of it." (Mark xiv. 23.) Though the blood of Christ was yet in his body, yet they plainly followed the institution, and stood not upon the notion of concomitance. And lest any should say, that their drinking of that cup gives no right or ground for us to do the like, I add conjunctly therewith the direction and appointment of the great apostle of the Gentiles: "This do ye as oft as ye drink it," &c.; (1 Cor. xi. 25;)

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* Cajetanus *in Tertiam Thomæ*, quæst. lxxx. art. 12.

† Estius *in lib. iv. Sent.* dist. xi. sect. 7.

‡ Bellarminus *De Euchar.* lib. iv. cap. 25.

where drinking of the cup is joined with eating the bread five or six times in five verses together.

And this order is considerable, if we mark, 1. *From what hand the apostle received it;* which you may see in verse 23: "For I have received of the Lord that which also I have delivered unto you." Could he have had it from a better and surer hand? This he received of the Lord: let others consider of whom they have received the contrary. Yea, this came from the Lord Jesus when he was in heaven: they that bring another doctrine, surely had it delivered from hell. Mark, 2. *Unto whom this order is directed;* and these were, the body of the church of Corinth, not the ministers only: yea, and not only to that church, but "to all that in every place call upon the name of Jesus Christ our Lord," as you may see in 1 Cor. i. 2. And though every thing in that epistle was not intended for every one, yet this must needs be intended to regulate all those that were guilty of that disorder, or in danger to be corrupted by it; and those were the ordinary members of that church, and others after them. And he was no novice that thus argues from the twenty-eighth verse: "He that is bound to 'examine himself,' is bound also to 'drink of that cup:' But not the ministers only, but the people, are bound to examine themselves: They therefore are bound to drink of it."* And mark, 3. *To what end the institution is here described and urged;* which though it was not to prove this point in question, yet it was to regulate another disorder which was grown among the Corinthians; and this he doth by reducing them to the first standard, and therefore cannot be imagined to be either defective or superfluous in his description. It is but weakly said, that "the apostle did not command this practice, but delivered it;"† whereas he delivered the command of our Saviour Christ, and that is enough.

I find but two objections worth the naming against this argument.

OBJECTION I. That "the apostle doth leave the cup in some indifference; forasmuch as he saith once, 'Whosoever shall eat this bread *or*' (for so it is in the Greek) 'drink this cup of the Lord unworthily.'"‡ (Verse 27.)

ANSWER. But it is most evident that this "or" is used here in a copulative sense; only that word was fitter here, not to untie the two elements, which the apostle had bound together by so many copulatives in the text, but to show that an equal care and reverence should be showed in both. It is as if he had said, "If a man do either eat the bread or drink the cup unworthily, he is guilty." And of this genuine acceptation a multitude of instances may be given in the scripture. (Matt. xviii. 8, &c.)

OBJECT. II. Others do grant, that "it was the custom at Corinth, to celebrate this sacrament in both kinds;" but they say, that "this prescribes not to others; for that the church may abrogate such a custom upon sufficient reasons, her power being not inferior to the apostles'."§

ANSWER. But to this we say, that this was the rule that St. Paul received from Jesus Christ, and which he left for the direction of the church of God until Christ shall come; and this was then the practice of the universal church: and themselves grant, that no man can dispense, 1. In the laws of nature; nor, 2. In articles of faith; nor, 3. In the sacraments of the New Testament.*

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* RIVETI *Cathol. Orthod.* p. 119.

† BELLARMINUS *De Euchar.* lib. iv. cap. 25.

‡ ESTIUS *in lib. iv.* dist. xi. sect. 7.

§ SALMERO, tom. ix. tract. 34.

It remains then, that, according to the example and appointment of the apostles, who were guided by the Holy Ghost himself, the sacred cup was as plainly intended for all Christian men as the holy bread.

ARG. III. The third argument is taken *from the proper end of this ordinance of the Lord's supper;* which is, to keep up the "remembrance," or to "show the Lord's death till he come." (1 Cor. xi. 25, 26.) They who are bound to the end, are also bound to the means: Every adult believer is bound to show the Lord's death, which is the end: Therefore every adult believer is bound to partake of the cup in the Lord's supper, which is the means to that end. For so the apostle saith expressly, "This do ye, as oft as ye drink it, in remembrance of me;" and, "As oft as ye drink this cup, ye do show the Lord's death till he come." (Verses 25, 26.)

Now although our Saviour's choice of this means for this end be sufficient to evince the necessity and fitness thereof, where it may be had; yet *ex abundanti* [" over and above "] it is easy to show the same from the thing itself. For, the death of our Redeemer coming with the pouring out of his blood, how can that death be showed sufficiently without drinking that cup poured out in the sacrament? For the breaking of the bread doth in no wise represent the effusion of the blood; that must be done by communicating in the cup.

I find but two pleas entered against this argument, and they are these:—

OBJECTION I. They say, that "'Do this,' refers not to the people's drinking of the cup; but to the ministers' consecrating it, whereby Christ's death is sufficiently showed."† Or, as others, "These words did consecrate them to be priests, and so enable to celebrate this ordinance."‡

ANSWER. That the words "Do this," are a sufficient ground for the ministers' consecrating and distributing both the elements, is very true; but that hereby they were constituted in that office, is wholly groundless; this being another business our Saviour was now about, and there being more plain and formal passages otherwhere in the New Testament for that purpose. (Matt. xxviii. 19; John xx. 21—23.) And then, as to the other conceit, that this only obligeth the minister to consecrate both elements, it neither stands with *reason* nor *construction of speech* to make that interpretation of it. *Not with reason of the thing;* for how shall the people, who are here directed, show the Lord's death by the priest's consecrating the cup? *Not with good construction;* for, the blessing and delivering being mentioned or supposed before, "Do this" must needs refer to both; or if but to the one, rather to the latter, than the former. And if the minister must deliver both, the people then are bound to receive them.

OBJECT. II. They say again, that "either of the elements is sufficient to commemorate the death of Christ; inasmuch as it is said of either of them apart, 'Ye do hereby show the Lord's death.'"*

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* AQUINAS, quodlibet iv. art. 13; SALMERO, *ubi supra.* † CAJETANUS, *ubi supra;* ALBERTUS PIGHIUS, *Colloq. Ratisb. vii.* ‡ *Conc. Trid.* sess. xxii. cap. 1.

Answer. It is easily granted, that we may commemorate the death of Christ by either of them, yea, without either of them; but we urge, that they were both instituted to this end, and therefore that it cannot be sufficiently showed by one of them. He that saith meat is designed for the maintaining of life, denies not drink also to be requisite to the same end: yea, though we should grant that the blood might be received in the bread, yet, by such receiving, the death of Christ by the effusion of his blood for us could in no wise be showed forth; which being the principal end of the sacrament, it is the people's duty as well as the ministers' to do it, and that till our Saviour come again.

Arg. iv. The fourth argument is taken *from the people's right in the thing signified by the sacred cup in the Lord's supper.*—And this is used by our Saviour himself: "Drink ye all of this; *for* this is my blood," &c. (Matt. xxvi. 27, 28.) So that, look, what benefit a man would be robbed of in being deprived of Christ's blood, that comfort *he* is robbed of *that* is deprived of this cup. And that "a right to the thing signified creates a right to the sign" is so great a truth, *(Cui signatum, ei signum,)* that the apostle Peter grounds his practice upon it, where there was no express rule: "Can any man forbid water to these that have received the Holy Ghost?" &c. (Acts x. 47.) It is true, where there lies a present incapacity to receive the outward ordinance, for want of a requisite condition that is annexed thereunto, (as there is in infants, and such-like, that cannot yet "discern the Lord's body," nor "examine" themselves,) in that case their right is suspended; but no mortal man can lawfully forbid, to those that have an interest in that which the cup signifies, the liberty of drinking of it.

Now what is signified and exhibited by the sacred cup? The apostle saith, "The cup of blessing which we bless, is it not the communion of the blood of Christ?" (1 Cor. x. 16.) And every believer that hath a right to the body of Christ, hath also a right to the blood of Christ: they that have union with Christ by faith, have a clear right to the communion of his blood. Again: in the institution, "This cup is the new testament in my blood, which is shed for you:" (Luke xxii. 20:) for whom the blood is shed, to them the cup must be given; and the rather, in that it was appointed to assure a poor believer thereof, who may say, "Doth the covenant of grace belong to me? Was his blood shed for such a poor sinner as I am?" Now Jesus Christ comes in this ordinance to seal and apply to every particular soul the general promise and mercy; and in effect saith, "Behold, sinner, this blood was shed for thee, for the remission of thy sin."†

There are but two, and they very weak, objections found against this argument.

Objection i. They say, that "abstemious persons that can drink no wine, that infants within the church, yea, that all men, have a title to

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* Estius *in lib. iv.* dist. xi. sect. 8.

† *Si, quotiescunque effunditur sanguis Christi, in remissionem peccatorum effunditur, debeo illum semper sumere, ut semper peccata mihi demittantur.*—Gratianus *De Consecr.* dist. 2. "If, as often as the blood of Christ is shed, it is shed for the remission of sins, I ought always to partake of it, that my sins may always be taken away."—Edit.

Christ's blood, in that he shed it for all men; and yet these may not partake of the cup in the Lord's supper."*

ANSWER. This objection was prevented before, by observing, that in the cases of infants and abstemious persons, God himself hath by his providence at present hindered them from participation hereof, and that by a natural incapacity. And for any others out of the church, as they can pretend no right to his blood till they acknowledge his person, so they cannot "discern the Lord's body" or blood, or "examine" themselves.

OBJECT. II. They tell us, that "they who have the thing signified, need not to strive so much about the sign; he that hath the money promised by the bond, is not solicitous at all for the bond."†

ANSWER. This indeed is the ready way to cast off all sacraments and ordinances at once; but our Saviour, that knew our weakness of faith and love, did institute both these external elements to strengthen and comfort us. We are made partakers of Christ by baptism, by the word, by faith; but infinite wisdom and love did concur to appoint this method for the church's good. And who are we, to correct our blessed Saviour, or to intimate that his institutions are needless?

Seeing therefore that to all true believers doth belong the thing signified by the cup in the sacrament, and *that* by God's ordinance, no man can or ought to forbid them the sign or seal thereof.

I might easily multiply arguments from the sacred nature of testaments, especially of this new testament, which was sealed with the blood of the Testator. For "though it be but a man's covenant, yet if it be confirmed, no man disannulleth or addeth thereto;" (Gal. iii. 15;) that is, no man can do it without the greatest injury and sacrilege: how much greater is the injury that is offered to our Saviour, who said, "This is the cup of the new testament in my blood, which is shed for you;" and who did bequeath both the sign and the thing signified!

As also from the unwarrantable mutilation that they who withhold the cup do make in the sacrament. For it is not an entire sacrament when one integral part is wanting, no more than a man is a perfect man when one arm or eye is defective; nature always ordaining those parts to be double, though both serving to the same use; and implying thereby, that their operation is more complete in both, than it can be in one only. And, with the like wisdom, no doubt, our blessed Redeemer appointed these two elements of bread and wine for the entire refreshment of the soul. But especially when one essential part (as the cup is, being part of the matter) is taken away, one may truly say, "This is not to eat the Lord's supper." (1 Cor. xi. 20.) And, besides, nothing is more plain than Christ's intention to appoint a refection to the soul like that of the body. All men know, that this is by drink as well as by meat, the one whereof quenches thirst, and the other repels hunger; and therefore both these must be used to signify a perfect feast or refreshment, such as our Saviour provides for his people.

I had also thought to have spread before you the universal and uncontrolled practice of the church of God from the apostles' time for one thousand three hundred years and more downwards, for the use of the blessed cup by all true believers in the Lord's supper; and not only of their use thereof, but of their arguments for its use. At least I intended to have produced one undoubted testimony in each century of years to have witnessed hereunto; but only, that this would swell this discourse beyond the prescribed limits, and that it is done already by many learned men.[*]

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* BELLARMINUS *De Euchar.* lib. iv. cap. 25. † Idem, *ibid.* cap. 27.

Thus much shall suffice for the second thing, to wit, the proof of our doctrine or position.

Before I come to answer the objections made against this doctrine, I should have set before you the confessions of the adverse party, where very many learned men do acknowledge both the first institution and primitive practice to be in both kinds;[†] but having heard already the verdict brought-in for us herein by one of their own councils, I shall only add the observation of a most sober and learned person, that lived and died in the communion of the church of Rome, who writes to this purpose: "Concerning the administration of the holy sacrament of the eucharist, it is sufficiently known, that the universal church hath to this day, and the Western or Roman church for above a thousand years after Christ, especially in their solemn and ordinary dispensing of this sacrament, given both bread and wine to all the members of Christ's church; a thing that is manifest by innumerable testimonies both of the Greek and Latin ancients. And they were induced so to do, first, by the institution and example of Christ, who gave this sacrament of his body and blood to his disciples, then representing the persons of believers," &c. And after: "Wherefore it is not without cause that the best and most learned Catholics do most earnestly desire and contend, that they may receive the sacrament of Christ's blood together with his body, according to the ancient custom continued in the universal church for many ages."[‡]

Behold here an acknowledgment so plain and full, that I wonder with what countenance men can resist so manifest a truth, and withhold it in unrighteousness: and yet here they muster up the best strength they have, and will not yield an inch of what they have once established, be it right or wrong.

III. We shall reduce their *objections* that are either alleged in their councils, or produced by their writers, to these four heads; which is the next thing to be done.

1. *Pretence of scripture.*
2. *Pretence of reason.*
3. *Pretence of reverence.*
4. *Pretence of authority.*

Objection i. *The scriptures* which they produce for communion under one kind are such as these:

(I.) "The types and figures of the eucharist in the Old Testament signify eating under one kind: as the tree of life in Paradise; the paschal lamb;

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[*] Chemnitius, Chamierus *De Euchar.* lib. viii. cap. 9.

[†] Aquinas *in* 1 *Cor. xi.*; Estius *in lib. iv.* dist. xi. sect. 7; Toletus *in Johan. vi.* annot. 27; *Olim per multa secula apud omnes Catholicos usitatum esse, ex multorum sanctorum scripturis didicimus.*—Alphonsus a Castro *Advers. Hæres.* ult. *de Euchar.* "That formerly for many ages this was the customary practice among all Catholics, we learn from the writings of many of the saints."—Edit.

[‡] Cassandri *Consult.* art. 22.

the manna; the shew-bread; the sacrifices, where the flesh was to be eaten, but the blood was not drunk." *

ANSWER. The weakness of this objection would be obvious if it were put into an argument; but it is not worth that trouble. It is sufficient to answer,

1. That none of these were types or figures of the Lord's supper, and so their whole force is lost in reference unto that. For types are shadows to represent the substance; but it is uncouth divinity, to make one figure the type of another. And our Saviour is plainly called "the Paschal Lamb," and calls himself "the Manna that came down from heaven," &c. (John vi. 51.) And,

2. If there were some types that only intimated eating, yet there were others that do imply drinking also. Was there a tree of life in Paradise? So are there rivers of Paradise. Was there bread from heaven? So were there waters flowing from the rock. And divers of the fathers will produce a clearer figure of both than any of these; and that was of Melchizedek, who brought forth both bread and wine to feast faithful Abraham. And the apostle tells us: as they "did all eat the same spiritual meat," so "they all drank the same spiritual drink;" (1 Cor. x. 3, 4;) and Chrysostom saith upon it: "As thou eatest the body of our Lord, so they did eat manna; and as thou drinkest the blood of our Lord, so they drank the water of the rock. To them he gave manna and water; to thee he gives his body and blood." *(In loc.)*

(II.) The second pretence of scripture is from John vi., where Christ saith, "I am the bread which came down from heaven." (Verse 41.) And, "This is the bread which came down from heaven, that a man may eat thereof, and not die." (Verse 50.) And, "If a man eat of this bread, he shall live for ever." (Verse 51.) "By all which passages he teacheth one kind to be sufficient to salvation, especially when, in the same chapter, verse 11, our Saviour multiplied the bread, but not the drink." †

ANSWER 1. Though divers of the ancients did apply this scripture to the business of the sacrament, yet properly it cannot intend that, the sacrament not being instituted till above a year after this discourse of his; but plainly enough by "bread" he means himself: it was He, not the sacramental bread, "that came down from heaven." It is a spiritual feeding on him by faith, not merely partaking of bread in the sacrament, that will make a man "live for ever." And he speaketh so often of bread, only in pursuance of the manna which he had begun to speak of; as in John iv. he pursues the same thing under another shadow, to wit, of water, to the woman of Samaria.

2. But if this place were meant of the Lord's supper, we cannot have a stronger argument for the necessity of the cup therein, than from verse 53, where Christ saith, "Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you:" the like in verses 54, 56. And then for the miracle: as there is no ground to affirm that that miracle had any mystical reference in it to the Lord's supper; so, if it had, we might infer as well, that his multiplying the wine in Cana (John ii.) doth as strongly prove, and both alike, that we must communicate in wine only.

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* BELLARMINUS *De Euchar.* lib. iv. cap. 24. † Idem, *ibid.*

(III.) The third pretence of scripture is from Luke xxiv. 30, 31, where it is said, that our Saviour, as "he sat at meat, took bread, and blessed it, and brake, and gave it to them. And their eyes were opened, and they knew him, and he vanished out of their sight." "Here," say they, "was the sacrament; here was only breaking of bread; here could be no partaking of the cup, for that he vanished immediately out of their sight." *

Answer 1. Here is no direct proof of the sacrament; no saying, "This is my body," "Do this in remembrance of me," which they grant to be necessary to a sacrament.† In other scriptures, as Matt. xiv. 19, and xv. 36, where there was no thought of a sacrament, our Saviour took bread, and gave thanks, and gave it. Nay, here is great probability to the contrary; for this was in an inn, their meeting and eating there not at all intended sacramentally, no wine consecrated, which, the opponents say, is necessary.‡ That "their eyes were opened, and they knew him" in the breaking of bread, is no proof that it was the sacrament; but rather, that then they did more steadfastly look upon him; and that breaking of bread noteth the time when, not the cause by which, they knew him; or possibly by his usual manner of giving thanks, and breaking of the bread, they discerned who he was. And according to the sense of this answer do speak many learned expositors even of their own.§

2. Though it should be granted, that here the Lord's supper was administered, yet it is apparent by the former answer, that here is no full description of the celebration of it: so that the cup might as well be given, though not expressed, as that those disciples did drink at their meal, though no such thing be there mentioned. Neither is the relation of an example in an extraordinary case sufficient to cancel a direct precept and clear example with it. The sound use of the notion of concomitance would here do well; to wit, that if this phrase do denote the Lord's supper, then both kinds, by an usual synecdoche, are meant, when only one is mentioned.

(IV.) The fourth pretence of scripture is from Acts ii. 42, 46, and xx. 7; where it is said, the disciples "continued in the apostles' doctrine and fellowship, and breaking of bread;" and that "they were daily breaking bread from house to house;" and that "they met on the first day of the week, to break bread:" "In which places the Lord's supper is described only by breaking of bread, not a word of the cup." ||

Answer 1. It is not certain that under these expressions is meant the celebration of the Lord's supper; (the more inconsiderate they who affect to term the Lord's supper nothing but breaking of bread, when the scripture hath given it a more specifical and honourable name;) for some of the learned understand several of those places of distributing their provision to those that were in want, or of their common refection together.¶ "Their communion," saith Chrysostom, "was with the apostles, not only in prayers, but also in doctrine and civil conversa-

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* Bellarminus *De Euchar.* lib. iv. cap. 24. † Estius *in lib. iv.* dist. viii. sect. 11. ‡ Vide Suarez *De Sacr.* disp. 71. § Dionysius Carthusianus *in loc.*; Jansenii *Conc. Evang.* cap. 146. || Bellarminus *De Euchar.* lib. iv. cap. 24. ¶ Cajetanus *in loc.*; Beza *in loc.*

tion."[*] Or else of their *agapæ*, or "love-feasts," which were frequently held at the end of their assemblies.

2. But if any of those places do point out the Lord's supper, we answer, that, by a common synecdoche, the one kind is put for both; nothing being more usual in scripture than to denote a complete sustenance by eating of bread; (Isai. lviii. 6, 7; Luke xiv. 1;) which may the rather convince our opponents, in that their council of Constance, as they urged none of these places to this purpose, so they expressly yield, that this sacrament was both instituted and used in the primitive church in both kinds: and it must be a clear and certain evidence that must cross the institution. Some few more scriptures are pretended, but being wholly inconsiderable to this purpose, I think [them] not worth the answering.

OBJECTION II. The second plea that is brought for communion in one kind, is from *a pretence of reason*. "For," say they, "the whole essence of a sacrament is comprised in one kind;[†] and whole Christ, who is the fountain of all grace, (both his divinity and humanity being now inseparably united together,) is by way of concomitance, his blood being now in his body, exhibited in one kind;[‡] so that there is no spiritual fruit to be reaped by both, that is not to be received by participating of one kind; and therefore there is no need of both."[§]

ANSWER 1. We deny that the whole essence of the Lord's supper is comprised under one kind; for there is neither the whole sign,—the cup being wanting, which signifies Christ's blood,—nor the whole thing signified, which is such an entire refreshment of soul, as bread and wine are of the body.[||] The Lord's supper is the sacrament of Christ's body and blood: But bread is not the sacrament of Christ's body and blood: Therefore bread alone is not the Lord's supper.

2. The doctrine of natural concomitance presupposeth Christ's natural body to be contained carnally under the form of bread, which will not only be denied, but plainly disproved. Where Christ's natural human body is, there, we grant his blood and soul and Divinity also are; but that body is now only in heaven.

3. They who urge this conceit yet do grant, that, by virtue of the sacramental words, only Christ's body is contained under the form of bread;[¶] and then we conclude, that whole Christ is not therein sacramentally. Christ's body is not sacramentally signified by the wine;[**] neither is the communion of Christ's blood in this sacrament a work of nature, but depends merely on the institution and promise of Christ, and [is] to be measured thereby.

4. Though his body be now accompanied with blood in heaven, yet this sacrament was instituted to show the passion of Christ when he was on earth, which was with the pouring out of his blood; and blood

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[*] *In loc.* serm. vi.

[†] BELLARMINUS *De Euchar.* lib. iv. cap. 22.

[‡] Idem, *ibid.* cap. 21.

[§] *Ibid.* cap. 23.

[||] BONAVENTURA *in lib. iv.* dist. xi. p. ii. art. i. quæst. 2.

[¶] AQUINATIS *Pars Tertia*, quæst. lxxvi. art. 2.

[**] *Corpus Christi non est sacramentaliter sub specie vini, nec sanguis sacramentaliter sub specie panis. Ergò, ut sacramentaliter sumatur Christus, necesse est ut sumatur sub duabus speciebus.*—ALEXANDER HALENSIS *in Partem Quartam*, quæst. xi. m. 2. "The body of Christ is not sacramentally contained under the form of wine, nor his blood sacramentally under the form of bread. Therefore, in order to sacramentally partaking of Christ, it is necessary that he should be received under two kinds."—EDIT.

poured out of the veins cannot be said to accompany or be conjoined to the body. Our Saviour would represent himself here not as a Lamb, but a Lamb sacrificed, and therefore the blood is severed from the body: as the money is not a prisoner's ransom while it lies in the chest, but when it is paid; so the blood of Christ as shed is our ransom. And though now his blessed body and blood cannot be severed asunder, yet the signs of them are by his own appointment severed, and no man can drink the blood of Christ in eating of the bread: "The bread we break is the communion of his body," and "the cup we bless is" still "the communion of his blood." (1 Cor. x. 16.) And themselves affirm, that "their efficacy is but commensurate to their significancy;"[*] and it is manifest, that the bread doth only signify the body of Christ, the wine only his blood.

5. Though no more profit were to be received by partaking of one kind than of both, (which yet some of their own deny, who say, that more devotion is raised, more faith exercised, and a more complete refreshment obtained by both than by one,[†]) yet more humble obedience is expressed to the will of the Lawgiver, who appointed both, and thereby showed the use and need of both.

Objection iii. The third objection that is made against the people's use of the sacred cup, is *pretence of reverence to the blood of Christ*, which by the promiscuous use of the cup might easily be spilt, especially where there is but one dispenser of the sacrament, and many communicants; that it would be lost on the long beards of the laity; that, being kept long, it would grow musty; and that to impropriate it to the clergy, would at the same time preserve a great reverence both to it and to them also in the eyes of the vulgar.[‡]

Answer 1. God forbid that any of us should conceive or express any thing irreverently of our dear Redeemer's blood; no, nor of the outward sign thereof. But doth not this objection reflect upon the Author of this sacrament that did so institute it, and upon all the ancient church that so used it, and yet such danger in it, yea, who communicated, and that in great numbers, at the least, every Lord's day? And may not the sacred bread fall down and perish in like manner? But this pretence many of the fathers in their own Trent council smiled at;[§] well knowing that the church for above a thousand years, in her greatest straits and persecutions, kept-up a due reverence together with the constant use of this sacred cup.

But the second part of the objection is not so easily answered; namely, that, by this restraint, the honour of the clergy, who are one time or other partakers of it, may more shine forth: for it is easier to answer ten arguments, than one corrupt affection. But this is the wrong way of contracting reverence and respect; for men thus to seek their own glory, is not glory; nor can any man expect, that God will bless those methods

[*] Vasquez *in Tertiam*, tom. iii. disp. ccxv. cap. 2.

[†] *Illa tamen quæ est sub duabus est majoris meriti tum ratione augmentationis devotionis, tum ratione fidei dilatationis actualis, tum ratione sumptionis completioris.*—Alexander Halensis *in Partem Quartam*, quæst. xi. m. 2. "That, however, which is presented under two forms is of greater merit, as well on account of the augmentation of devotion, as by reason of the actual enlargement of faith, and with regard to a more complete participation."—Edit. So Vasquez.

[‡] Bellarminus *De Euchar.* lib. iv. cap. 24.

[§] *Historia Concil. Trident.* p. 585.

that do so plainly cross his will. And indeed this very thing, the clergy's honour, and that proud fear of being thought fallible in any thing, lest truth should get further ground, together with their ill-naturedness, that therefore will deny a thing because others desire it, are the greatest reasons of the present church of Rome for this their sacrilege.

OBJECTION IV. The fourth pretence they have is *of authority.*—They say, that "the custom of communicating under one kind being rationally introduced and long observed, the church, having now a greater liberty than the church had under the law, though she have no power to alter things of a moral, but only such as are of a positive, nature, hath fixed it as a law in several councils; and therefore it is to be so received and obeyed. And in case of disobedience, the secular arm is to be called in," * which one of them confesses in this case to be the most necessary argument.†

ANSWER 1. That such a custom of communicating under one kind is crept into some part of the church, is certainly true; but that it was rationally introduced, or hath been anciently used, is certainly false. For how can that be ushered in with any reason which is directly against Christ's command? Whenas also every succeeding council is ashamed of the grounds their predecessors went upon; and one might refer it to any man that is not drunk with prejudice, whether there be one good reason for this alteration among all the number.‡ And that it hath been for a long time used is so false, that authentic writers in every age of the church stand ready at a call to evince, that the ordinary and public celebration of this sacrament was still in both kinds; the Roman cause being most indefensible in this point, even by their own usual weapons.

2. The universal church of God hath no authority to prohibit what God commands. In alterable circumstances, she may wisely and modestly use her power; but to change the testamentary institution of Christ, her Lord and Husband, she will not dare: what the Master commands, the good servant will not forbid. St. Paul saith, "The church is subject to Christ," (Eph. v. 24,) and therefore may not oppose herself to Christ; for that (as Augustine §) "he always determines aright, but ecclesiastical judges, as men, are often mistaken." The ministers of Christ are indeed the dispensers of the mysteries of God, but not lords to dispense with them and alter them at their pleasure; but must dispense them according to Christ's institution. And then for the church's liberty, it consists in having fewer and more easy ordinances than under the law, and grace to make her members willing to perform them; but it consists not in an uncontrolled power to add, alter, or diminish the institutions of Christ. He that breaketh the least command, and teacheth so, hath no place in the kingdom of heaven. (Matt. v. 19.) The Roman Priest may not alter or omit one ceremony in the Mass; and must they adventure to omit this sacred symbol of Christ's appointment?

3. The determination of the church of Rome is nothing to the universal church; being not a fourth part thereof, nor having any jurisdiction over other churches by any law of God. These pretended councils, that

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* BELLARMINUS *De Euchar.* lib. iv. cap. 28. † GERSON. ‡ Vide *Catechism. Rom.* pars ii. p. 201. § *Contra Cresconium,* lib. ii. cap. 21.

have so boldly determined against the plain word of God, have also herein opposed former councils; [*] in which case themselves tell us, that if councils are at odds with one another, and their definitions irreconcilable, we ought to take part with the ancient against the latter.[†] And as for that at Constance, which first determined this case, it was neither a general council, no bishop from the eastern church being there, nor wholly approved by the Romanists themselves, who do some of them profess, that it did decree against the order of nature, manifest scriptures, and all antiquity, in other cases; [‡] and who then would heed them in this? The like may justly be said of that at Basil; [§] save only that they were more kind than their successors were, in granting upon some conditions the cup to the Bohemians.

And thus you see the utmost strength of our opponents in this point,—a heap of mere pretences, neither grounded on scripture, reason, nor antiquity; but merely supported by feeble arguments and strong power.

IV. I now proceed to the fourth thing promised, and that is some *application* of all this to ourselves.

USE I. *See here the abundance of our Saviour's love and care toward his church.*—He was not content only to die for us, but he ordained for our comfort this thankful memorial of his death, and that on purpose to help our faith and comfort; and to this end appointed not only his flesh but his blood to be given, that if one kind did not sufficiently quicken and strengthen us, the other should be presently applied to perfect that good work in us: for he knew that we were dull of apprehension, and hard to be wrought upon. To see his body bruised for a poor sinner, *that* may work compunction, and erect a staggering faith: but to see again his blood, wherein is a man's life, poured out; and to drink this also as an assuring pledge that he died in the sinner's stead; how will this fill the believing soul with joy and comfort! The blood of God,—*that* will surely expiate the sin of man. To support a poor beggar with a piece of bread, *that* is kindness; but to quench his thirst also, that is double mercy. This is the mercy of our Redeemer. He calls, "Come, eat of my bread, and then drink of the wine that I have mingled." Not only, "Eat, O friends," but, saith he, "Drink, yea, drink abundantly, O beloved." (Canticles v. 2.) O love without comparison! the same hands that have been lifted up against him, the same mouth that hath dishonoured him, shall yet taste that blood, one drop whereof is of more value than heaven and earth. When Alexander the Great was married to Statira, the daughter of Darius, he had six thousand guests, and gave to each of them a cup of gold; but here are more guests to be served, and richer gifts that are bestowed. Here our dear Redeemer opens a wide fountain for a world of sinners; and it is only "Wash, and be clean." (2 Kings v. 13.) That blessed truth is unquestionably here confirmed: "The blood of Jesus Christ his Son cleanseth us from all sin." (1 John i. 7.)

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[*] *Concilia, Nicænum, Chalcedonense, Ancyranum, &c.* See DR. FEATLEY'S "Grand Sacrilege," p. 172.

[†] GRATIANUS, dist. 50.

[‡] BELLARMINUS *De Concil.* cap. 7; ALBERTUS PIGHIUS.

[§] *Hujus concilii nihil est ratum et probatum, nisi quædam dispositiones circa beneficia. Concilium verò ipsum reprobatur in concilio Lateranensi ultimo, sess. xi.*—BELLARMINUS *De Conc.* cap. 7. "Nothing enacted by this council is approved and confirmed, except certain arrangements respecting benefices. But the council itself is condemned in the last Lateran council."—EDIT.

Thus he hath chosen by two things, wherein it is impossible to lie, to exhibit a bleeding Saviour to cure a bloody sinner. (Heb. vi. 18.)

USE II. *See here the presumptuous sacrilege and injustice of the church of Rome.*—To corrupt Christ's last will, and to serve his family by the halves; to darken so clear an institution, and defeat so plain a command: how will our dear Saviour resent so great a wrong! He so free in shedding his blood, they so cruel in refusing it! He so careful to make and seal his blessed testament, they so studious to deface it! The Master of the house appoints such provision for his children; the steward withholds the one half, and then thinks to appease their appetites with distinctions. He that takes so kindly "a cup of cold water" given to a disciple, (Matt. x. 42,) must needs take it unkindly when his own "cup of blessing" (1 Cor. x. 16) is denied them. What article of religion can be safe in such hands? What intelligent man will embark himself in such company, that will overturn all scripture and antiquity to establish their conceits, that will privily tax Christ himself of weakness, and openly wrong his whole church at a blow?

Indeed, if this device had had any tendency to promote love to God, or true piety; if it had been bred and born in the church time out of mind; their zeal and fondness for it might the sooner be forgiven: but to struggle so hard for a tenet that can no way pretend to promote true religion, a tenet that was never publicly owned in any church for one thousand four hundred years; to deny the wine in the sacrament to the people, and yet the very vessels still extant in some of their vestries by which they conveyed it to the people's mouths; to make such a barefaced error tantamount to an article of faith, and then to accurse them from Christ that shall endeavour after his blood; what shall we say to these things? Yea, to say, as one of their cardinals * did in the college, that to yield the cup to the laity was to offer them poison instead of physic; (he had not forgotten that wretched monk, Bernard, that poisoned a Christian emperor, Henry VI., with the cup at the sacrament;) to declare that to ask the cup savoured of heresy, and was, in short, a mortal sin, as some of them said in the meeting at Trent:† these things do raise their guilt to a very great height, and would enforce all considering men to bless themselves from such a society.

The usual refuge of these men, when they are baffled by the scriptures, is to shelter themselves in tradition, under councils, or among the fathers; but in this point the more ingenuous of them do confess that all are against them, and the more impudent make but feeble defences from them. Divers of their own bishops, in the very council of Trent, argued and voted for the truth; several princes of that religion interceded for it, and afforded the cup to their subjects: ‡ and a great prelate, when no good would be done therein, writes to Cæsar, that no relief was there to be expected, where voices were always numbered, never weighed.§ And is not the force of truth very great, when it extorts an approbation, even from the party that opposeth it? And it is not long since a concession of both kinds was signified to this very nation, on condition that we would come over to them:* thus God himself shall not have his will, unless withal they may have theirs.

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* Cardinal St. Angelo.—*Hist. Conc. Trid.* p. 516.

† Richardus de Vercelli, Abbé Preval.—*Hist. Conc. Trid.* p. 637.

‡ The emperor Ferdinand, the king of France, the duke of Bavaria, the king of Poland.

§ DUDITHIUS, episcopus Quinquecclesiensis, *in Epist. ad Maximilianum II.*

And yet this is that church which so many extol, that is set out by such alluring beauty, and wherein so many blind souls are herded: a fit religion for those that resolve to have none, and for such children who will renounce a true Father to obey a false and cruel mother!

USE III. *See here the folly of such among us who deprive themselves both of the sacred bread and cup in this ordinance.*—While we are vindicating one part of this sacrament, how many are slighting the whole!

1. Some do live in this sin of omission *out of an atheistical and profane principle,* having no sense of duty or conscience of religion at all: the table of the Lord is contemptible to them. Thus many hundreds and thousands of adult persons never did once taste of these gospel-dainties. Jesus Christ saith, "Take, eat: this is my body;" "Drink ye all of this cup of blessing;" but they flatly refuse their Redeemer's command. Alas, poor souls! will ye never have any need of him? Can you satisfy the justice of an offended God by your own imperfect righteousness? With what face can you crave atonement by that blood which you have despised? How can you be ever cleansed by that blood which you have refused to drink? Bethink yourselves. The blood you contemn is nobler than any that runs in your veins: it is the blood of the Son of God, to whom the stoutest of you must flee, first or last: and if you now turn the deaf ear to his gracious calls, how justly may he refuse your cries in the day of your misery! "Be wise, therefore; and kiss the Son, lest he be angry, and ye perish in the way." (Psalm ii. 10, 12.)

2. Others neglect this ordinance *out of a supine negligence,* neither knowing their duty, nor caring for any of these things. (Acts xviii. 17.) One would wonder how stupidly men do hear their duty pressed upon them in this particular, [as if] not at all concerned. They hold their estates and credits by another tenure. Lands and houses pass not by the covenant of grace, nor are sealed with the seals thereof. They imagine that to prepare for and partake hereof will somewhat dis-ease them, and oblige them to the difficult and dreaded work of self-examination and godly sorrow; and so they sleep quietly in this notorious disobedience. Hunger will haste to meat, guilt to pardon, pain to ease sorrow to comfort: but where there is no sense of the former, there is no haste to the latter!—O that such would read and consider that fearful sentence in a like case: "The man that is clean, and is not in a journey, and forbeareth to keep the passover, even the same soul shall be cut off from among his people: because he brought not the offering of the Lord in his appointed season, that man shall bear his sin." (Num. ix. 13.) And never imagine that grace or comfort will be found in Christ without the use of his own ordinances, or the end attained without the means.

3. Others do frequently deprive themselves of the Lord's supper *for the sake of some sin or other,* (if the truth were known,) *which they are loath to leave.*—Thus stomachs that are clogged with noisome humours,

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* CAMDEN'S "Elizabeth," p. 59.

quite take away the appetite. If anger, malice, envy, unruly passions, if sensual delights, be cherished within, or be not heartily hated and mortified, there will be no room for the blood or grace of Jesus Christ. But, sirs, do you mean to live, and consequently die, in these sins? What then will become of you? If you do desire to leave and conquer them, why do you avoid the means? Will any of these sins excuse your present omissions? Not at all: one sin can never excuse another. What child or servant will be excused from coming to meat when you call them, by saying, their hands are unclean, and they have no mind to wash them? Do you conceit that there is more real sweetness in your sins than in Christ? in the filth and dregs of the world, than in the Maker and Glory of the world? "Taste and see how good the Lord is," (Psalm xxxiv. 8,) and let "the love of Christ constrain" you to your undoubted duty. (2 Cor. v. 14.)

4. Others again do deprive themselves of the Lord's supper *out of a superstitious fear of approaching to it;* the rather, because the scripture saith, that the unworthy receiver becomes "guilty of the body and blood of the Lord," and withal "eateth and drinketh his own damnation." (1 Cor. xi. 27, 29.) Now a religious fear there ought to be, which should not only oblige a man to prepare himself for this ordinance, but for every other. If it were a well-governed conscience that ruled them, it would make them as careful of praying and hearing, as of communicating; and it is most certain, that whoso cannot rightly partake, can neither rightly pray nor hear. And the danger of miscarriage is much the same in the one as in the other: for, to have the word become a savour of death, and a man's prayers to become sin, differs nothing in effect from being guilty of Christ's death, or of eating "judgment," (which that word, κριμα, doth properly import,) that is, deserving God's anger, and the effects of it to a man's self.

A grievous sin, this unworthy receiving, no doubt; but not unpardonable, nor such as should discourage the weakest child of God from sincere endeavours, and then a cheerful communicating. For this sacrament was never intended to seal our perfection, but to help our imperfection. If a wife were lovingly invited to feast with her husband, or a child by a father, would it not lay an imputation of an unsufferable severity in the husband or father, or else of secret guilt, ignorance, or want of love in the wife or child, to refuse to come, lest they should not be duly qualified? Even so in this case: Our blessed Redeemer most lovingly calls us to his supper: what other construction can be made of our refusal, but that either he is rigorous, or we faulty? In this case we cannot do better than like wise Abigail, when David sent to take her to him to wife: "She arose, and bowed herself on her face to the earth, and said, Behold, let thy handmaid be a servant to wash the feet of the servants of my lord." (1 Sam. xxv. 41.) Here is a due sense of her own unworthiness. But in the next verse, 42, she "hasted, and arose, and went after his messengers, and became his wife." Keep up a due sense of your own unworthiness; but let not that hinder you from going when he calleth you. If you perish, yet perish in a way of duty. How many do we meet with on their death-beds grievously troubled in conscience for their neglect herein! If you are unfit for the Lord's supper, you are unfit to die; and how dare you live in a condition altogether unfit to die? O remember that stinging scripture: "If a man keep the whole law, and yet offend in one point, he is guilty of all." (James ii. 10.)

USE IV. Lastly. *Let us all take care to improve this legacy, the blessed cup of Christ's blood, that this point lie not, like grounds long in suit, barren and unprofitable.*—While there is such stickling for the sign, let us strive after the thing signified. Shall we contend so earnestly for this jewel, and then not wear it? Shall we venture so hardly for this water of Bethlehem, and then pour it out when we have done? O, no. Let us squeeze all possible virtue out of this sacred cup; let us go up by the stream to the spring; having opened the shell, let us feed upon the kernel: let us remember Christ's bitter death and passion for us. Is thy heart impenitent? Steep it in the blood of this Scape-goat. Is thy faith weak and fainting? Here is sense to help thy faith: Apply the mouth of thy faith to his wounds, and "be not faithless, but believing." (John xx. 27.) Is thy conscience unquiet? Bring it to be there sprinkled with the merit of his blood. Are thy sins as many as the sands? His blood is as large as the ocean, to overflow them all. When this blessed cup is poured out, let thy eyes pour down a flood of tears mixed of grief and joy: to see such a person pouring out his life by thy procurement,—this should melt thee with grief: to see the price paid by that blood for thee, should lift thee up into a trance of joy. When thou takest that cup of salvation, think, "'What shall I render to the Lord for this his benefit to me?' (Psalm cxvi. 12.) 'Who is this that comes with dyed garments from Bozrah? how glorious is he in his apparel!' (Isai. lxiii. 1.) How bitter was his passion! how sweet his compassion to poor sinners! 'Be ye lift up, O my everlasting doors, and let the King of glory come in.'" (Psalm xxiv. 7.) Bring him into thy soul, and there feed upon him by faith, and let his fruit be savoury to thy taste. (Canticles ii. 3.) Inward communion is the crown of an ordinance; it is "the cup of the new testament in Christ's blood, which was shed for you;" (Luke xxii. 20;) receive it with reverence, receive it with thankfulness, receive it with application: remember his death, remember his love more than wine. (Canticles i. 2.)

Let us not only defend the truth, but improve it. If we feel no virtue or comfort in the blood of Christ, we shall be tempted to throw away the cup as well as others. When we find no marrow in the bone, we throw it away. He that profits by ordinances will best value them; he that is refreshed by wine will never cry down the vine: but a formal partaker will easily be weaned; and when the children do but play with the drink, the father may justly take away the cup from them.

SERMON XXIV. (XXIII.)

BY THE REV. THOMAS WADSWORTH, A.M.

FELLOW OF CHRIST COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

IN THE MASS THERE IS NOT A TRUE AND REAL SACRIFICE OF CHRIST HIMSELF FOR THE SINS OF THE DEAD AND LIVING.

CHRIST CRUCIFIED, THE ONLY PROPER GOSPEL-SACRIFICE.

But this man, after he had offered one sacrifice for sins, for ever sat down at the right hand of God.—Hebrews x. 12.

The design of the apostle in this verse, with the verse foregoing, is to set forth the excellency and perfection of our Saviour's priesthood and his one sacrifice, above the Levitical priesthood and the plurality of sacrifices by them offered under the law.

This he doth by comparing them together, and by showing wherein they agree, and wherein they differ, that so he might clearly illustrate the pre-eminence of the one above the other.

Their *agreement* consisted,

1. *In their office:* they were both priests.
2. *In the administration of their office:* they both did sacrifice.

Their *disagreement* consisted in these things following:—

First. The Levitical priesthood consisted of a plurality of persons, therefore called "priests," (verse 11,) who, by reason of death, had many successors. But the evangelical priesthood consisted but of one single person, our Lord Jesus, called in the text, "this man."

Secondly. As the Levitical priesthood consisted of a plurality, so did their sacrifices; for they were also very many, and therefore called "sacrifices." (Verse 11.) Now you must understand, the apostle there speaketh not only of a plurality as to the number of them, but likewise as to their several kinds; for they offered not only several sorts of beasts, as bulls, lambs, goats, but of birds also, as turtle-doves and young pigeons, &c. But the sacrifice which Christ offered was but one as to the kind, which was that "body" which was "prepared." (Verse 5.)

Thirdly. The Levitical sacrifices were oftentimes offered; (verse 11;) but the sacrifice of Christ was but once offered. (Verse 12.)

Fourthly. The Levitical sacrifices could "never take away sin;" (verse 11;) but Christ by his one sacrifice, once offered, took away sins for ever; that is, took away sins fully and everlastingly. And herein it is, that the transcendent glory of the gospel-sacrifice out-shines all the legal sacrifices, as much as the sun doth all the stars in their greatest lustre: for all those sacrifices could never take away sin, which this one hath done perfectly.

From the words thus opened, I shall gather these four

PROPOSITIONS.

PROPOSITION I. *That Christ crucified is the only divine and proper sacrifice of the gospel.*

PROP. II. *That the sacrifice of Christ is but of one kind.*

PROP. III. *That this one sacrifice of Christ was but once offered.*

PROP. IV. *That this sacrifice of Christ once offered, was so completely efficacious, as that it took away sins fully and for ever.*

THE FIRST PROPOSITION OPENED.

That Christ crucified is the only divine and proper sacrifice of the gospel.

Here I shall explain, First, Why I say it is "divine:" Secondly, Why "a proper sacrifice:" Thirdly, Why "the only proper sacrifice of the gospel."

First. I call it "a divine sacrifice," because its institution and appointment are of God. Let the matter of a sacrifice be never so excellent and precious in the eyes of men, yet except God hath legitimated and sanctified it by his appointment, it would prove but an abomination in the eyes of God. As, suppose one should offer up "the fruit of his body for the sin of his soul," which is a kind of sacrifice, than the which there is nothing a man can more highly value, and more hardly part with; which yet Abraham was ready to have done in his Isaac at God's command, whereby he did wonderfully signalize his faith, and obtained favour with God. But when apostatized Israel essayed to give a like testimony of honour to a mistaken deity, the Lord by his prophet Jeremiah doth not only charge them with idolatry, but likewise with the kind of sacrifice that they offered, which was of their sons and daughters, of which he saith, "Which I commanded them not, neither came it into my mind, that they should do this abomination." (Jer. xxxii. 35.) So that every sacrifice that hath not the stamp of divine authority to legitimate it, is not to be accounted of as divine, or of any worth or acceptance with God. But now I say, that this sacrifice of Christ crucified is of divine appointment, and so a divine sacrifice: this is clearly asserted by the apostle: "Wherefore, when he cometh into the world, he saith, Sacrifice and offering thou wouldest not, but a body hast thou prepared me: in burnt-offerings and sacrifices for sin thou hast had no pleasure. Then said I, Lo, I come (in the volume of the book it is written of me) to do thy will, O God." (Heb. x. 5—7; Psalm xl. 6—8.) Mark that! Christ took up a body, in order to be sacrificed, instead of all legal sacrifices, and this in compliance to the will of God; which he farther explaineth in verse 10: "By the which will we are sanctified, through the offering of the body of Jesus Christ once for all." The sum of what the apostle saith is this,—that God would be satisfied with no sacrifice but that of his Son; and that with this sacrifice he would be pleased, and therein would accept of all that should believe. The conclusion is this,—that because Christ was crucified at the appointment of God, (as I have proved,) therefore I call Christ crucified "a divine sacrifice."

Secondly. I say further, that Christ crucified is not only "a divine" but likewise "a proper sacrifice;" and that for this reason,—because the most essential properties of the most perfect sacrifices under the law, which were those that were expiatory; I say, the properties of such kind of sacrifices agree to this of Christ crucified.

There are four properties of an expiatory sacrifice, all of which, I shall show you, do agree with this of our Christ crucified.

1. The first property of such a sacrifice is, *that it be of some living creature slain, and its blood shed, and offered up unto God.*—This is so evident to any that hath but any knowledge in the laws of God concerning the nature of his sacrifices, that it will seem a needless matter to add any thing for the illustration or proof thereof. Certain it is, that the holy scriptures, both in the Hebrew and in the Greek, use such words for "a sacrifice" as do include "a slaughter" in them; the one being זֶבַח, the other ϑυσια· and the apostle throughout this epistle speaking of sacrifices, whether they were of bulls, goats, or lambs,—he all along maketh mention of their blood shed, which cannot be but with their slaughter. So that there is nothing more evident, than that slaying and shedding of blood is the property of an expiatory sacrifice. Now it is as clear that our Christ crucified had this property; for he was nailed hands and feet to the cross, and through those wounds bled to death: besides, when dead, the remainder of his blood issued from his side, pierced with a soldier's spear. This blood, thus shed, the apostle Peter calls "precious blood," and withal calls it "the blood of a lamb without blemish;" (1 Peter i. 19;) therein alluding to the sacrificed lamb under the law, of which shadow Christ, the Lamb of God, sacrificed under the gospel, is the substance. From what hath been said, it is evident that this first property of an expiatory sacrifice doth fully comport with the death of Christ.

2. The second property of a sacrifice is, *that it was offered to God for the expiation of sin.*—This was the end of the Levitical expiatory sacrifices, as the apostle tells us, when he saith, "Into the second tabernacle went the high priest alone once a year, not without blood, which he offered for himself, and for the errors of the people:" (Heb. ix. 7:) which is as much as if he had said, that the blood of those beasts he had sacrificed he took with him into the tabernacle, and there offered it to God for his own and the people's sins. Now though he tells us, that "it is not possible for the blood of bulls and goats to take away sin:" (Heb. x. 4:) which seems at first sight very harsh,—that those sacrifices were appointed to be offered for sin, and yet that they could not, when offered, possibly take sin away. But let the apostle answer for himself, as he is best able; which he doth in Heb. ix. 9, compared with verse 13. In the ninth verse, he tells you in what sense they could not take away sin: "There were offered," saith he, "gifts and sacrifices, that could not make him that did the service perfect, as pertaining to the conscience." The meaning of which words I shall rather give you in the paraphrase of learned Dr. Hammond, than in my own; which is brief, full, and plain. "Thereby," saith he, "is meant, that all these legal performances will not be able to give any man confidence to pray unto God to bring him to heaven, or to obtain for him the pardon of any wilful or presumptuous sin in the sight of God, or free him from any sin that hath wasted his conscience, or give him grace to purge himself from

such sin." In all these respects those legal sacrifices could not possibly take away sin. But you will say, "In what sense did they take away sin?" The apostle will tell you: "If the blood of bulls and goats sanctifieth to the purifying of the flesh." (Verse 13.) He had told you before, that they could not make perfect "as pertaining to the conscience;" but now he saith, as to "the flesh," those sacrifices did purify, and so, in a sort, did take away sin. By "flesh" is here meant, the outward man, considered in his external privileges, as to his Judaical church-state, of which privileges this is the sum; namely, communion with that church in external ordinances of worship, from which upon every ceremonial uncleanness the Jew was excluded; but upon offering up of a sacrifice for his cleansing, his fault was passed by, and he was re-admitted to his former communion. And these were the errors of the priests and the people, from which upon their offering of sacrifices they were cleared. And now you see the objection removed, and yet the property of an expiatory sacrifice cleared; and that is, that it was offered for the taking away of sin. And now let us apply this property of a sacrifice to Christ crucified, and see whether it doth not thereto agree.

I say therefore, that answerably Christ was as a sacrifice crucified, and therein offered up to God for the expiation of sin. This is fully asserted by the apostle: "How much more shall the blood of Christ, who through the Eternal Spirit offered himself without spot to God, purge your conscience from dead works to serve the living God?" (Heb. ix. 14.) That is, If the sacrifices of the law so far availed as to the purifying of the flesh, the sacrifice of Christ shall much more avail to purify the conscience; that is, so perfectly to settle and quiet the conscience from the fears of the wrath of God for sins committed, (which are the "dead works" the apostle speaketh of,) to this end, among the rest,—that the sinner, thus quieted, might "serve the living God," not slavishly, for fear of wrath, but from love, as becometh a gracious child, whom his merciful Father hath so freely pardoned through the sacrifice of his own Son. The consideration of this verse, with that of the text I am speaking from, is abundantly sufficient to clear up the second property of an expiatory sacrifice to belong to Christ crucified, which is this,—that every such sacrifice was offered for the taking away of sin.

3. A third property of an expiatory sacrifice is, *that it was to be offered up by a priest ordained of God to that end.*—To this very end, saith the apostle, was the high priest, under the law, ordained, "to offer gifts and sacrifices." (Heb. viii. 3.) So that hence it is evident, that no sacrifice was to be offered but by a priest thus ordained: and was it not Saul's presumption in this kind that lost him his kingdom? (1 Sam. xiii. 9, 13, 14.)

Well, then, if every expiatory sacrifice must have a priest to offer it, so had our Christ crucified; for it was a sacrifice offered up to God by himself, our only High Priest, being appointed to that office by God. That Christ was appointed by God to this office, is manifest from Psalm cx. 4: "The Lord hath sworn, and will not repent, Thou art a priest for ever after the order of Melchizedek." That this is meant of Christ's being by God designed to this office, is clear from Heb. vii. 17, where the apostle applies this prophecy to Jesus Christ. But, farther: as from what hath been said, it doth appear, that Christ is a Priest ordained of God, so likewise it doth further appear, that this our High Priest was he that did offer up himself as a sacrifice to God, if you consider John vi. 51 : "The bread," saith Christ, "that I will give is my flesh, which I will give for the life of the world." Now this flesh was given in his death, which was given by himself when he voluntarily offered it up unto God a most holy sacrifice. So, in Heb. vii. 27, it is said, Christ "offered up himself:" Christ was not only the sacrifice, but the sacrificer. So, Heb. ix. 26 : "Now once in the end of the world hath he appeared to put away sin by the sacrifice of himself." Nothing more plain, than that Christ in these places is to be understood both as Priest and Sacrifice.

But it may be objected, "How can Christ be said to sacrifice himself, whenas he did not kill himself, or shed his own blood; for he was apprehended by order from the high priest, led away as a prisoner, arraigned and condemned unjustly, and in a violent, cruel manner crucified by his malicious enemies : he did not slay himself, but was slain by the Jews."

I answer: Though he did not slay himself, (for that had been self-murder, which had been a sin that had not become this spotless Lamb; but) yet this is evident, that he did offer up himself to be slain by them, in compliance with the counsel of his Father, and in compliance with all the prophecies of the Old Testament, that foretold, he must be cut off for the people. "O fools," saith Christ to his doubting disciples, "and slow of heart to believe all that the prophets have spoken : ought not Christ to have suffered these things?" (Luke xxiv. 25, 26.) *Ought he not*—That is, Was it not his duty, in compliance with his Father's will, who had designed him thereto, and foretold this his designation by his prophets? But, from the history of the manner of his death, it is very clear, that Christ did very readily offer up himself as a victim to be slain for the sins of his people. For, first, he knew, when he went his last journey to Jerusalem, that his hour was come, and yet he went up. (John xii. 23.) Then he knew also, that Judas at that time designed to betray him; but he was so far from seeking to prevent it, that he rather seems to hasten it, when he says to Judas, "What thou doest, do quickly." (John xiii. 27.) Then again, when his enemies came to apprehend him, he sought not to escape them, but, going forth, saith, "If ye seek Jesus of Nazareth, I am he." (John xviii. 4, 5.) And when he was in their hands, he could, as he tells them, but pray to his Father, and of him obtain an army of angels to his rescue, but would not; for having received a body for to sacrifice, and the hour of offering it up being come, he most willingly surrendered himself to his enemies for the slaughter : and this is agreeable to what he says in John x. 15, 18 : "I lay down my life for the sheep. No man taketh it from me;" that is, "not against my will;" "but I lay it down of myself." And thus it became our High Priest to do, who had the sacrifice of himself to offer by himself.

And thus I have shown how the third property of an expiatory sacrifice belongs to Christ crucified : it was to be offered by a priest ordained by God; and such an ordained Priest was Christ, who at God's appointment offered up himself.

4. The fourth property of an expiatory sacrifice, regularly offered, is, *that it was of a sweet savour unto God;* that is, it was highly pleasing, and graciously accepted of by him. This is evident from what God himself hath said concerning such sacrifices: "The priest shall burn all on the altar, to be a burnt sacrifice, an offering made by fire, of a sweet savour unto the Lord." (Lev. i. 9.) This is repeated again and again. (Verses 13, 17.) Now, that this sacrifice of Christ crucified might in no case fall short of those legal sacrifices, the apostle doth apply the very same property to this sacrifice of Christ, in these words: "Walk in love, as Christ also hath loved us, and hath given himself for us an offering and a sacrifice to God for a sweet-smelling savour." (Eph. v. 2.) And, certainly, there was never any thing in this world acted to a greater satisfaction to the most high God, than this of Christ's dying for sinners, of which God hath given this testimony, that he hath so highly exalted him, as a reward of these his sufferings; according to the apostle: "Being found in fashion as a man, he humbled himself, and became obedient unto death, even the death of the cross. Wherefore God also hath highly exalted him, and given him a name which is above every name: that at the name of Jesus every knee should bow," &c. (Phil. ii. 8, 9.) And what signifies this honour God hath heaped on him for his sufferings, but that this his suffering death was highly pleasing and of a sweet savour to him? Thus have I in four things shown you how evident it is, that Christ crucified is a proper expiatory sacrifice, as having all the essentially necessary properties of such a sacrifice; which was the second point in the first proposition to be cleared.

Thirdly. There is one thing more in the first proposition to be cleared up and proved, which is, that "Christ crucified is the only proper gospel-sacrifice."

I say, "He is the only proper sacrifice of the gospel:"

First. That I might exclude all Judaical sacrifices, which till Christ were, of God, both commanded and accepted; but since his coming, and since he hath offered up himself, all those sacrifices are now abolished, God taking no longer any pleasure therein: "In burnt-offerings and sacrifices for sin thou hadst no pleasure. Then said I," (that is, Christ,) "Lo, I come to do thy will, O God;" (Heb. x. 6, 7;) that is, to sacrifice myself. In this latter he hath pleasure; but not in the former, which are therefore taken away.

Secondly. I call Christ crucified "the only proper sacrifice," to exclude the Romish Mass, which those pretended Catholics would fain have us believe to be a proper sacrifice, and the very same with that of Christ crucified; but how groundlessly, I shall show afterward.

Thirdly. I call it "the only proper sacrifice," to distinguish it from several other improper sacrifices under the gospel; as that of doing good and communicating, of which the apostle saith, "With such sacrifices God is well-pleased;" (Heb. xiii. 16;) such is that of devoting one's body to the service of God, called, "a living sacrifice;" (Rom. xii. 1;) so is that of offering praise. (Heb. xiii. 15.) These I acknowledge have the name of "sacrifices" under the gospel; but there is no man doubteth, that they are improperly, and only by way of allusion, so called. For as a sacrifice is a holy thing offered up to the Lord, so are doing good, devoting one's self to God's service, and offering praise to God, holy things also, and so metaphorically called "sacrifices;" but in these performances, there is no slaying, or shedding of blood, or making atonement for sin, which were necessary to speak them proper sacrifices. Thus much shall suffice for the clearing-up of the third and last part of the first proposition, which now I conceive I have sufficiently proved, "That Christ crucified is the only divine and proper sacrifice of the gospel."

THE SECOND PROPOSITION.

That this sacrifice is but of one kind.

Such is part of the meaning of the apostle in the text, when he saith, "But this man, after he had offered one sacrifice;" he means not one only in number, but as to the kind: of this latter I shall now speak.

It is well known that the sacrifices of the law were of divers kinds of beasts, as bulls, goats, lambs; and of birds, as turtle-doves and young pigeons. But the sacrifice of the gospel is but of one kind, which is the blood of Jesus, which through the Eternal Spirit was offered up to God.

But it may be asked, why the sacrifices of the law were of divers sorts, since they were to shadow forth the gospel-sacrifice, which was to be but of one sort or kind?

I answer: It might be for this reason,—because that the gospel-sacrifice was to be of that absolute perfection, both as to its matter as well as ends, that no one kind of legal sacrifice could fully represent; and therefore it was, that several sorts of creatures that had very different qualities were elected and appointed by God, to typify out by parts what was summarily comprehended in that one sacrifice of Christ. As when God appointed the bull for the sacrifice, since that creature hath an excellency of strength superior to any other beast of the field, it might be to shadow forth the very great ability of our Lord Jesus for this undertaking. Then again, there was choice made of another sort of creature, which had not that eminency of strength as the bull, but was superior in meekness and innocency; such was the lamb, to set forth that remarkable meekness and innocency of our Saviour in the sacrificing of himself, of whom the prophet saith, "He is brought as a lamb to the slaughter, and as a sheep before her shearers is dumb, so he openeth not his mouth." (Isai. liii. 7.) So also was the goat called out for a sacrifice, not so much to signify any quality of Christ's own person, but rather the nature and qualities of those persons in whose stead he died, which were sinners; for as the goat is noted to be a beast of a very lustful nature, and of as ill a savour, such also are sinners, full of strong and loathsome lusts, of a very ill savour in the nostrils of the holy God. Now Christ, being to represent the persons of such in whose stead he died, was therefore typified forth by this sacrifice of a goat. To add to these, there were also sacrificed turtle-doves and young pigeons; now this is observable of this sort of birds, that there are no birds superior to them in love and faithfulness to their mates; by which might be shadowed forth the incomparable love and faithfulness of Jesus Christ to his church, whom be loved, and bought with his own blood: never was turtle-dove so tender of and faithful to his mate, as Christ hath been and is to his church. So that all the qualities of those several sorts of legal sacrifices meeting in our one sacrifice of Christ, they were fit in conjunction to be his type, and did more completely display the nature of his sacrifice, than if but any one of them had been appointed for that use. And this I conceive is the reason why the sacrifices of the law were of divers sorts, and yet they were all but the type of one single sacrifice of the gospel.

Thus have I briefly illustrated the second proposition.

THE THIRD PROPOSITION.

That this one sacrifice of Christ was but once offered.

This is clear to them that consult these following scriptures: "He died unto sin once." (Rom. vi. 10.) "He needeth not to offer up sacrifices, first for his own sins, and then for the people's: for this he did once, when he offered up himself." (Heb. vii. 27.) "But now once in the end of the world hath he appeared to put away sin by the sacrifice of himself." (Heb. ix. 26.) "So Christ was once offered to bear the sins of many." (Verse 28.) "By the which will we are sanctified through the offering of the body of Jesus Christ once for all." (Heb. x. 10.) "For Christ hath once suffered for sins, the just for the unjust." (1 Peter iii. 18.) Now, certainly, the Holy Ghost would never have laid such an emphasis upon the singularity or oneness of Christ's sacrifice, as apparently he doth in those scriptures now named, were it not for very good and very great reason; and what is that but to signify, that this one sacrifice, once offered, was every way complete, and sufficient for the full obtaining of all the ends of a sacrifice?

That this sacrifice once offered was sufficient, I prove these three ways:

First. *Because it was as often as God required.*—"This commandment," saith our Lord, "have I received of my Father, that I should lay down my life for my sheep, and take it again." (John x. 15, 18.) Hence it is certain, that his Father would have him lay it down once, and then to take it again. But was it his intent [that] he should take it again to lay it down again? Not so; for then, since he hath not yet come to die again, it would be our duty to expect him a second time to die for us; but this we expect not. Indeed, he will come a "second time," but, as the apostle saith, "without sin;" that is, not to bear again the punishment of sin, as he did in his once dying: but then he will come "to salvation;" that is, to perfect that salvation to his saints for whom he purchased it by his once dying. (Heb. ix. 28.) But our Saviour puts us out of doubt in this particular, inasmuch as he hath told us, he will die no more: "I am he that liveth, and was dead; and, behold, I am alive for evermore;" (Rev. i. 18;) which he could not have said, but that he knows that his Father requires no more deaths at his hand than what he hath already paid.

Secondly. This once was sufficient, *because it was as much as the law required.*—The law [which] was to Adam,—that "if thou eatest of the forbidden tree, thou shalt die the death threatened,"—was but once to be executed; and therefore Christ, being the sinner's Surety, could not be bound to pay more than the sinner's debt. This is clearly and fully asserted by the apostle: "As it is appointed" (that is, by the law) "unto men once to die, but after this the judgment; so Christ was once offered to bear the sins of many;" (Heb. ix. 27, 28;) that is, Christ was once sacrificed to take off that curse of once dying that by the law was threatened to the sinner. The law being thus completely satisfied by Christ's thus once dying, it was a very needless matter upon this account for Christ to die a second time.

Thirdly. Christ's dying once was sufficient, *because it was as much as the sinner needed.*

This will be best understood, if we take an account of the sinner's wants.

1. It is evident that by sin the holy God was provoked to anger; and therefore the sinner wanted a reconciliation, which this one sacrifice once offered hath procured: Christ hath "reconciled both" (that is, Jew and Gentile) "unto God in one body by the cross;" (Eph. ii. 16;) that is, he, by his once offering up himself in sacrifice to God, hath made the believing sinner's peace with God, whether he be Jew or Gentile.

2. Again: the sinner hath forfeited his life to the justice of God by sin; answerably, Christ by his once dying hath discharged the law of death, and procured for the believer a glorious resurrection to an eternal life.

3. Again: sin had blinded and hardened the sinner's mind and conscience as to the things of God, so that he became so utterly unable to help himself, that he neither knew the law of God, or if he had known it, he was not able to submit himself to that law, being at enmity thereto. But Christ, by his one sacrifice once offered, procured a new, gracious, and everlasting covenant; one of the principal promises whereof is, that God will put his laws "in their minds, and write them in their hearts;" (Heb. viii. 10;) that is, he will so enlighten their minds and sanctify their hearts, as that they shall not only know but readily obey him in whatever he commandeth. Now this covenant and this promise, is the purchase of this one sacrifice once offered.

4. Lastly: sin had got into the sinner's conscience, and so fired it with the flashes of guilt, and alarmed it with the threatenings of the law, and so affrighted it with the wrath of God, that the poor sinner could find no ease or quiet. But this once-offered sacrifice hath so "purged the conscience from dead works," (Heb. ix. 14,) that the soul finds itself at ease, that it can serve the Lord without distraction. For being fully persuaded (sin being pardoned, and God at peace, through his blood) that it shall never fall under condemnation, it hears no more of the boisterous storms of the law and conscience, but enjoys a great calm all its days.

Now if Christ's once-offered sacrifice hath both satisfied God, answered the law, and every way supplied the sinner's lacks, it cannot be imagined what room should be left for a repetition of the same sacrifice. And therefore, being [seeing] we are assured that Christ was to do nothing impertinent and in vain, we are, upon the same ground, assured, "That he was to be sacrificed but once;" which is the third proposition.

THE FOURTH PROPOSITION.

That this sacrifice of Christ once offered was so perfectly efficacious, as to take away sins fully and for ever.

This proposition is clearly contained in the text. For when it is said, "This man, after he had offered one sacrifice for sins for ever," the words "for ever" are certainly to be referred to the efficacy of this one sacrifice once offered; for it there stands opposed to the inefficacy of the legal sacrifices, of which he had said, "They can never take away sin." (Verse 11.) The meaning is, that what all the sorts of sacrifices often offered under the law could never do, *that* this one sacrifice of Christ once offered under the gospel hath done perfectly to the believer; that is, hath not left one sin unpardoned, but hath taken away every sin everlastingly.

1. I say, first, it was so efficacious as to take away all sins to the true believer, fully and completely; nor can the apostle mean any thing less, when he saith, "Who shall lay any thing to the charge of God's elect? It is God that justifieth. Who is he that condemneth? It is Christ that died." (Rom. viii. 33, 34.) Certainly, if there is no judge to be found in heaven or earth that can justly condemn the believer, then there is no sin that the believer stands guilty of, but all must be pardoned. For was there but one sin unpardoned, there would be found judges enow to condemn him. But whence is it that the believer becomes so secure? The apostle tells you the reason, and that is, "Christ hath died." Again: this may farther be confirmed from Acts xiii. 38, 39: "Be it known unto you therefore, men and brethren, that through this man is preached unto you the forgiveness of sins: and by him all that believe are justified from all things," (that is, all sins,) "from which ye could not be justified by the law of Moses." The meaning is, that through the death of Christ is preached the remission of all sins, from which ye could not be freed by all the sacrifices of the law of Moses; what those sacrifices could not do, that the one sacrifice of Christ once offered hath done fully.

2. And not only so; for as his one sacrifice once offered took away or procured the pardon of all sins to the believer, so it took them away for ever. This it hath done by procuring the second covenant, which hath this promise: "I will be merciful to their unrighteousness, and their sins and their iniquities will I remember no more." (Heb. viii. 12.) To remember them no more, is as much as if it had been said, "They shall be everlastingly forgiven, so that not one of them shall ever rise up to the condemnation of the believer." The conclusion is this, that if all sins are eternally pardoned to the believer upon the merit of this one sacrifice once offered, then is this sacrifice a most complete and efficacious sacrifice; nor doth the believer stand in need of any other sacrifice, no, nor of the repetition of this very same sacrifice; which is the fourth proposition, and is now, I conceive, fully proved.

Having thus clearly and briefly confirmed the Protestant doctrine concerning that great article of the proper gospel expiatory sacrifice, which doth highly concern every sinner to understand, without which it is impossible for him to know how or which way he may attain to the remission of his sins, and the salvation of his soul, I come now at length to take a view of the Romish doctrine, concerning their vain, impertinent, blasphemous, and idolatrous sacrifice of the Mass. I call it "vain and impertinent," because by the one sacrifice of Christ once offered on the cross, God is sufficiently satisfied, and the sinner sufficiently secured: to what end then serves their pretended sacrifice of the Mass? I call it "blasphemous," because so derogatory to the sacrifice of Christ, as if Christ's death on the cross was not sufficient without the auxiliary of the Mass to make an atonement for sin, and save the sinner. I call it "idolatrous," because they have made it a mere idol, not only worshipping and adoring sacramental bread and wine as their true Saviour, but in trusting therein for salvation as in Christ himself; than the which there was never any thing invented by the devil himself that was more idolatrous.

But before I shall give you my arguments against this Popish doctrine of the Mass's being a proper sacrifice, since I write principally for the information and establishment of our weaker brethren, I shall first tell you what is meant by "the Mass," the doctrine whereof those cruel, bloody Papists have formerly endeavoured to impose on the faith of your forefathers, with racks, prisons, iron fetters, cruel mockings, fagots, and fire; and which assuredly they would, by the same methods of savageness, instead of arguments, endeavour to impose on you, if ever the Lord should be pleased to give you up into their hands for trial; which the good Lord in mercy prevent!

Know, then, that what we Protestants call, according to scripture, "the Lord's supper," *that* the Papists, according to the tradition of men, call "the Mass."

But this is not all; for we differ from them not only in the name, but in the explication of the nature of the thing itself; as thus:

We Protestants hold, that in the Lord's supper after consecration, there remains real bread and real wine. But the Papists believe, that after the consecration, or after the priest hath pronounced these words, "This is my body," and, "This is the new testament in my blood," &c., the bread and wine are by a certain miracle transubstantiated into the very same flesh and blood wherein Christ suffered on the cross.

Again: we Protestants believe, that this sacramental supper of bread and wine is a figure of the real sacrifice of Christ crucified, appointed by Christ for the remembrance thereof; and so we doubt not to call it "a figurative, metaphorical sacrifice." But this will not satisfy the Papists; for they believe that this bread and wine is so changed into the very same body of Christ which was nailed to the cross, and into that very blood that he there shed, and that consequently it is a real, proper, and true expiatory sacrifice for our sins, as that of Christ crucified on the cross; which is certainly the meaning of the council of Trent, in those words of the decree concerning this point. Speaking of the Mass, say they, *Cujus oblatione Deum esse placatum, et pœnitentiæ donum concedere, et peccata omnia dimittere;* that is, "That upon the offering of the Mass God is pacified, and repentance and remission of sins given." And what can be said more of the virtue and efficacy of Christ himself crucified?

In the next place: we Protestants believe, that in the receiving [of] this supper, as with our bodies we eat real bread and drink real wine, so our souls by faith do feed upon the real body and blood of Christ, that was once offered in sacrifice for the reconciling [of] us to God, for the remission of sins, and the salvation of our souls; which benefits we by faith apply to ourselves, for which we bless and praise God, who hath graciously bestowed them on us, for the merits' sake of that one sacrifice of Christ once offered. But the Papists believe, that not only their souls by faith, but likewise the mouths of their bodies, do eat and drink, in the Mass, the very body and blood of Christ, as really as if they had eaten him on the cross, or drunk his blood as it issued out of his pierced hands, feet, and side. In a word: the Papists have turned the Lord's supper into an abominable idol, and take the bread and wine to be the true and real Redeemer of the world, and do as devoutly worship and adore it as we do the God-man Jesus now at the right hand of the Majesty on high: which is idolatry with a witness.

Having now showed you what the Romish Mass is, I now come to lay down those arguments which I shall draw from the precedent discourse; by which I will prove, that this Mass is no proper gospel expiatory sacrifice, which the Romish church believes it to be.

The general argument is this:—

If the one sacrifice of Christ crucified, once offered on the cross, is the only divine and proper sacrifice of the gospel, as I have proved, *then the Mass is no divine, proper gospel-sacrifice.*

The reason of the consequence is this, because the Mass is another thing, of a very different nature from that of Christ crucified; and therefore, being not the very same thing, it cannot be the very same sacrifice; and if it be not the very same, it cannot be a proper gospel-sacrifice, because that only, as I have proved, is the only proper gospel-sacrifice. This is so evident, that I see no possibility of evading the force of its reason.

That, then, which remains to be proved is this,—that the Mass is not the very same thing and of the same nature with that of Christ crucified; and therefore cannot be the same sacrifice.

In this very point lies the very heart and life of the controversy betwixt us and them, as is evident from the words of the decree of the Trent-council, which are these: *Idem ille Christus in hoc Missæ sacrificio incruentè immolatur, qui in arâ crucis cruentè sese obtulit; unâ eâdemque existente hostiâ, eo qui nunc sacerdotum ministerio offert, et qui seipsum tunc in cruce obtulit:* [*ratione*] *solâ offerendi diversâ.** The meaning whereof in short is this,—that there is no real difference betwixt the sacrifice of Christ on the cross, and Christ in the Mass; it is the very same in both, only differing in the reason of offering: for in the cross he offered himself immediately; in the Mass he offers himself by the ministry of his under-priests.

So then, since the whole controversy lies on this one point, all my arguments shall be levelled against this their strong-hold.

This, then, I shall prove,—that the mass is not properly the very selfsame sacrifice with that of Christ crucified on the cross.

ARGUMENT I. *The Mass cannot be the same sacrifice with that of*

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* *Historia Concil. Trident.* lib. vi. p. 465.

Christ on the cross, because Christ crucified was a sacrifice of God's appointment, and so divine, which I proved in the first proposition: *But so is not the Mass; for God never appointed it for a sacrifice: Therefore it cannot be the very same.*—For were it the very same sacrifice, and yet never appointed of God to be a sacrifice, as Christ crucified was, then one and the same sacrifice might be appointed of God, and yet not appointed of God, which is a contradiction. That the Mass, which we call "the Lord's supper," was appointed by the Lord Jesus for the remembrance of that one sacrifice once offered on the cross, I deny not. Nor do I deny, that the Mass is a proper sacrifice by the authority of human tradition; a like authority to that of the Pharisees, by which they would not eat except they washed, or by which they thought it lawful to be cruel to their parents, in not relieving their wants, under pretext of their corban: but I deny it to be a sacrifice by any authority from God, or his Son Jesus. This was ingenuously confessed by Ataides Lusitanus, one of the Trent-council, who yet was stout enough in his belief of its being a sacrifice by apostolical tradition; as he says, *Pro certo concludendum, doctrinam eam apostolicam esse traditionem:* * this I mention to show he was a Papist. "But," saith he, "whoever goes about to prove it such from scripture, doth but as it were go about to build castles in the air." His words are, *Verum autem hoc solidum argumentum debilitari ab his, qui aëria sibi struunt, e sacrâ scripturâ id elicere frustra conantibus quod nusquam ibi reperitur, atque adversariis veritatis calumniâ violandæ ansam præbentibus, dum rident eos arenâ laxâ ac instabili ædificare.* † So far he. I know, hereby he disgusted the council; but that is nothing to me: so long as he speaks words of soberness, I value him not a jot the less, nor his testimony. But have they any scripture wherein the Mass is directly called "a sacrifice?" No; they pretend not thereto. But they say, there are many places of scripture from whence it may be directly gathered; the examination whereof I shall refer to the conclusion; for it were too long a business to speak to them all in this place. At present I conclude, that if they have no ground from scripture to conclude it a sacrifice, then they have no ground to believe it such by divine authority: But such ground we have to believe that of Christ crucified to be a sacrifice: Therefore they are not the very same sacrifice; at least they have no ground to believe so. But, as I said, for the proof of its having no divine authority for its being a sacrifice, I refer to the close.

ARGUMENT II. *The Mass cannot be the same sacrifice with that of Christ crucified at Jerusalem, because Christ there crucified was a proper sacrifice,* as I have proved in the first proposition: *But the Mass cannot be a proper sacrifice: Therefore it is not the same, and so no gospel-sacrifice.*—The reason of the consequence is this, that if the Mass is an improper sacrifice, and Christ crucified a proper sacrifice, and yet the Mass and Christ crucified were one and the same sacrifice, then the one and the same sacrifice of the gospel would be both a proper and an improper sacrifice, which is a contradiction. That the Mass, if it be a sacrifice, is not a proper sacrifice, I prove by these four following arguments:—

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* "It is to be concluded as certain, that this doctrine is an apostolical tradition."—EDIT.

† *Hist. Conc. Trid.* lib. vi. p. 444. "But it is true that this solid argument is weakened by those who build themselves aërial castles, vainly endeavouring to elicit that from holy scripture which is not to be found in any part of it, and affording an occasion to the adversaries for injuring the truth by calumny, whilst they laugh at them for building on loose and unstable sand."—EDIT.

ARGUMENT (I.) *A proper expiatory sacrifice hath this property,—it consists of some living creature slain, and its blood shed and offered up unto God: But the Mass consists of no living creature slain, and its blood shed and offered up to God.*—The former I have proved in the first proposition; the latter I prove from the Papists' own confession. For they say not, that Christ is slain, and his blood shed, in the Mass: and therefore, in the fore-quoted article of the council of Trent, they say, that in the Mass, *Christus incruentè immolatur*, that is, they acknowledge the Mass is a sacrifice without blood. Which is absurd in the nature of the thing; for we may as well conceive of a fire without heat, as a sacrifice without blood; for as heat is of the essence of fire, so is blood of an expiatory sacrifice. Besides, it is flatly contradictory to that saying of the apostle, applied by him both to the expiatory sacrifices of the law, and that also of the gospel; of both which he saith, "Without shedding of blood there is no remission." (Heb. ix. 22.) "Yea," say the Papists, "but there is," in contradiction to the apostle; "for the Mass is a sacrifice expiatory of sin, and yet therein there is no remission." * This is the first.

ARG. (II.) The Mass can be no proper expiatory sacrifice, because it wants the second property of such a sacrifice, which is this, that *every such sacrifice takes away sin; and if it be a proper gospel-sacrifice, it takes away sin by virtue of its merit: But the Mass is no such sacrifice that takes away sin.*—The former I have proved in the first proposition. The latter I thus prove: The Mass is not a gospel-sacrifice expiatory of sin, because if Christ hath by his one sacrifice once offered taken away sin fully and everlastingly, as I have proved, then is there no sin remaining for the Mass to expiate. Sin, as to the curse, is the sinner's debt: Christ hath paid that debt, in his being once offered, to the utmost farthing; for thereby, as I have proved, God was satisfied, the law discharged, and the sinner perfectly relieved: so then, if there is no sin left for the Mass to expiate, it is impossible that God, that appoints nothing in vain, should appoint the Mass as a sacrifice to no purpose. And therefore I say, it is no proper sacrifice.

ARG. (III.) The Mass can be no proper gospel-sacrifice, because it hath no priest assigned of God to offer it. The reason of this consequence is, because, as I have proved in the first proposition, that *both the legal and also the evangelical sacrifice was by God's special appointment to be offered by a priest and none else: But the Mass hath no divinely-appointed priest to offer it as a sacrifice.*—Which is thus proved: If the Mass hath any priest appointed of God to offer it as a proper sacrifice, this priest must either be the high priest, which is only Jesus Christ, or some other inferior priests, delegated by Jesus Christ as his substitutes: But the Lord Jesus doth not offer the Mass in sacrifice here on earth in his own person; for he is in heaven, and the Mass is offered on earth; nor indeed do the Papists say so much; for their belief is, that Christ offers himself now in the Mass, *sacerdotum ministerio*, "by the delegation of his priests" on earth. But this cannot be true, for these reasons:—

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* This seems to be a misprint for *shedding of blood*, which the argument requires.—EDIT.

First. Because there is not so much as the name of "priest," throughout the New Testament, given to any such subordinate officer of Christ's church. We read indeed of apostles, evangelists, pastors, teachers, elders, presbyters, but not of priests; and this indeed the Jesuit Lorinus confesseth in Acts xiv. 22: *Ab hoc abstinet Novum Testamentum, ut magis proprio antiqui legis sacrificii, concedo: (De Sacerdote:)* that is, "I grant, the New Testament abstains from the word 'priest,' as more proper to the ancient sacrifice of the law." Indeed the apostle Peter calls the body of the church "a holy priesthood, to offer up spiritual sacrifices," (1 Peter ii. 5,) as prayers and praises and themselves unto God, which are all improper sacrifices, and so is their priesthood improper also; but of any proper inferior priest, we read not so much as of the name, as I said, in the New Testament.

Secondly. Christ hath appointed no such inferior priest to offer him up as a proper sacrifice in the Mass, because there is no such thing given in commission by Jesus Christ to any officers on earth, to offer up a proper sacrifice. Indeed, we read, Christ sent them to teach and baptize, to feed the flock, and to rule and govern them in the Lord, &c.; but not a word of offering up any proper sacrifice. Some, indeed, of the Papists urge, *Hoc facite,* "Do this in remembrance of me," for to warrant them herein; but others of them are ashamed of such an interpretation, as I shall show afterwards. But if *Hoc facite,* "Do this," is as much as, "*Sacrifice this* in remembrance of me," then all to whom Christ said, "Do this," must be understood to lie under the command of sacrificing this: and so, instead of making some priests, we should make the whole church proper priests; for they are all bound to eat and drink the sacramental body and blood of Christ, in remembrance of him: but I know they are not willing to make their priesthood so common.

But yet again: There can be no inferior proper priests designed by God to offer up a proper sacrifice under the gospel; for if there be, they must be either after the order of Levi, or of Melchizedek. *Not after the order of Levi;* for that is no evangelical, but the legal, priesthood: *nor after the order of Melchizedek;* for that only is appropriate to the person of our Lord Jesus. (Heb. vii. 3.) And if any inferior church-officers shall presume to assume to themselves a priesthood after that order, it is but reasonable, upon demand, that they should show us that they have the qualifications of that order, which are reckoned there by the apostle: as he must be such an one who is a king as well as priest; (verse 1;) then he must be "without father, without mother, without descent, having neither beginning of days, nor end of life, made like unto the Son of God, and who abideth a priest continually." (Verse 3.) Such an one indeed is Jesus Christ; but show us such another on earth, and we will believe him to be of this order; but until then, we will be excused from believing any such inferior priests after that order: and if there be none such, then is there no such proper gospel-priest; and if there be no such proper gospel-priest, then is there no proper gospel-sacrifice for such to offer.

The Papists much deceive themselves, to think that the gospel-ministers execute this our Melchizedek's priesthood on earth; for as Melchizedek the type had no successor or delegate to officiate in his room, so neither hath Christ in this great act of his priesthood, which lies in offering up of a proper sacrifice. And, indeed, to what purpose should he have any successor in this act of his office, since his one sacrifice once offered hath been sufficient to pardon the sins of the whole world, upon their repentance and faith in him; and since he is now ever living in the Holy of Holies, as our High Priest, to make intercession through that same blood for us?

From what hath been said, it is evident, that under the gospel-dispensation there is no man or men whatever appointed by Christ as proper priests; therefore there is no proper sacrifice on earth to be offered, and consequently the Mass is no such sacrifice. For certainly, if he had ordained such a sacrifice, he would not have been unmindful of ordaining a proper priest for its oblation.

Arg. (iv.) The Mass can be no proper sacrifice expiatory of sin, because *it is not of a sweet-smelling savour unto God;* which, I have proved, is a property of every sacrifice rightly offered.

That the Mass is not of a sweet-smelling savour unto God, I prove,

First. Because it derogates from the all-sufficiency and perfection of Christ's one sacrifice once offered on the cross; as if that without the Mass could not expiate sin, and save the believing sinner. Such a derogation as this is blasphemy against the sacrifice of the Son of God, making it less perfect and efficacious than indeed it is: But a blasphemous sacrifice is not of a sweet savour unto God: Therefore the Mass is no proper sacrifice.

Secondly. The Mass is an idolatrous sacrifice; therefore no proper sacrifice of God's appointing, as being not of a sweet-smelling savour unto God. That it is idolatrous, is evident; for what else is making a piece of bread and a cup of wine the Redeemer of the world, and relying upon the oblation thereof unto God, as upon the Redeemer of the world, for life and salvation? Such idolatry as this is so far from being of a sweet savour unto God, that it is, as all other idolatry, an abomination to him.

I know, their reply is, "But if this bread and wine be truly the Son of God, then is it no idolatry:" which is as good an answer as if the Heathen, condemned for worshipping a stock or a stone, should reply, "But if this stock or stone be really and truly God, then are we no idolaters." "But," say the Papists, "their cause and ours are different: for when they suppose their stock or stone to be truly God, they have no revelation for what they say; but when we say, 'This piece of bread is turned into God-man,' we have a revelation." Well; and what is this revelation? "Why, this: *Hoc est corpus meum,* 'This is my body.'" But how, if you are mistaken, (as we confidently believe you are,) in taking a figurative expression for a proper expression? Then you are idolaters without doubt. But what a sad condition are these poor men in, in the mean time, that have nothing to secure them from damnable idolatry but the interpretation of a very ambiguous text! and I am confident therein, that they are mistaken.

Thus I have finished four arguments to prove the Mass is no proper gospel-sacrifice.

I return now to such sort of farther arguments, with which I began, to prove that the Mass is not the same sacrifice with that of Christ crucified, which is the only proper gospel-sacrifice, and that therefore the Mass is no proper gospel-sacrifice.

ARGUMENT III. *The Mass is not a sacrifice of the same sort or kind with that of Christ crucified, and therefore it cannot be the same sacrifice; and if it cannot be the same, it cannot be a proper sacrifice of the gospel; for the proper gospel-sacrifice is but one, or of one kind,* as I have proved in the second proposition.

That the Mass, if it be a sacrifice, as the Papists say it is, is a sacrifice of a different nature or kind from Christ crucified, I prove thus:

First: Because the sacrifice of Christ on the cross was the sacrifice of that very body that was born of a virgin, (and not of a piece of bread,) by the overshadowing of the Holy Ghost: (Luke i. 35:) But the Mass, by the Papists' own confession, is the body of Christ made of a piece of bread, not born of a virgin, by the consecrating words of a priest, and not by the overshadowing of the Holy Ghost. Now is it possible that one and the same body can be born of a virgin, and not made of a piece of bread, and yet be made of a piece of bread, and not born of a virgin; or that one and the same body can be begotten by the overshadowing of the Holy Ghost without any consecrating words of a priest, and yet be produced by the consecrating words of a priest and without that same overshadowing of the Holy Ghost, by which he first received his body? Is it not a contradiction?

Again: The body of Christ sacrificed on the cross had blood, and blood which was shed; but the body of Christ in the Mass sheds no blood, by the Papists' own confession: for they say the Mass is *sacrificium incruentum,* "an unbloody sacrifice." Now can a bloody sacrifice and an unbloody sacrifice be the very same, or of the very same kind?

Once more: The body of Christ sacrificed on the cross, had the shape and proportion of a man; it was a body that had head, hands, sides, feet, at their due distances, as other human bodies have: but in the Mass there is no such body of Christ, in a like shape and proportion; for the Mass is a wafer about the bigness of a shilling, that is not capable of any such dimensions, shape, or proportion that belong to a human body. This doth so puzzle them, that it is a wonder to see into what confusions they run, when they are put upon explaining how the body of Christ, with his human dimensions and proportions, can be contained in so small a thing as a wafer. Some say, it is there with distinction of parts as it hung on the cross. Others think, that is not likely: but they conceive Christ's body is in the wafer as the soul in the body; that is, *tota in toto, et tota in quâlibet parte;* that is, "the whole body of Christ in the whole wafer, and the whole body of Christ in every minute part of the wafer." And what is this but to make Christ's body as a soul, a mere spirit, or else to make as many bodies of Christ in every wafer as it is divisible into parts, which will be almost, if not altogether, infinite? Others, to mend the matter, say, that Christ's body is in the wafer after the nature of other bodies; that is, it is *aliquid quantum*, but yet this *quantum* is *sine modo quantitativo;* * which is as absurd as the rest: for these will have Christ's body there to be some long, broad, deep thing; but yet that it is long without length, and broad without breadth, and deep without depth. And if this is not to put on a brasen face, and to talk nonsense impudently, I know not what is. If any shall consider these three differences, to mention no more, betwixt Christ's body on the cross, and Christ's body in the Mass, as the Papists hold it to be, and yet will believe it is one and the self-same body, and the very self-same sacrifice, without any real difference; I see not why they may not believe the veriest impossibilities and grossest figments that the mind of man can possibly conceive.

But, certainly, those three differences are sufficient to men in their wits to speak the sacrifice of the Mass, if it be a sacrifice, as they would have it, to be of a very different kind from that of Christ on the cross, and consequently to be no true, proper gospel-sacrifice; because, as I have proved, the true proper gospel-sacrifice is but of one kind. I would clear up this by a supposition of a like case. Suppose some persons, pretending to some great and infallible knowledge in the mysteries of nature, should show us a little, white, round thing like a halfpenny ball, (for I will put that instead of the little, round Popish wafer,) and should with as great confidence endeavour to impose upon our understandings, as the Papists do on our faith, that this little, round, white thing is a man, and that it hath flesh, blood, and bones, with all the distinct members of a man. Upon this, we examining the thing, as far as our senses and reason can judge, we find it looks like a ball; the cover, upon the touch, feels like leather; the inside seems to our feeling as if it were stuffed with hair or saw-dust; withal it hath the lightness and every other quality of a ball. Certainly, if these impostors should be able by their confidence so far to prevail as to persuade us that it is a man, yet, surely, we should say, "If it be a man, it is another kind of man than we are." So say I: suppose we should grant, that the Popish little wafer is the body of Christ, and a sacrifice; yet certainly it is another kind of body, and a sacrifice, than that which was offered on the cross. And, as I said, if it be but admitted to be a body and a sacrifice, but of another kind, it is certain it cannot be the proper gospel-sacrifice; which I have proved already to be but of one kind, in the second proposition.

ARGUMENT IV. *The Mass cannot be the same proper gospel-sacrifice with that of Christ on the cross; because Christ on the cross was sacrificed but once; but the Mass hath been, by the Papists' own confession, offered as a sacrifice above a myriad of times.*

That Christ, the true proper gospel-sacrifice, was offered but once, I have proved in the third proposition. That the Mass hath been and is offered a numberless number of times, the Papists will not deny. Now see what a contradiction follows: If Christ crucified, the only proper gospel-sacrifice, was and ought to be offered but once, and the Mass is the very same gospel proper sacrifice that is and ought to be offered infinite times; then may one and the self-same gospel-sacrifice be offered but one time, and yet infinite times; which is as much as to say, it is but once offered, and it is not but once offered.

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* It is "a certain quantity," but yet this "quantity" is "without a quantitative measure."—EDIT.

Nor can they shift-off this contradiction, by telling us, that Christ's sacrifice was but once offered with the shedding of his blood, but it may be often offered without shedding of blood; I say, this will not serve them. First: Because a bloody sacrifice and an unbloody sacrifice cannot be the same. Nay, Secondly: I say, that an unbloody sacrifice is a contradiction *in terminis* ["in terms"]; for there can be no proper sacrifice without shedding of blood. Lastly: I say, it is a distinction without any grounded difference; for the scriptures do own a sacrifice of Christ with the shedding of blood, but own no sacrifice of Christ without shedding of blood.

ARGUMENT V. *The Mass cannot be the same sacrifice with that of Christ crucified, because Christ crucified was a sacrifice that expiated sin fully, and took it away for ever,* as I proved in the fourth proposition: *But the Mass is not a sacrifice of that efficacy: Therefore it cannot be really the same with that of Christ crucified.*—This latter I prove thus: First. Because the Mass takes away no sin as a sacrifice; for if Christ on the cross took away all sin from the believer everlastingly, (as I have proved in the fourth proposition, that it hath,) then is there no sin left for the sacrifice of the Mass to expiate. Secondly. The Mass doth not take away sin fully and for ever; for if it did, why is it so often repeated as it is by the Mass-priests? who, like the priests of Levi, "stand daily ministering;" which, as the apostle saith, was an argument that those Levitical sacrifices were weak, and could "never take away sin;" (Heb. x. 11;) and, by a parity of reason, so must be the Mass; if it be a sacrifice, it must be a very weak one that cannot remove sin, and therefore is so often repeated by them. I conclude therefore, that the Mass is not really the same sacrifice with that of Christ crucified; and therefore no proper gospel expiatory sacrifice. And thus I close-up my arguments against the Mass's being a proper sacrifice, all of them drawn from Heb. x. 12, whence I took the rise of my arguments, and with which I shall shut them up: "But this man, after he had offered one sacrifice for sin, for ever sat down at the right hand of God."

THE POPISH ARGUMENTS FOR THE MASS'S BEING A PROPER GOSPEL EXPIATORY SACRIFICE PROPOSED AND ANSWERED.

Let us now see what they can say for themselves, in the vindication of the Mass's being a proper expiatory sacrifice.

ARGUMENT I. Their first argument is this: "Melchizedek was a type of Christ: But the bread and wine Melchizedek brought forth, when he came out of Sodom to meet Abraham, (Gen. xiv. 18,) was a real, proper sacrifice: Therefore the bread and wine in the Mass," (or, as we say, "in the Lord's supper,") "is a proper sacrifice."

ANSWER. This is wonderfully far-fetched; but as it is, let us consider it.

I say then, First: It is but begged, when they say, that the bread and wine that Melchizedek brought forth was a proper sacrifice; for, first, the text calls it not so, nor was it of a nature capable of being a proper expiatory sacrifice; for that bread and wine had neither life to lose, nor blood to shed, which had been necessary to constitute it such a sacrifice. It is said indeed, "Melchizedek brought forth bread and wine;" but it is not said, he offered them up or sacrificed them. And, certainly, to bring forth bread and wine is a phrase more suited to an entertainment; and such most likely this was, if we consider the occasion of his bringing them forth, which was in his meeting of Abraham returning from the spoil of the spoilers of Sodom; it is likely he brought them forth for the refreshment of the tired victors.

Again: if there had been any such mystery in this bread and wine of Melchizedek, as to typify out the continuation of our heavenly Melchizedek's sacrifice in the Mass, is it likely that the apostle in his epistle to the Hebrews, when he is designedly unfolding the Old-Testament's types of Christ and his sacrifice, and then also when he singles out Melchizedek as an eminent type thereof, and says much concerning the priesthood of that Melchizedek, and of its likeness to that of Christ, as he doth in Heb. vii.; I say, is it likely in that place he would have said nothing of this bread and wine, if it had been such a considerable type as the Papists would make it to be? And yet whoever consults that place, will not find one iota in it, nor in the whole epistle, relating to this same bread and wine; nor doth Augustine take any notice thereof in his comment on that text. I conclude, therefore, that this text serves them but as a wooden leg to a lame cause, which they use for want of a better.

ARGUMENT II. There is another argument they urge to prove the Mass is a proper sacrifice; and it is from Mal. i. 11. The words are: "From the rising of the sun even unto the going down of the same my name shall be great among the Gentiles; and in every place incense" (they read, but falsely, "a sacrifice") "shall be offered unto my name *for* a pure offering." "Now," say they, "this being a prophecy of gospel-times, there must needs remain some sacrifice with the Christian church that may be offered up in every place; which sacrifice can be only understood of the Mass; for there is never another sacrifice under the gospel that can stand in competition therewith."

ANSWER. The answer to this is as easy as the burning of hay and stubble; for the force of their argument depends on a false reading of the text; for it is certain, that the word מֻקְטָר, which they translate "sacrifice," signifies, not sacrifice, but "incense," as it is in our English translation. Now see the weakness of their argument: Incense shall be offered every where: Therefore the sacrifice of the Mass shall be offered every where. Now who knows not that incense is no sacrifice?

But if you ask, "What may the prophet mean by these words?" I answer, that by "incense" he means the prayers and other spiritual oblations of the Christian church; but especially prayers, according to that of Rev. v. 8: "The four-and-twenty elders fell down before the Lamb; having every one of them harps, and golden vials full of odours, which are the prayers of the saints." By "odours" is to be understood "incense," which is odoriferous; thereby signifying how sweet and acceptable the prayers of the saints are to God. Now wherever Christ hath a church, there he hath these praying saints; so that this prophecy is exactly fulfilled therein, without the Mass's being a sacrifice.

ARGUMENT III. Their other argument is this: "The types and shadows of Christ's sacrifice, under the law, were proper sacrifices, as those of bulls and goats, &c.: Therefore the sacrament of the Lord's supper" (or the Mass, as they say) "must needs be a proper sacrifice; else the legal types will be more excellent than the evangelical type or sacrament."

ANSWER. I answer, This argument halts downright, both in its antecedent, consequence, and in the reason of the consequence.

1. As to the antecedent, which ought to have been universal, which it is not. For all the Old-Testament types of Christ's death were not proper sacrifices: for the brasen serpent, lifted up on a pole in the wilderness, was a type of Christ crucified, and so applied by Christ himself. (John iii. 14.) But the brasen serpent was no proper sacrifice, which had no more life to lay down nor blood to shed than a brass nail hath, and therefore utterly uncapable of being a proper sacrifice. Now, say I, if but this one type of the law might represent Christ sacrificed, and yet itself be no proper sacrifice, by a parity of reason may the bread and wine in the Lord's supper be a shadow of Christ sacrificed, and yet neither the bread nor wine be a proper sacrifice.

2. Then for the consequence, it is as unsound as its fellow; for it follows not, that because the types of the law were proper sacrifices, representing the proper sacrifice of Christ crucified, therefore the sacraments of the gospel, shadowing forth the same Christ sacrificed, must be proper sacrifices also; because that baptism is a gospel-sacrament as well as the Lord's supper, and may typify Christ washing us from our sins in his blood, and so be a shadow of a sacrifice; and yet I know none that say that baptism is a proper sacrifice.

3. As for the reason of the consequence, that is very weak also, which is this, that if the Lord's supper be not a proper sacrifice as well as the legal types, then there is a greater excellency in the legal types than in the gospel-sacraments: and why so? "Because," say they, "proper sacrifices are more excellent than mere commemorative signs."

To this I say, The legal types, compared with the gospel-sacraments, fall under a three-fold consideration:

(1.) If you consider them absolutely, *as to the nature of the things of which they consist.*—The principal legal types of Christ consisted of the flesh and blood of slain beasts; under the gospel, the sacraments that shadow forth Christ's death, and our benefits thereby, consist of bread, wine, and water. Under this consideration, there is no greater excellency in these types one above the other, than there is in the nature of bread, wine, and water, above the flesh and blood of slain beasts.

(2.) They may be considered *with respect to the sacrifice of Christ crucified*, whom they all shadow forth; and in this respect they are equal; for they all were representative of the very same Christ crucified.

(3.) Lastly. They may be considered *with respect to the different times, with the different advantages or disadvantages that respect their different administrations:* as the law-types being before Christ was crucified, or the gospel clearly or fully preached; by reason whereof those types did more faintly and obscurely shadow forth this glorious sacrifice of Christ crucified, which the gospel-sacraments do more perspicuously perform, by reason of that clear gospel-light that accompanies them. And it is upon this account that there is a transcendent excellency in the gospel-sacraments above those legal types, because hereby is more fully represented the incomparable love of God to sinners in giving his Son to die for us, and thereby to purchase for us that full remission of sins, and that glorious eternal life, with all other gospel-privileges. So that gospel-sacraments cannot but influence our minds and hearts with more light and heat, and enravish our souls with more joys, than possibly the dark types of the law could do. I say, therefore, upon this account it is that the sacraments of the gospel transcend the sacrifices of the law, and not, as the Papists idly dream, because the sacrament of the gospel is a more excellent proper sacrifice than all the sacrifices of the law.

And thus much for answer to their third argument.

ARGUMENT IV. They have not done yet. In the next place they argue for the Mass's being a proper sacrifice, from 1 Cor. v. 7, 8. The words are these: "Purge out the old leaven, that ye may be a new lump. For even Christ our passover is sacrificed for us: therefore let us keep the feast, not with old leaven." "Hence," say they, "if the apostle in this place speaks of the feast of the Mass, and withal says, that therein Christ our passover is sacrificed for us, then is the Mass a proper sacrifice."

ANSWER. To this I reply, First: It cannot be proved clearly, that the apostle in this chapter, or these verses, is speaking of the Lord's supper, or Mass, as the Papists call it. Or, Secondly. If that could be proved, it follows not, that therefore the Mass is a proper sacrifice.

First. *It is not certain that the apostle speaks any thing in this place of the Lord's supper.*—For though he mentions a feast, yet it is very doubtful what kind of feast he here means; for it may be only a metaphorical feast, and so Pareus and Dr. Hammond seem to understand it; that is, the continual jubilee of a Christian's life, which consists of the delicacies of sincerity, without all leaven of hypocrisy, and of the peace and joy that thence do arise, than the which there are no feasts so delicious. Or, secondly, whether by "feast" here he means "the love-feast," (that carries that title in scripture, and so doth not, as I remember, the Lord's supper, throughout the New Testament,) which I think probable; for I find the apostle Jude taking notice of this love-feast, upon a very like occasion to that of the apostle in this place to the Corinthians, as in Jude 12. The apostle there is complaining of a sort of men that had crept into the church, and thereby were admitted to the church's love-feasts; who made no other use thereof than to satisfy their luxury, "feeding themselves," as he saith, "without fear:" of which persons, and of which practice, he saith, "These are spots in your feasts of charity." Answerably, the apostle Paul is, in this chapter to the Corinthians, speaking of the incestuous Corinthian, exhorting the church to cast him out as old leaven; and one reason is, that they may be able to keep the feast without such old leaven as this Corinthian, who by his presence was likely to leaven others, by a secret infusion of that principle,—that such kind of incest of which he was guilty was very lawful,—and thereby might endanger others.

Secondly. Having said thus much, to show how very doubtful it is of what feast the apostle there speaks, let us now grant, that by "feast" is here meant the Lord's supper, yet *it follows not that therefore the Mass is a proper sacrifice.*—For the meaning of the apostle will be only this,

—that since Christ our passover "hath been sacrificed" for us, (εθυθη,) and thereby hath, according to Eph. v. 25, 27, sanctified a church to himself, that he might present it "glorious, not having spot, or wrinkle, or any such thing," that it might be "holy and blameless;" (Eph. i. 4;) therefore, saith he, "For this cause I exhort you to cast-out this incestuous Corinthian from among you, and with him all other leaven of malice and hypocrisy, that thereby, as becoming a church sanctified by Christ's sacrifice, ye may keep the feast of the Lord's supper in a pure and sincere manner, answerable to these holy ends of his being sacrificed for you." And what now, I pray, is in all this to prove this feast a sacrifice? For the text says not, that this feast is our passover sacrificed for us; but that Christ is our passover that hath been sacrificed for us, as the Greek word εθυθη should be rendered, of which this feast can be but the commemoration, according to the institution, where Christ saith, "Do this in remembrance of me."

And thus much for answer to their fourth argument.

Argument v. In the next place let us consider their argument for the Mass's being a proper sacrifice, drawn from the words of the institution. As, first, they say, "When Christ said in the institution, 'Do this in remembrance of me,' he meant, 'Sacrifice this.'" Bellarmine thinks he hath found out a demonstration of the point in the words, "Do this." "*Certum est*," saith he, "*probari sacrificium Missæ his verbis*, Hoc facite."* And why so, I pray? They tell us, because in some places the words "do" and "make" are used to signify sacrifice; as Lev. xv. 15, 30, and 1 Kings xviii. 23.

Answer. But how weak and vain a reason is this to build a demonstration upon!—that because that in some places of scripture where the context speaks expressly of sacrificing, and the priests are commanded to do or make the sacrifice ready; that therefore in this place (where the context speaks not any thing of a sacrifice, to which "Do this" in this place is to be referred) it should signify "Sacrifice this," is a consequence, I had almost said, ridiculous! For if "Do this" in this place must be taken for "Sacrifice this," because "Do this" in some places signifies so much, why must not the same words in every place where they be found signify the same? And then see what absurdities will follow. As when Gideon destroyed the altar of Baal, the men of the city said, "Who hath done this thing?" (Judges vi. 29:) the meaning must be, "Who hath sacrificed this?" and so the pulling down of Baal's altar must be the same with sacrificing on it. Again: when Christ saith to Judas, "What thou doest do quickly," Christ must thereby mean, "Judas, go sacrifice quickly;" as if Judas's betraying of his Master, and selling him for thirty pence, was a sacrificing act! What can be more absurd? But what should I say any more thereto? This interpretation is rejected by some of their great ones. Estius the Jesuit saith, by "Do this" the scripture means not "Sacrifice this:" his words are, *Quòd verbum* facere *sit idem quod* sacrificare, *quomodò nonnulli interpretati sunt, præter mentem scripturæ.* And says their learned Maldonate, *Non quòd contendam illud verbum,* Facite, *illo loco idem significare quod sacrificare;* as much as if he had said, "I believe, 'Do this' signifies no such matter as 'Sacrifice this.'" If then some of their own acknowledge the weakness of this argument, no wonder then if we reject it.

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* *De Missâ,* lib. i. cap. 12.

Argument vi. But they have another argument from the words of the institution, which is this: When Christ says of the bread, "This is my body broken for you," and of the cup, "This is the new testament in my blood, shed for remission of sins," they thence argue: "Where there is a body broken and blood shed for remission of sins, there is a proper sacrifice: But in the Mass, or Lord's supper, there is the breaking of Christ's body, and the shedding of his blood, for the remission of sins: Therefore."

Answer. The Papists themselves will save us the labour of answering this argument, being rightly stated, as thus: Where there is a proper breaking of a body, and a proper shedding of blood, for remission of sins, there is a proper sacrifice; this is true: But in the Mass there is a proper breaking of bread, and shedding of blood. This should be the assumption, which they themselves deny; for Suarez the Jesuit denies any proper breaking of the body in the Mass: "For," saith he, "'breaking' in the proper and strict acceptation signifies 'a dividing of the body into parts;' but there is no such division of parts in the Mass." Besides, the Church of Rome hath left out of her Mass the word "broken," used in the institution; and Jansenius, a Papist, gives the reason why it is left out: *Ne esset locus absurdæ intelligentiæ, quâ quis existimare possit verè frangi corpus Christi;* that is, "Lest any should absurdly think, that Christ's body could be truly broken." And as to any proper shedding of blood in the eucharist, Bellarmine himself disowns it. Saith he, *Sanguis Christi in missâ non reipsâ egreditur de corpore.* So the Jesuit Coster: "The true effusion of blood," saith he, "which is by separating it from the body, was only on the cross." *(De Sacrificio,* cap. 9.) And this is as much as any Protestant can say, in dissolving this argument; for if breaking, and shedding of blood, in the supper, are to be taken improperly, then is the supper but an improper figurative sacrifice, representative of the true proper sacrifice; which we Protestants grant.

Argument vii. The last argument that (I shall take notice of) they urge for the Mass's being a proper sacrifice, is from 1 Cor. x. 21, where, say they, "the apostle is comparing the table of the Lord with the altar of devils, and the supper of the Lord with the sacrifices of Jews and Gentiles. Now," say they, "if the table of the Lord is as the altars of Jews and Gentiles, and the supper of the Lord, or Mass, is as the sacrifices of Jews and Gentiles, then is the Mass a proper sacrifice, because the sacrifices of Jews and Gentiles were proper sacrifices."

Answer. First: Whereas it is said, that the apostle here compares the table of the Lord with the altar of devils, that is false; for the comparison is made betwixt the table of the Lord and the table of devils. Now who knows not that there is a great difference betwixt a table and an altar? for on the table the worshippers did eat, on the altar they did sacrifice. And who ever said that eating was a sacrificing act? Nay, the Papists themselves will not dare to say, that eating of the Mass is a proper sacrificing act; except they have a mind to consecrate all the people priests; for they all eat of the Mass, and yet none may lawfully sacrifice but priests.

Again: Whereas they say, that the apostle doth here compare the Lord's supper to the sacrifices of Jews and Gentiles; this also is false, if you consider the sacrifices of either Jew or Gentile in the most proper and strict acceptation thereof. For the sacrifices of both the one and the other, strictly taken, was that part of the beast that was offered up unto God or devils on the altar, and not that part which either the priests or offering people did feed on upon their tables; though, by an improper way of speaking, those parts that were eaten may be called sacrifices, because they were parts of those beasts, some parts whereof were truly and properly sacrificed on an altar. That the meaning therefore of the apostle in this place may be cleared, I shall give you the plain sense of the text, and not in my own, but in a paraphrase of Ataides Lusitanus, one of the council of Trent: *Quod Paulus dicit de participando sacrificio Judæorum et de mensâ dæmoniorum, si accipiantur ritus a Deo per Moysen instituti, et qui ab Ethnicis inter sacrificandum adhibiti, non inde effici eucharistiam esse sacrificium. Notum esse apud Moysen in sacrificiis votivis, totam victimam fuisse exhibitam Deo; atque unam partem ejus igni absumptam, quæ erat sacrificium: ex eo quod erat reliquum, partem fuisse sacerdotis et alteram partem offerentis; utrumque partem suam comedisse quâcum ipsi collibitum esset; neque id vocatum sacrificare, sed sacrificatum participare. Idipsum Ethnicos imitatos; etiam partem eam quæ in altari non absumebatur a nonnullis vendi solitam; atque hanc esse mensam quæ non est altare. Perspicuum ergo Pauli sensum hunc esse,—sicut Hebræi, partem eam manducantes quæ ad offerentem spectabat, nempe sacrificii reliquias, participes fiunt altaris, et Ethnici ad eundem modum; ita nos, comedentes eucharistiam, participare sacrificium crucis.* In English thus: "When Paul speaks of partaking of the sacrifice of the Jews and of the table of devils, if those rites, as they are instituted of God by Moses, and accommodated by the Gentiles to their sacrifices, be rightly considered, it will not thence follow that the eucharist is a sacrifice. For it is to be noted, that, when Moses speaks of such sacrifices that belonged to vows, he declares that the whole victim or beast was to be brought before the Lord; one part of which was consumed by fire, which was the sacrifice: of the other parts that were left, they were divided betwixt the priest and the person that offered, both of whom did eat their several parts as it best pleased them; but that eating was not called 'sacrificing,' but 'partaking of that which was sacrificed.' This very custom the Gentiles imitated; for that part of the victim that was not consumed on the altar, by some was wont to be sold, and is that which Paul calls 'the table,' which is not an altar. The perspicuous meaning of Paul is, that as the Jews eating of that part which belonged to the offerers,—they thereby became partakers of the altar; so we, eating of the eucharist, do thereby partake of Christ crucified." Thus he: the sum whereof is this,—that the apostle doth, in this discourse of his to the Corinthians, prove, that he that did eat at the table of devils did thereby declare, that he religiously owned and worshipped those devils as gods to whom part of that beast of which they did eat was sacrificed; and that therefore he advised them, as all Christians, from a participation of those feasts, which, he says, is inconsistent with our eating of the Lord's table, which signifies that we own that God to be our God, to whom—not what we eat is sacrificed, but to whom—Christ was sacrificed for us; a remembrance whereof is by Christ's appointment to be had in his church in this supper. But this doth not at all prove the supper to be a proper sacrifice, any more than that what the Jews or Gentiles did eat at their tables were proper sacrifices.

And thus I have answered the most material arguments [which] the Papists have for the proof of the Mass's being a proper sacrifice.

From the whole discourse, let us make this

IMPROVEMENT.

First. *Let us be awakened hereby to observe what the apostle John hath cautioned us, when he saith, "Little children, keep yourselves from idols."* (1 John v. 21.)—For, certainly, there hath not been a more abominable idol ever invented than this Popish Mass, wherein, to the dishonour of our Lord Jesus, a piece of bread is made the Saviour of the world, and a proper sacrifice for the pardoning of the sins both of the living and the dead. And that which aggravates this kind of idolatry is, that they make Jesus Christ the institutor thereof, and the holy God to be the former and fashioner thereof, by the miracle of transubstantiation.

Secondly. *Let us hereby be awakened into resolutions to keep close to Jesus Christ, our great High Priest, our only sacrifice, and Intercessor at the right hand of God; from whom so many thousand souls have gone a-whoring, under the great apostasy, after this filthy idol.*—Christ sacrificed on the cross we know, and Christ at the right hand of God we know; but Christ made of a piece of bread, and again sacrificed in the Mass, we know not. You are certain Christ was once crucified, and that *that once* was enough to make your peace, and save you; look not after any other sacrifice; for doubtless, as the apostle says, "there remaineth no more sacrifice for sins." (Heb. x. 26.)

Thirdly. *Bless God night and day that hath kept you from this apostasy:* and pray God night and day still to keep you, especially in these times, when there are so many seducers come abroad, to withdraw you from Jesus Christ to this dumb idol.

Many other things I might have added, but it is high time to make an end.

SERMON XXV. (VII.)

BY THE REV. THOMAS DOOLITTLE, A.M.

OF PEMBROKE HALL, CAMBRIDGE.

POPERY IS A NOVELTY; AND THE PROTESTANTS' RELIGION WAS NOT ONLY BEFORE LUTHER, BUT THE SAME THAT WAS TAUGHT BY CHRIST AND HIS APOSTLES.

Thus saith the Lord, Stand ye in the ways, and see, and ask for the old paths, where is the good way, and walk therein, and ye shall find rest for your souls. But they said, We will not walk therein.—Jeremiah vi. 16.

All men in this world, having for their constituent parts a mortal body and an immortal soul,[*] are passing out of this life into another: out of this, because of the mortality of the body;[†] into another, because of the immortality of the soul. And all, both good and bad, are daily and hourly travelling to an everlasting and unchangeable state; whose bodies shall be quickly turned into lifeless dust, and their souls enter into heaven or hell, and be with God or devil, in joy or torment, when they come to their journey's end:[‡] and according to the way they now walk in, so it will be with them for ever. Those that walk in the way chalked out by God, at the end of this life shall have "the end of their faith" and hope and holiness, "the salvation of their souls;" but those that walk after the flesh and in the ways of sin, shall find hell to be at the end of their walk. Therefore it is of infinite concernment to all to observe and do what is prescribed in the text; in which are contained these parts following:—

1. *The duties that are enjoined.*—And they are two.

(1.) *To ask and inquire after the right way that leads to rest and happiness.*—A metaphor taken from a man that is upon his journey;[§] and, not [being] well acquainted with the way to his intended place, stands still and asketh, "Which is my way to such a town? I am bound and bent for such a country; and if I mistake my way, I lose myself, my labour, and my business;"[||] and, being directed, doth heedfully observe what is said unto him, and carefully remembers the marks that are told him, by which he might conclude that he is in his direct and ready way. Sirs, this is your case: you are bound for heaven; you would all be happy when you die; and if you mistake your way, you lose yourselves, your souls and bodies too, and God and Christ and happiness and all, and that for ever. Stand, then, and "earnestly inquire which is your way," (וְשַׁאֲלוּ לִנְתִבוֹת) and diligently observe what are the marks whereby you might know that you are in the road to a blessed, glorious life. And these in the text are two.

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[*] *Ψυχαριον ει βασταζον νεκρον.*—Epictetus. "Thou art a little soul, carrying a dead body."—Edit.

[†] *In terrâ orimur, et in terrâ morimur, revertentes in eum unde sumus assumpti.*—Bernardus *in Fest. S. Martin.* "In the earth is our origin, and in the earth do we die, returning thither whence we were derived."—Edit.

[‡] *Bona mors justi propter requiem, melior propter novitatem, optima propter securitatem. Mala peccatorum mors in mundi amissione, pejor in carnis separatione, pessima in vermis ignisque duplici contritione.*—Idem, *Epist. cv.* "The death of the just is good on account of rest, better on account of novelty, best on account of security. The death of sinners is bad in the loss of the world, worse in the separation of the flesh, worst in the double pain and anguish induced by the worm that dieth not and the fire that is not quenched."—Edit.

[§] *Similitudine utitur.*—Calvinus *in loc.* *Facite ut viatores solent, ubi dubitant quà eundum sit.*—Grotius *in loc.*

[||] *Et interrogate*, subintellige, *alios sapientiores.*—Vatablus *in loc.* "'And ask,' understand, 'others who are wiser.'"—Edit.

(i.) It is "the old way" (עוֹלָם). Seek not out new paths to heaven: keep in the old way, that all the millions of saints, now happy in the enjoyment of their God, went in. If you would get to the place where they be, you must go the same way they did: "The old way that Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob went; the old way that Moses and David, Peter and Paul, and all the holy, humble, and believing, penitent people of God did go." *

(ii.) It is "the good way," as well as "old." For though goodness was before wickedness, yet *every* way that is old is not good.† There is the old way of swearing and lying and drunkenness; there is the old way of hypocrisy, impenitency, and unbelief; the old way of whoredom and hating holiness. This hath been the old way, but a bad one, and [one] that leads to damnation. If you be in this way, and hold on in this way, and go forward, and do not turn, and that quickly too, you will be in everlasting torments, and that quickly too. Stand, then, and see that your way be the good and the old way.

(2.) The next duty in the text enjoined is, *to walk in this way* (וּלְכוּ־בָהּ) *both old and good,* ‡ *when you have found it.*—For if a man have the most exact knowledge of his way, and shall sit down or stand still, and not walk in it, he will never come to the place [which] that way doth lead unto. The way is pointed out by God himself unto you: get up, then; arise, and walk therein; and that with hastened speed. Your way is to a long eternity; the night of death is coming upon you: be daily jogging on; do not loiter in your way. Time goeth on; therefore so do you.

2. In the text there is, *by what authority you are thus strictly enjoined to ask for and walk in the good old ways.*—That is, by divine authority: § "Thus saith the Lord, Stand ye in the ways, and see, and ask," &c. It is the Lord that made thee, that doth thus command thee. It is that Lord that doth preserve thee, in whom thou dost live and move and hast thy being, that hath kept thee out of hell all this while [that] thou hast been going in the wrong way, and running in the paths that lead to destruction and damnation. It is *that* Lord that can damn thee when he will, and that can inflict the punishments and plagues upon thee

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* *Antiquis per quas iverunt Abraham, Jacob, &c.*—GROTIUS.

† There is the old "way of Cain," (Jude 11; 1 John iii. 12; Gen. iv. 8,) and the old "way of Balaam;" (2 Peter ii. 15;) but the way of sin, though never so old, leads to hell. (Matt. vii. 13.)

‡ *Per metaphoram de vitâ, moribus, et actionibus.* "The metaphor of walking is here used with respect to life, manners, and actions."—EDIT.

§ *Hic docet propheta, non posse extenuari culpam populi, quasi errore peccasset; quoniam satis superque admonitus a Deo fuerat.*—CALVINUS. "The prophet here teaches that the guilt of the people cannot be extenuated, as if they had sinned by error; since they had been sufficiently, and more than sufficiently, admonished by God."—EDIT.

that are due unto thee for thy sin against him, that could this day and hour cast thy body to the dust and thy soul to devils, *that* doth command thee to stand, and see whither thou art going. He seeth the way wherein thou art walking; and, out of pity to thee, calleth after thee, saying, "Poor sinner! why art thou so swift, and makest such haste, in the way of sin? Why dost thou run with so much speed to a place of torment, as if thou couldest not get thither surely enough or soon enough? whereas the way [which] thou walkest in (except thou turn) will bring thee to eternal misery surely and quickly too. O stand, and see whither thou art going! stand, and see that at the end of this thy sinful walk thou wilt come unto a lake of burning brimstone, to a doleful dungeon, to a place of torment and of utter darkness! O stand, and see, and look about thee, if thou canst behold any that are going to eternal happiness walking in that way and road that thou art daily travelling in! I therefore charge thee, upon pain of everlasting torment, as thou lovest thy soul, or ever wouldest be received unto everlasting joy and happiness, go not on; turn back again: thou art out of thy way to rest and glory; stand, then, and ask for the good old way, and walk therein."

3. Here is *the encouragement propounded, to stir you up to ask for and walk in the good old way.*—And that is, "rest for your souls:" (וּמִצְאוּ מַרְגוֹעַ לְנַפְשְׁכֶם) * rest, in some measure and from some things, for the present; and rest, perfect and perpetual, in heaven hereafter, for ever. O what ails the sons of men to be so mad upon their lusts and ways of sin, that, though God doth threaten them with everlasting, restless, and (hereafter) remediless torments, [they] will yet go on in the way that leads them thither; and though God promiseth a place and state of rest and love and life, if they will turn their hearts and feet unto the ways that would bring them to it, will notwithstanding keep their sinful course? Which brings to the next part in the words.

4. *The obstinacy and wilful rebellion of sinners, and their resolute purpose to the contrary.*†—God commands you to walk in a good way, but you will not: he promiseth you rest and happiness if you will, but yet you will not; and doth threaten you with death and hell, and yet you will not. O the hardness of your hearts! O the stubbornness of your wills! How great is it, when [neither] the precepts, nor the promises, nor the threatenings of the great, eternal God, will make you bend, nor bow, nor buckle, to his revealed will! It is your own will that will undo you, if you perish. It is your will that is the great enemy and rebel against the blessed God, against his holy law and ways. Do not plead

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* רגע *subitò motus, concitatus, volutus fuit; transitivè, movit, volutavit; per antiphrasin, quievit. (Jer. xlix.* 19; *et xxxi.* 2; *Isai. li.* 4.)—SCHINDLERUS. "The root from which the Hebrew word for 'rest' is derived signifies, 'He was suddenly moved, set in motion, revolved;' transitively, 'He moved, rolled;' by antiphrasis, 'He caused to rest.'"—EDIT.

† *Hìc significat propheta tantùm stetisse per Judæos quominùs fruerentur rebus prosperis et tranquillo statu, et sponte fuisse miseros; quia Deus proposuerat illis felicem statum; sed contemptam fuisse hanc gratiam ab ipsis, idque pervicaciter: nam hoc sonant verba ubi dicunt, Non ambulabimus.*—CALVINUS. "The prophet here intimates that it was the fault only of the Jews themselves, that they did not enjoy prosperity and tranquillity, and that they were voluntarily miserable'; because God had set before them a happy condition; but they had despised this favour, and that perversely: for this is the signification of the words, when they say, 'We will not walk.'"—EDIT.

and say [that] thou *canst* not walk in the good old way; when the reason is rather because thou *wilt* not. It is not so much your impotency, as your obstinacy, that you do not leave your sinful and your wicked ways. You can forbear to swear; but you will not. You can leave your drunkenness; who compels you? who doth constrain and force you? You can, but will not.* Who puts the cup so often to thy mouth, but thine own hand, commanded so to do by thy own will? Who turns thy tongue to curse and to blaspheme the holy name of God, but thy own will? Who compels thy feet to carry thee to a whorehouse? Dost thou not voluntarily move thitherward? and thou goest, not because thou *canst* not forbear, but because thou *wilt* not forbear, to go. Moreover: as thou canst leave many of thy wicked ways, if thou wilt, so thou canst set upon a better course of life, if thou wilt. Thou canst go to sermons, if thou wilt; and thou canst consider of what thou hearest, if thou wilt; and thou canst fall down upon thy knees and pray to God, if thou wilt: who doth hinder thee, but thine own will? And if thou wilt not do what thou canst, is it not a plain case that thou wouldest not do more, though thou couldest? Do not plead that thou canst not, till thou hast done the best that thou canst do, which yet unto this day thou never hast done. If thou wert now a-dying, canst thou say [that] thou hast done thy best, and the most that thou couldest do, to leave the way of sin, and to walk in a better way? Thy own conscience would condemn thee, and tell thee that thou hast not. The day is hastening when it shall be roundly told thee in thy ear, "Thou mightest have been holy, and so happy; but thou wouldest not. Thou wast called to come to Christ, that thou mightest have lived; but thou wouldest not. Thou wast exhorted to ask for and walk in the good old way; but the reason why thou didst not was, because thou wouldest not." And how deservedly are they damned, that are wilful in their ways, and are resolved that in the good way they will not walk!

The text, according to these parts contained in it, would afford so many doctrines; which would yield matter for many practical sermons; but must all be omitted, because I am limited to endeavour to make good this POSITION; namely,

POSITION.

That Popery is a novelty; and the Protestants' religion was not only before Luther, but the same that was taught by Christ and his apostles.

For the more clear and distinct proceeding in the handling of this assertion, I shall cast what I have to say (and can bring into one sermon) into this method:—

I. *I shall premise some certain propositions for the better stating of the matter in hand.*

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* *Reprobatio Dei non subtrahit aliquid de potentiâ reprobati. Unde, licet àliquis non possit gratiam adipisci qui reprobatur a Deo, tamen quòd in hoc peccatum vel illud labatur, ex ejus libero arbitrio contingit; unde et meritò sibi imputatur in culpam.*—AQUINAS, *Pars Prima*, quæst. xxiii. art. 3. "The reprobation of any one by God does not subtract any thing from the power of the reprobate. Whence, although any one who is reprobated by God cannot obtain grace, yet it happens by his own free will that he falls into this or that sin; wherefore it is also justly imputed to him for guilt."—EDIT.

II. *I will give you a parallel or comparison of the doctrines taught by the prophets, Christ, and his apostles; the doctrines of the Protestants, or Reformed churches; and the doctrines of the Papists; by which you may easily discern, that ours is the old and true, but theirs a new and false, religion.*

III. *I will show you that the same religion and doctrine professed and owned by the Protestants was, (after Christ and his apostles,) before Luther, taught and received by many.*

IV. *I will give you an account of some of the material, essential points of Popery, when they first sprang up in the church, and when first made articles of faith with such strictness that* they *should be accounted heretics* that *did not profess to believe them, but would oppose them; that, by their original and rise, you may rightly conclude that the charge of novelty laid upon the Popish religion is a just charge.*

V. *I will make some practical application of the whole.*

I. The first part of the method propounded contains these eight PROPOSITIONS:

FIRST PROPOSITION.

*That the ordinary way in which lost sinners since the fall of Adam have been recovered and restored to life and salvation, as to the essentials of the covenant of grace, in all ages hath been one and the same.**—For though God hath "at sundry times and in divers manners," *ϖολυμερως και ϖολυτροπως*, revealed his will unto his church, (Heb. i. 1,) yet the covenant of grace, (cast out to fallen man, as a plank after shipwreck,) under various external dispensations, hath been the same: under the law administered by promises, prophecies, sacrifices, and circumcision, the paschal lamb, and other types and ordinances delivered to the people of the Jews, all pointing at Christ *to come;* † under the gospel, by the preaching of the word, and administration of the sacraments, baptism and the Lord's supper, which is done in commemoration of the death of Christ *already past*. This way hath been the same to heaven all along —through Christ—successively from Adam to our days, and will be the same to the end of the world; which we might learn from the excellent harmony, perfect agreement, betwixt the doctrine of Moses, the prophets, and Christ and his apostles. For these, "declaring the whole counsel of God," (Acts xx. 27,) did yet preach no new doctrine concerning Christ and salvation by him, but what Moses and the prophets did say, and that also in reference to the Gentiles as well as to the Jews. (Acts xxvi. 22, 23.) To believe on Christ, to love God above all, to repent, and mortify sin, to be sanctified and renewed after the image of God, to be obedient to the will of God, hath been the good way from of old. The new change in outward administrations, made by Christ and the apostles, did not make a new way to heaven; though the old dispensations then did cease, and give place to those appointed by Christ: which, with the doctrines of the apostles, are retained in the Reformed church; but are depraved, corrupted, and departed from by the church of Rome; as will appear by the parallel of doctrines.

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* *Ea quippe fides justos servavit antiquos quæ et nos; id est, Mediatoris Dei et hominis, Jesu Christi.*—Augustinus *De Nat. et Grat.* cap. 44. "That faith, certainly, saved the just men of old which now saves us; that is, the faith of the Mediator between God and man, Christ Jesus."—Edit. † *Christi, veri Sacrificii, multiplicia variaque signa erant sacrificia prisca sanctorum, cùm hoc unum per multa figuraretur; tanquam verbis multis res una diceretur, ut sine fastidio multùm commendetur.*—Augustinus *De Civitate Dei*, lib. x. cap. 20. "The ancient sacrifices of the saints were manifold and various signs of Christ, the true Sacrifice; since this alone was set forth by divers figures; as if one thing should be expressed in many words, so as to be much commended without producing tedium."—Edit.

SECOND PROPOSITION.

Antiquity is not a mark of a true church.—A church of a long standing and continuance successively from age to age might be a false church. The church of Rome, contrary to all reason, makes antiquity a mark whereby a true church might be known; and, contrary to all history, brags of her own antiquity.[*] But that which is a distinguishing mark, to difference one thing from another, must be found in one kind, in all of that kind, only in that kind, and yet always in it:[†] as, a man hath two feet; but thereby cannot be distinguished from some other creatures, because this is common to birds as well as men. So, to be skilful in music is proper only to man, but not found in every man; therefore no mark to know a man by; for, one that is no musician is a true and real man, as well as he that is. So, also, there might be something proper to one kind of beings, and only to that kind, and to every one of that kind, but not always; as laughter to mankind only, and to every one, but not always: for though no creature can laugh but man, yet one is as true and real man when he doth not use that action, as when he doth. Again: though man only is endued with learning of arts and sciences amongst living creatures, yet to say [that] this is a mark of a man, were to say that most men in the world were no men: for the most are not so learned; and the men that are now learned were not always so, and yet had then the true and real nature of men. But if you say, "A man hath a power or faculty to laugh," you then give a plain mark to distinguish him from all others: because this power is proper to mankind only, to every one of mankind, only, and always; and therefore, this being a property of mankind, and inseparable from any of that kind, a difference to distinguish man from all other living creatures might be taken from thence, beside the constitutive specifical difference.

By this plain familiar instance the common and unlearned people (to whose capacity the design is to accommodate this sermon) might understand something of the nature of a mark whereby one thing might be known from another; and, applying this to the business in hand, might make a judgment that the Popish braggings of antiquity, alone considered, will fall short of a demonstration, or evidence, that the church of Rome is the only true church; that hereby she cannot prove herself to be a true church; and that upon these two grounds or reasons:—

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[*] *Secunda nota ecclesiæ est antiquitas: nostra autem ecclesia, quam adversarii Papisticam vocant est illa ipsa quam Christus instituit, et proinde vetustior omnibus sectis hæreticorum.*—BELLARMINUS *De Concil. et Eccles.* lib. iv. cap. 5. "The second mark of the church is antiquity: but our church, which our adversaries term 'Popish,' is the very same which Christ instituted, and therefore more ancient than all the sects of heretics."—EDIT.

[†] *Proprium convenit soli alicui speciei, omnibusque illius individuis, et semper. Tres notarum conditiones ponit Bellarminus: 1. Debent esse propriæ, non communes. 2. Debent esse notiores eâ re cujus sunt notæ; alioqui non sunt notæ, sed ignotæ. 3. Sunt inseparabiles a verâ ecclesiâ.*—*Ibid.* cap. 2. "A distinguishing property belongs to any one kind alone, and to all the individuals of that kind, and always. Bellarmine lays down three conditions of marks: '1. They ought to be proper, not common. 2. They ought to be better known than the thing of which they are the marks: otherwise they are not *notes* or well known, but *ignotes* or unknown. 3. They are inseparable from the true church.'"—EDIT.

REASON I. *Because antiquity is separable from a true church.*—As the church of God in Adam's days was a true church; and yet it was not then an ancient church, when it first began: and the Christian church in the apostles' days was a true Christian church; and yet it was not then an ancient Christian church, no more than an infant newly born might be said to be an old man; and yet it is a true man, though not old.

REASON II. *Because antiquity is not only separable from a true church, but is also common to other things now as well as to a true church.*—Yea, it might be spoken of the synagogue of Satan, forasmuch as Satan hath had his followers in the world for many thousand years; and there have been many wicked and ungodly societies of men far more ancient than the church of Rome, or any pope the head thereof. So that the antiquity that the church of Rome boasts of, (but hath not,) cannot prove it to be the true church of Christ, any more than the synagogue of Satan. And that antiquity that indeed she hath, together with her spiritual fornication, may evidence her to be an old harlot, but not the true church. For when she saith [that] she is so old as to be the mother of all other churches, we can name some churches, that she would have to be her daughters, to be more ancient than the church of Rome; but it is absurd to say, the mother is younger than any of the daughters.

THIRD PROPOSITION.

As antiquity is not a mark of a true church, so neither is antiquity a note of true doctrine.—For although all truth is more ancient than error, (error being a corruption of truth,) yet every doctrine that is old or of many hundred years' standing is not therefore true: for there are old errors and old heresies;[*] yea, such as are more ancient than those that are properly and formally Popish errors. There are the old errors and heresies of Cerinthus, Ebion, Arius, and many more, of a sooner and more early original than the main doctrines of Popery, that are essential to that religion; and if we judge of doctrines merely by antiquity, many heresies have the precedency before Popery. Since, then, wickedness and error can plead antiquity of many ages; it is plain that antiquity is a praise or dispraise, according to the nature of the thing of which it is spoken: if it be good, the older the better; if it be bad, the older the worse; continuance in sin being an aggravation of it; as an old swearer, an old drunkard or idolater, is worse than one that hath lately taken up such wicked practices. "Antiquity of doctrine and worship, without truth and purity, being but grey-headed error and sin,"[†] it follows that, the longer the church of Rome hath embraced such worship and taught such doctrines, she is not so venerable for her antiquity as vile for her iniquity.

[*] *Quodcunque adversùs veritatem sapit, hoc erit hæresis, etiam vetus consuetudo.*—TERTULLIANUS *De Virg. Veland.* "Whatever savours of opposition to the truth, this is heresy, even though it be a custom of long standing."—EDIT.

[†] *Consuetudo sine veritate vetustas erroris est.*—CYPRIANI *Epist. ad Pompeium.*

FOURTH PROPOSITION.

Some of the Popish doctrines and some parts of Popish worship are older and of a longer standing than some other be.—Rome was not built in one day; and the body and system of Popish doctrine, as now it is held, was not finished in one age. Popery came in by degrees; and Antichrist did rise to this height, as now he is in, step by step. The question propounded by the Papists to be resolved by the Protestants,—saying, Who was the first pope that brought-in their religion? and who was the first that made all the innovations [which] we complain of?[*]—is ridiculous and absurd; supposing that to be introduced into the church by one man in one age, which was brought in gradually by many men in many ages.

FIFTH PROPOSITION.

Those things that are essential to our religion are owned by the Papists themselves.—For they do profess to own the scripture to be the word of God, and that it is certainly true; but do add their own traditions, things not contained in the scripture, yet "necessary to salvation," which we cannot receive. They own Christ to be the Head of the church; and so do we: but they add and say that the pope is the head of the universal church also; but so do not we. They own baptism and the Lord's supper; so do we: but they add five sacraments more; which we deny. They own that there is a heaven and a hell, as well as we: but they teach that there was a place distinct from both, in which the souls of believers were before Christ's death; and that there is a purgatory, and a place for the souls of infants, distinct from heaven and hell; all which we do deny. They own the merits of Christ; and so do we: but they add their own merits; which we deny. And so in other points. So that the controversy betwixt us and them is *not* whether what we hold be true and old; for that is granted by the Papists themselves, as to the essential parts of our religion:[†] *but* about what they have invented and added to the true religion. All our religion is contained in the scripture; and what is there we own, and nothing else, as necessary to salvation. The sum of our religion is comprehended in the Ten Commandments, Creed, and Lord's Prayer; which the Papists also do confess and own. So that our religion is past dispute, and is in a manner granted to us: but whether the Popish doctrines, as such, be true and old, is the very controversy betwixt us and them.

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[*] *In omni insigni mutatione religionis semper ista sex demonstrari possunt: 1. Auctor ejus; 2. Dogma aliquod novum; 3. Tempus quo cœpit; 4. Locus ubi cœpit; 5. Quis eam oppugnaverit; 6. Exiguus aliquis cœtus, unde, paulatim aliis accedentibus, cœperit. Nihil autem horum de nobis ostendere possunt* (subintellige, *hæretici).*—BELLARMINUS *De Concil. et Eccles.* lib. iv. cap. 5. "In every remarkable change of religion these six things may always be shown: 1. Its author; 2. Some new dogma; 3. The time at which it began; 4. The place where it commenced; 5. Who opposed it; 6. Some small assembly, whence, by the gradual accession of others, it took its rise. But the heretics cannot manifest any of these things with regard to us."—EDIT.

[†] *Nota secundò ea quæ sunt simpliciter necessaria apostolos consuevisse omnibus prædicare. Dico, illa omnia scripta esse ab apostolis, quæ sunt omnibus necessaria, et quæ ipsi palam omnibus vulgò prædicaverunt.*—BELLARMINUS *De Verbo Dei,* lib. iv. cap. 11. "In the second place, observe that the apostles were accustomed to preach to all men those things which are simply necessary. I say that all those things were written by the apostles, which are necessary for all, and which they openly and publicly preached to all."—EDIT.

SIXTH PROPOSITION.

From the former follows this,—*that there are more things essential to the Popish religion, as such, than there are to our religion.*—They do own our essentials; but we deny theirs. Those in which we and they do agree, are acknowledged by both to be true and old; those in which we differ from them, we truly say, are new.

SEVENTH PROPOSITION.

The Reformation of the church doth not consist in bringing-in of new things, but in casting them out and paring them off.—It is a gross mistake, that in the Reformation, in and since Luther's time, the church hath brought-in new doctrines, and rejected the old; but (which is the truth) [she] hath cast away the new, and retaineth the old. Gold and dross were mixed together; the jewel of truth was hid under the filth of corrupt doctrines: our Reformers kept the jewel and the gold, and cast the dross and filth away. The reception of the old doctrine, and the rejection of the new, is that which made the Reformation: and if the church of Rome would own what is in the scripture, and no more, as necessary to salvation; and would cut off the new, which they have added to the old; we and they should be of the same religion. Our religion was perfect and complete, before the doctrine and the worship of the church of Rome (as now it is) were in being: and if you give a coat to a man, and he afterward put some pieces to it long after it was a coat; if you ask a mendicant or a beggar in the street, he may tell you [that] *that* is the new part *which* was put to it after it was a perfect coat.

EIGHTH PROPOSITION.

*To know which is the old religion and the new, we must keep to the word of God, as the rule and test thereof.**—What is not in the word of God, no way, neither expressly nor by just, immediate, necessary consequence; and yet is made necessary to salvation; is certainly a new religion, though it hath been taught many hundred years. Thus all false gods, though long since served and worshipped, are called "new gods that came newly up." (Deut. xxxii. 17.) The old religion, then, must be examined by the old rule,—the holy scriptures: so that, to determine this, we need not run to the canons of the church, the councils of men, to the decrees of the pope, to the writings of the fathers; which are all fallible, and of later standing than the word of God, as being before any such councils, canons, constitutions, and writings of men since the apostles' time. When, therefore, the Papists ask you, "Where was your religion before Luther?" you might confidently answer, Where their religion never was, nor will be, found: and that is, in the holy scriptures; which were long before Luther was, or the pope either. But if you ask them, Where was their religion in the apostles' times, and several hundred years after Christ? you will put them hard to it to show you; nay, they cannot do it.

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* *Si ad divinæ traditionis caput et originem revertamur, cessat error humanus.*—CYPRIANI *Epist. ad Pomp.* "If we turn our attention to the head and fountain of divine tradition, human error ceases."—EDIT.

II. The second general head in the method proposed is, *to give you a parallel of doctrines taught by the prophets, Christ, and his apostles; by the Protestants, or Reformed church; by the Papists, or the church of Rome.*—The first shall be laid down in the very words of scripture; the second, out of the public Confessions of faith of the Reformed church in England and beyond the seas; the third, out of the writings and decretals of the popes, councils, cardinals, and other doctors approved by the church of Rome. By all which the three things contained in this position will be made manifest:—First. *That the doctrine of Protestants is the same that was taught by Christ and his apostles.* Secondly. *That therefore it was long before Luther.* Thirdly. *That the doctrine of the church of Rome, differing from, and being contrary to, the doctrine of Christ and his apostles, must be a very novelty.* But here I have not time nor room to make this comparison in all points of differing doctrine betwixt us and them; but shall make choice of some out of many, but enough to prove the thing asserted.

A PARALLEL OF THE DOCTRINES OF PROPHETS, CHRIST, AND HIS APOSTLES; THE PROTESTANTS; AND PAPISTS.

I. CONCERNING THE PERFECTION AND SUFFICIENCY OF THE SCRIPTURE UNTO SALVATION.

1. *The doctrine of the prophets, Christ, and apostles, concerning this point.*

"What thing soever I command you, observe to do it: thou shalt not add thereto, nor diminish from it." (Deut. xii. 32.) "The law of the Lord is perfect, converting the soul." (Psalm xix. 7.) "But these are written, that ye might believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God; and that believing ye might have life through his name." (John xx. 31.) "But though we, or an angel from heaven, preach any other gospel unto you than that which we have preached unto you, let him be accursed. As we said before, so say I now again, If any man preach any other gospel unto you than that ye have received, let him be accursed." (Gal. i. 8, 9.) "And that from a child thou hast known the holy scriptures, which are able to make thee wise unto salvation through faith which is in Christ Jesus. All scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness: that the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works." (2 Tim. iii. 15—17.) "For I testify unto every man that heareth the words of the prophecy of this book, If any man shall add unto these things, God shall add unto him the plagues that are written in this book: and if any man shall take away from the words of the book of this prophecy, God shall take away his part out of the book of life, and out of the holy city, and from the things which are written in this book." (Rev. xxii. 18, 19.)

2. *The doctrine of the Reformed churches concerning the perfection and sufficiency of the scripture unto salvation.*

"The holy scripture containeth all things necessary for salvation; so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man, that it should be believed as an article of the faith, or be thought requisite and necessary to salvation."[*]

"It is not lawful for the church to ordain any thing that is contrary to God's word. As it ought not to decree any thing against the same, so besides the same ought it not to enforce any thing to be believed for necessity of salvation."[†]

"The whole counsel of God concerning all things necessary for his own glory, man's salvation, faith, and life, is either expressly set down in scripture, or by good and necessary consequence may be deduced from scripture; unto which nothing at any time is to be added, whether by new revelations of the Spirit, or traditions of men."[‡]

"The canonical scripture, or the word of God delivered by the Holy Ghost, and by the prophets and apostles propounded to the world, is the most perfect and ancient philosophy; doth alone perfectly contain all piety, all rule of life."[§]

The Reformed church in France thus: "Whereas the word of God is the sum of all truth, containing whatsoever is requisite to the worship of God and our salvation; we affirm that it is not lawful for men or angels either to add any thing to it or take away any thing from it, or to change any thing at all therein: from whence it follows, that it is not lawful to set either antiquity, or custom, or a multitude, or human wisdom, opinions, decrees, councils, or visions, or miracles, in opposition to divine scripture; but rather that all things ought to be examined and tried according to this rule, and what is prescribed therein."[||]

The Belgic Confession thus: "We believe that the holy scripture doth perfectly contain the will of God; and that whatsoever is necessary to be believed by men for the obtaining of salvation, is sufficiently taught therein. For when it is forbidden that any should add to it or take away from it, thereby is abundantly demonstrated that the doctrine thereof is most perfect and every way complete."[¶]

Wittemburgh Confession: "That all doctrine necessary to be known by us in order to true and eternal salvation is not contained in the scripture, is sooner said than proved."[**]

To add no more, by these it is evident that in this point the Reformed churches do not only agree among themselves, but also with the prophets and apostles, teaching herein the same doctrine that Christ and they did; which was the thing to be proved.

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[*] Church of England, Article 6.

[†] Article 20.

[‡] "Assembly's Confession of Faith."

[§] *Confessio Helvetica, Syntagma Confessionum*, p. 67.

[||] *Quùm verbum Dei sit omnis veritatis summa, complectens quicquid ad cultum Dei et salutem nostram requiritur, neque hominibus neque ipsis etiam angelis fas esse dicimus quicquam ei verbo adjicere vel detrahere, vel quicquam prorsùs in eo immutare. Ex hoc autem efficitur, neque antiquitatem, consuetudines, neque multitudinem, neque humanam sapientiam, neque judicia, neque edicta vel decreta ulla, neque concilia, neque visiones, neque miracula, scripturæ illi divinæ opponere licere; sed potiùs omnia ad ejus regulam et præscriptum examinari et exigi oportere.—Gallica Confessio, in Syntag. Confess.* p. 78.

[¶] *Credimus sacram hanc scripturam Dei voluntatem perfectè complecti; et quodcunque ab hominibus ut salutem consequantur credi necesse est, in illâ sufficienter edoceri. Quùm enim vetitum sit ne quis Dei verbo quicquam addat aut detrahat, satis eo ipso demonstratur, doctrinam illius perfectissimam omnibusque modis consummatam esse.—Belg. Eccles. Confess. Syntag.* p. 131.

[**] *In hâc scripturâ non contineri omnem doctrinam nobis ad veram et perpetuam salutem cognitu necessariam, videtur faciliùs posse dici quàm probari.—Wittemb. Confess., Syntag.* p. 130.

3. *The doctrine of the Papists concerning the perfection and sufficiency of the scripture.*

The council of Trent declared, "that the doctrine of the gospel is contained in the written word and in unwritten traditions;" and that they did "receive and honour the unwritten traditions, whether appertaining to faith or manners, with the same reverence and holy affection as they did all the books of the Old and New Testament." *

The canon law saith, that "men do with such reverence respect the apostolical seat of Rome, that they rather desire to know the ancient institution of Christian religion from the pope's mouth, than from the holy scripture: and they only inquire what is his pleasure; and according to it they order their life and conversation." † Again: that "the (popes') Decretal Epistles are to be numbered with canonical scripture." ‡

Dr. Standish, in his book against English Bibles, saith, "Take from them the English damnable translations; and let them learn to give as much credit to that which is not expressed, as to that which is expressed, in the scripture."

Melchior Canus writeth, "that many things belong to Christian faith and doctrine, which are neither plainly nor obscurely contained in holy scripture." And he doth give particular instances: "That the help of the holy martyrs should be craved by prayer, and their memories celebrated, and their images worshipped, and such-like, is not taught in the holy scripture; and yet the Catholic church doth as firmly hold these and many such-like doctrines as if they were written in holy scripture."§ Again he says, "There is more efficacy for confutation of heretics in tradition than in scripture." Again: "Almost all disputations with heretics should be referred to the traditions received from our forefathers." ||

Cardinal Hosius speaks out, saying, "The greatest part of the gospel is come to us by tradition; very little of it is committed to writing." ¶

By this, reader, thou mayest plainly perceive that the doctrine of the Papists in this is expressly contrary to the doctrine of the prophets, Christ, and his apostles; and that the doctrine of the Protestants is the

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* *Sacrosancta Tridentina synodus, perspiciens hanc veritatem (evangelii) et disciplinam contineri in libris scriptis et sine scripto traditionibus, omnes libros tam Veteris quàm Novi Testamenti, necnon traditiones ipsas, tum ad fidem, tum ad mores pertinentes, pari pietatis affectu ac reverentiâ suscipit et veneratur.—Concil. Trident.* sess. iv.

† *Et reverà tantâ reverentiâ apicem præfatæ apostolicæ sedis omnes suspiciunt, ut antiquam Christianæ religionis institutionem magis ab ore præcessoris ejus, quàm a sacris paginis et paternis traditionibus, expetant: illius velle, illius nolle, tantùm explorant, ut ad ejus arbitrium suam conversationem et ipsi remittant aut intendant!—Corp. Juris Canon.* dist. xl. *Si Papa,* in annot.

‡ *Inter canonicas scripturas Decretales Epistolæ connumerantur.—Corp. Juris Canon.* dist. xix.

§ *Multa pertinere (docet) ad Christianorum fidem et doctrinam quæ nec apertè nec obscurè in sacris literis continentur. Sanctorum martyrum auxilium precibus implorandum, eorumque memorias celebrandas, imagines venerandas esse; in sacrificio eucharistiæ simul cum corpore sanguinem sacerdotibus esse et conficiendum et sumendum, &c.; sacræ literæ nusquam fortè tradiderunt. At ejusmodi atque alia pleraque id genus ita firmiter ecclesia Catholica retinet, ut si sacris codicibus fuissent inscripta.—*MELCHIOR CANUS *De Locis Theologicis,* lib. iii. cap. 3.

|| *Adde, quòd ad confutandos hæreticos major vis in traditione quàm in scripturâ est. Quorsùm hæc tam longo sermone repetita? Nempe, ut intelligas, non modò adversùm hæreticos plus habere traditionem quàm scripturam virium, sed etiam omnem fermè cum hæreticis disputationem ad traditiones a majoribus acceptas esse referendam.—Ibid.*

¶ *Multòque maxima pars evangelii pervenit ad nos traditione; perexigua literis est mandata.—*HOSII *Confess. Fid. Cathol.* cap. 92, p. 133, fol.

very same with the doctrine of Christ and the apostles. Compare them together; and thou wilt see the agreement of the one, and the contrariety of the other, to the doctrine of scripture; and conclude that the doctrine of the Reformed church is the old and true, but the doctrine of the church of Rome is both new and false, doctrine; and that what the Rhemists, on Gal. i. 8, say,—"It is great pity and shame that so many follow Luther and Calvin, and such other lewd fellows, into a new gospel,"—is more true of, and better applied to, the followers of the Popish doctors, or of the Rhemists themselves: who, on 2 Tim. iii. 16, say, "The heretics, upon this commendation of holy scriptures, pretend (very simply, in good sooth) that therefore nothing is necessary to justice and salvation but scriptures;" and, on John xxi. 25, "Few things are written of Christ's acts and doctrine in comparison of that which he did and spake; and yet the heretics will needs have all in scripture:" whereas the evangelist saith not that any thing is omitted of his doctrine, but of his acts; for though he spake more words than be expressed, yet all the doctrines that he uttered in those words are contained in the scriptures of the Old and New Testament. The apostles preached nothing but that which was contained in the scriptures. (Acts xvii. 11; xxvi. 22; Rom. i. 2. FULKE *in loc.*)

II. OF READING OF THE SCRIPTURE.

1. *The doctrine of the prophets, Christ, and apostles, concerning the common people's reading and knowing of the scripture.*

"Gather the people together, men, and women, and children, and thy stranger that is within thy gates, that they may hear, and that they may learn, and fear the Lord your God, and observe to do all the words of this law: and that their children, which have not known any thing, may hear, and learn to fear the Lord your God, as long as ye live in the land." (Deut. xxxi. 12, 13.) "There was not a word of all that Moses commanded, which Joshua read not before all the congregation of Israel, with the women, and the little ones, and the strangers that were conversant among them." (Joshua viii. 35.) "His delight is in the law of the Lord; and in his law doth he meditate day and night." (Psalm i. 2.) [The Ethiopian eunuch] "was returning, and sitting in his chariot read Esaias the prophet." (Acts viii. 28.) "Search the scriptures; for in them ye think ye have eternal life: and they are they which testify of me." (John v. 39.) And "these were more noble than those in Thessalonica, in that they received the word with all readiness of mind, and searched the scriptures daily, whether those things were so." (Acts xvii. 11.) "Whereby, when ye read, ye may understand my knowledge in the mystery of Christ." (Eph. iii. 4.) "Let the word of God dwell in you richly in all wisdom." (Col. iii. 16.) "I charge you by the Lord that this epistle be read unto all the holy brethren." (1 Thess. v. 27.) "And that from a child thou hast known the holy scriptures." (2 Tim. iii. 15.) "Blessed is he that readeth, and they that hear the words of this prophecy, and keep those things that are written therein." (Rev. i. 3.)

2. *The doctrine of the Protestants and Reformed churches concerning the people's reading and knowing of the scriptures.*

"Because the original tongues are not known to all the people of God, who have right unto and interest in the scriptures, and are commanded in the fear of God to read and search them; therefore they are to be translated." "All sorts of people are bound to read it" (the word of God) "apart by themselves, and with their families." "It is lawful for all men privately at home to read the holy scriptures, and by instructions to edify one another in the true religion."[*]

3. *The doctrine of the Papists concerning the people's having or reading of the scripture.*

"Whereas experience teacheth that, if the Bible be every where without difference permitted in the vulgar tongue, through men's unadvisedness, more hurt than good doth arise thereby; in this point let the judgment of the bishop or inquisitor be followed; that, with the advice of the parish-priest or confessor, they may grant the reading of the Bible, translated by Catholic authors, in the vulgar language, to such as, they shall understand, can take no hurt by such reading, but increase of faith and godliness: the which licence let them have in writing. And if any presume without such licence either to read or have it, unless they first deliver up their Bibles to the ordinary, they may not have the pardon of their sins. And the booksellers that [to one] without such licence shall sell or any way afford Bibles in the vulgar language, shall forfeit the price of the books, to be converted by the bishop to pious uses; and be liable to such other penalties, according to the quality of the offence, as the bishop shall think meet."[†]

Though this is not agreeable to the doctrine of Christ and his apostles,—that men must not read the scripture without a licence from men; for so what is strictly commanded by God would be at the pleasure of others, whether God be obeyed or no: and some liberty by pope Pius IV. doth seem to be granted for the reading of the Bible to whom they please; yet it is taken away fully by pope Clement VIII., in his observation on this before-alleged rule, in these words:—

"It is to be observed concerning this rule of Pius IV., that by this impression and edition no new power is granted to bishops or inquisitors or superiors to license the buying, reading, or keeping the Bible in the vulgar tongue; seeing hitherto, by the command and practice of the holy Roman and universal Inquisition, the power of granting such licences to read or keep Bibles in the vulgar language, or any parts of the holy scripture, as well of the New as of the Old Testament, or any sums or historical abridgments of the same, in any vulgar language, hath been taken from them; which inviolably is to be observed."*

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[*] *Omnibus sacras literas privatim legere domi et instruendo ædificare mutuum in verâ religione, liceat.—Confess. Helvet.* cap. 22.

[†] *Cùm experimento manifestum sit, si sacra Biblia vulgari linguâ passim sine discrimine permittantur, plus inde, ob hominum temeritatem, detrimenti quàm utilitatis oriri; hâc in parte judicio episcopi aut inquisitoris stetur; ut, cum consilio parochi vel confessorii, Bibliorum, a Catholicis auctoribus versorum, lectionem in vulgari linguâ eis concedere possint, quos intellexerint ex hujusmodi lectione non damnum, sed fidei atque pietatis augmentum, capere posse: quam facultatem in scriptis habeant. Qui autem absque tali facultate ea legere aut habere presumpserint, nisi priùs Bibliis ordinario redditis, peccatorum absolutionem percipere non possint. Bibliopolæ verò qui prædictam facultatem non habenti Biblia idiomate vulgari conscripta vendiderint, vel alio quovis modo concesserint, librorum pretium, in usus pios ab episcopo convertendum, amittant, aliisque pœnis pro delicti qualitate ejusdem episcopi arbitrio subjaceant.— Index Lib. prohib.* regul. 4.

Cardinal Bellarmine to the same purpose teacheth, that "the people would get not only no good, but much hurt, from the scriptures; for they would easily take occasion of erring, both in doctrines of faith, and in precepts concerning life and manners."†

Peresius (quoted by Dr. White) saith, "Shall no bounds be set to popular, rude, and carnal men? Shall old men before they have put off the filth of their mind, and young men that yet speak like children, be admitted to read the scripture? I suppose verily, (and my opinion fails me not,) this ordinance, under the pretence of piety, was invented by the devil."

The Rhemist translators in their preface write in these words: "Which translation we do not publish upon erroneous opinion of necessity that the holy scriptures should always be in our mother-tongue; or that they ought, or were ordained of God, to be read indifferently of all; or that we generally and absolutely deemed it more convenient in itself, and more agreeable to God's word and honour, or edification of the faith, to have them turned into vulgar tongues, than to be kept and studied only in the ecclesiastical learned languages." "The wise will not regard what some wilful people do mutter,—that the scriptures are made for all men; and that it is of envy that the priests do keep the holy book from them: which suggestion cometh of the same serpent that seduced our first parents; who persuaded them that God had forbidden them that tree of knowledge lest they should be as cunning as himself and like unto the Highest. No, no; the church doth it to keep them from blind, ignorant presumption, and from that which the apostle calls 'knowledge falsely so called;' and not to bar them from the true knowledge of Christ." "She knoweth how to do it, without casting the holy to dogs, or pearls to hogs."

Bravely said! O the excellent art of the mother-church, that, by keeping of her sons and daughters ignorant of the word of God, (the means of knowledge,) keeps them from blindness and ignorance! Who ever thought that to keep people *in* ignorance had been the way to keep them *from* it? What pretty conceit is this,—that they bar the people from knowing the scripture, and yet do not bar them from the knowledge of Christ; when Christ bids us "search the scriptures; for they are they that testify of" him!

III. OF RELIGIOUS WORSHIP IN A KNOWN TONGUE.

1. *The doctrine of the scripture concerning this point.*

"He that speaketh in an unknown tongue speaketh not unto men, out unto God: for no man understandeth him; howbeit in the spirit he speaketh mysteries." (1 Cor. xiv. 2. Read verses 3—8.) "So likewise ye, except ye utter by the tongue words easy to be understood, how shall it be known what is spoken? for ye shall speak into the air. If I know not the meaning of the voice, I shall be unto him that speaketh a barbarian, and he that speaketh shall be a barbarian unto me. For if I pray in an unknown tongue, my spirit prayeth, but my understanding is unfruitful. Else when thou shalt bless with the spirit, how shall he that occupieth the room of the unlearned say Amen at thy giving of thanks, seeing he understandeth not what thou sayest? I thank my God, I speak with tongues more than ye all: yet in the church I had rather speak five words with my understanding, that by my voice I might teach others also, than ten thousand words in an unknown tongue." (Verses 9, 11, 14, 16, 18, 19. Read also verses 22—28.)

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* *Animadvertendum est circa suprascriptam quartam regulam Indicis Pii Papæ IV., nullam per hanc impressionem et editionem de novo tribui facultatem episcopis vel inquisitoribus aut regularium superioribus concedendi licentiam emendi, legendi, aut retinendi Biblia vulgari linguâ edita; cùm hactenùs mandato et usu sanctæ Romanæ et universalis Inquisitionis sublata eis fuerit facultas concedendi hujusmodi licentias legendi vel retinendi Biblia vulgaria, aut alias sacræ scripturæ tam Novi quàm Veteris Testamenti partes quavis vulgari linguâ editas, ac insuper summaria et compendia etiam historica eorundem Bibliorum, seu librorum sacræ scripturæ, quocunque vulgari idiomate conscripta; quod quidem inviolatè servandum est.—Index Lib. prohib.* observatio circa reg. 4.

† *Populus non solùm non caperet fructum ex scripturis, sed etiam caperet detrimentum; acciperet enim facillimè occasionem errandi, tum in doctrinâ fidei, tum in præceptis vitæ et morum.*—BELLARMINUS *De Verbo Dei*, lib. ii. cap. 15.

2. *The doctrine of the Reformed churches concerning religious worship in a known tongue.*

"It is a thing plainly repugnant to the word of God and the custom of the primitive church, to have public prayer in the church, or to minister sacraments, in a tongue not understood by the people."[*]

"Because the original tongues are not known to all the people, who have right unto and interest in the scriptures, and are commanded in the fear of God to read and search them; therefore they are to be translated into the vulgar language of every nation unto which they come; that, the word of God dwelling plentifully in all, they might worship him in an acceptable manner."[†]

"'Let all things' in the church 'be done decently and in order;' finally, 'let all things be done to edification:' therefore let all strange tongues keep silence in the holy assemblies; let all things be uttered in the vulgar tongue, which is understood of all men in the company."[‡]

"Contrary to the express command of the Holy Ghost, in the church all things are said and sung in a language which the people do not understand."[§]

"What hath been already said concerning the use of a language known to the common people, is to be understood not only in singing of psalms, but also of all the parts of the ecclesiastical ministry; for, as sermons and prayers ought to be in a tongue known unto the church, so also should the sacraments be dispensed in a known language. For though it be lawful for the sake of the learned sometimes to use a strange tongue, yet the consent of the universal church requires" (proves) "this,—that the necessary services of the church should be done in the mother-tongue."[‖]

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[*] Church of England, Article 24.

[†] "Assembly's Confession."

[‡] *Omnia decenter et ordine fiant in ecclesiâ; omnia denique fiant ad ædificationem: taceant ergo omnes peregrinæ linguæ in cœtibus sacris; omnia proponantur linguâ vulgari, quæ eo in loco ab hominibus in cœtu intelligatur.—Confess. Helvet.* cap. 22.

[§] *Contra expressum Spiritûs Sancti præceptum, in eâ omnia dicuntur et canuntur linguâ quam populus non intelligit.—Confess. Argentinensis*, cap. 21.

[‖] *Quod jam dictum est de usu linguæ vulgo notæ, intelligendum est non tantùm de cantu psalmorum, sed etiam de omnibus partibus ecclesiastici ministerii; sicut enim conciones et precationes linguâ ecclesiæ notâ habendæ sunt, ita et sacramenta noto sermone dispensanda sunt. Etsi enim licebit aliquoties peregrinâ linguâ propter studiosos uti, tamen consensus catholicæ ecclesiæ hoc exigit,—ut necessaria ministeria ecclesiæ fiant sermone vernaculo.—Confess. Wittemb., de Horis canon.*

"Our" ministers "use all diligent endeavours, that they may teach in the church and preach the word of the gospel, without mixture of human traditions; do read the very gospels and other scriptures in the churches in the vulgar tongue; and after do interpret them to the people." *

3. *The doctrine of the Papists concerning public religious worship in a known tongue.*

"Although the Mass containeth much instruction of the people, yet the fathers thought it not expedient that it should be every where celebrated in the vulgar tongue." †

"Experience teaching us, we have learned what hath been the fruit of this,—that divine service in many places translated into the mother-tongue is said. It is so far [from causing] that piety should be increased, that it is much diminished thereby." ‡

The Rhemist divines, on 1 Cor. xiv., thus: "We do not doubt but it is acceptable to God, and available in all necessities, and more agreeable to the use of all Christian people ever since their conversion, to pray in Latin, than in the vulgar; though every one in particular understandeth not what he saith. So it is plain that such pray with as great consolation of spirit, with as little tediousness, with as great devotion and affection, and sometimes more than the other," (such of their own church that learn their Pater-noster in their vulgar tongue,) "and always more than any schismatic or heretic" (Protestants) "in his own language." "There is a reverence and majesty in the church's tongue dedicated in our Saviour's cross; and [it] giveth more force and valour [weight] to them" (prayers) "said in the church's obedience, than to others." "The special use of them" (prayers) "is, to offer our hearts, desires, and wants to God, and to show that we hang on him in all things: and this every Catholic doth for his condition, whether he understand the words of his prayer or not." "It is enough that they can tell this holy orison to be appointed to us,—to call upon God in all our desires: more than this is not necessary; and the translation of such holy things often breedeth manifold danger and irreverence in the vulgar, (as, to think [that] God is the author of sin, when they read, 'Lead us not into temptation,') and seldom any edification at all. To conclude: for praying either publicly or privately in Latin, which is the common sacred tongue of the greatest part of the Christian world, this is thought by the wisest and godliest to be most expedient, and is certainly seen to be nothing repugnant to St. Paul."

Reader, view over again 1 Cor. xiv.; and wonder at this Popish insolence,—to say, "This is nothing repugnant to St. Paul."

IV. OF THE AUTHORITY OF THE SCRIPTURE.

1. *The doctrine of the apostles concerning the authority of the scripture,*—that it doth not depend upon the testimony of men.

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* *Nostri omnem operam navant, ut verbum evangelii, impermixtum humanis traditionibus, in Ecclesiâ doceant ac prædicent; proindè ipsa evangelia, necnon alias scripturas, linguâ vulgari in templis legunt; ac ita demùm populo interpretantur.—Confess. Bohemica*, artic. 10.

† *Etsi Missa magnam contineat populi fidelis eruditionem, non tamen expedire visum est patribus ut vulgari passim linguâ celebraretur.—Concil. Trident.* sess. xxii.

‡ *Experientiâ magistrâ didicimus quid fructûs ea res attulerit, quòd in plerisque locis officia divina in linguam vernaculam ad verbum translata decantentur. Tantum abest ut accesserit ad pietatem aliquid plus, ut etiam diminutam esse videatur.*—Hosius *De Sacro vernaculè legendo.*

"We have also a more sure word of prophecy; whereunto ye do well that ye take heed, as unto a light that shineth in a dark place." (2 Peter i. 19.) "Holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost." (Verse 21.) "All scripture is given by inspiration from God." (2 Tim. iii. 16.) "If we receive the witness of men, the witness of God is greater." (1 John v. 9.) "Ye received the word of God which ye heard of us, not as the word of men, but as it is in truth, the word of God." (1 Thess. ii. 13.)

2. *The doctrine of the Protestants or Reformed churches concerning the authority of the scripture.*

"The authority of holy scripture, for which it ought to be believed and obeyed, dependeth not upon the testimony of any man or church, but wholly upon God, (who is Truth itself,) the Author thereof; and *therefore* it is to be received, *because* it is the word of God." *

"We believe without wavering all things which are contained in the scriptures; not so much because the church alloweth and receiveth them for canonical, as for that the Holy Ghost beareth witness to our consciences that they come from God, and [they] have proof thereof in themselves." †

"We believe and confess that the canonical scriptures of the prophets and apostles, of the Old and New Testament, be the true word of God; and have sufficient authority from themselves, and not from men: for God himself spake unto the fathers, prophets, and apostles; and doth yet speak unto us by the holy scriptures." ‡

"We acknowledge these books to be canonical; that is, we receive them as the rule of our faith; and that not only from the common consent of the church, but much rather from the testimony and inward persuasion of the Holy Spirit." §

"As we do believe and confess that the word of God doth sufficiently instruct, and make the man of God perfect; so we do affirm and freely profess that its authority is from God, and doth not depend upon men or angels. We therefore assert, that they who say, 'The scripture hath no other authority but what it receiveth from the church,' are blasphemers against God, and wrong the true church, which always heareth and obeyeth the voice of her Bridegroom and Pastor, but never challengeth to herself a power to be the mistress over it." ||

"Forasmuch as the holy scriptures were given and inspired by God

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* "Assembly's Confession."

† *Omnia quæ canonicis libris continentur absque omni dubitatione credimus; idque non tam quòd ecclesia eos pro hujusmodi recipiat et approbet, quàm imprimis quòd Spiritus Sanctus in cordibus nostris testetur a Deo profectos esse, comprobationemque ejus in seipsis habeant.—Confess. Belg.* artic. 5.

‡ *Credimus et confitemur scripturas canonicas sanctorum prophetarum et apostolorum utriusque Testamenti ipsum verum esse verbum Dei; et authoritatem sufficientem ex semetipsis, non ex hominibus, habere. Nam Deus ipse loquutus est patribus, prophetis et apostolis; et loquitur adhuc nobis per scripturas sanctas.—Confess. Helvet.* cap. 1.

§ *Hos libros agnoscimus esse canonicos; id est, ut fidei nostræ normam et regulam habemus; idque non tantùm ex communi ecclesiæ consensu, sed etiam multò magis ex testimonio et intrinsecâ Spiritûs Sancti persuasione.—Confess. Gallica,* art. 4.

|| *Sicut credimus et confitemur scripturas Dei sufficienter instruere, et hominem Dei perfectum reddere; ita ejus authoritatem a Deo esse, et nec ab homine vel angelo pendere, affirmamus et profitemur. Asserimus itaque quòd qui dicunt scripturam non aliam habere authoritatem sed eam quam ab ecclesiâ accepit, sunt in Deum blasphemi, et veræ ecclesiæ injuriam faciunt; quæ semper audit et voci Sponsi et Pastoris sui obsequitur, nunquam autem magistram agere sibi arrogat.—Confess. Scoticana,* art. 19.

himself for this cause especially,—that they might be understood of all; they are read in our churches in the vulgar tongue."[*]

3. *The doctrine of the Papists concerning the authority of the scripture.*

Cardinal Hosius, president in the council of Trent, saith, "To ask whether more credit should be given to the scripture or the church, is to ask whether more credit should be given to the Holy Ghost speaking by the mouth of the church, or to the Holy Ghost speaking in the scripture by the writings of the prophets and apostles. The church is to be believed without the authority of the scriptures. If authority be not granted to the testimony of the church, the writings of the evangelists would be of no authority."[†]

Hermannus speaks most contemptuously of the holy scriptures inspired by the glorious God; saying, "When the authority of the church leaveth the scriptures, they then are of no more account than Æsop's Fables."

Pighius treads in the steps of the rest; concluding that "all the authority which the scripture hath with us, dependeth of necessity on the church."[‡]

And so doth Canus; asserting that "we are not bound to take the scriptures for scripture without the authority of the church."[§] And so do many more, whose sayings we have not room to insert.

V. OF THE JUDGE OF CONTROVERSIES AND EXPOUNDING SCRIPTURES.

1. *The doctrine of Christ and his apostles concerning the judge of controversies and expounding scriptures.*

"Jesus answered and said unto them," (in the controversy about the resurrection,) "Ye do err, not knowing the scriptures, nor the power of God. But as touching the resurrection of the dead, have ye not read that which was spoken unto you by God, saying, I am the God of Abraham," &c. (Matt. xxii. 29, 31, 32.) "For he mightily convinced the Jews, and that publicly, showing by the scriptures that Jesus was the Christ." (Acts xviii. 28.) "And Paul, as his manner was, went in unto them, and three sabbath-days reasoned with them out of the scriptures, opening and alleging, that the Christ must needs have suffered, and risen again from the dead; and that this Jesus, whom I preach unto you, is the Christ." (Acts xvii. 2, 3. See Acts xxvi. 22; xiii. 33.)

The apostle teacheth that the scripture must not be expounded according to any private interpretation: (2 Peter i. 20:) and such is any exposition that is not "according to the analogy of faith;" which must be carefully heeded in scripture-interpretation, according to the apostle's doctrine. (Rom. xii. 6.)

2. *The doctrine of the Protestants and Reformed churches concerning the judge of controversies and expounding scripture.*

"The supreme judge by which all controversies of religion are to be determined, and all decrees of councils, opinions of ancient writers, doctrines of men and private spirits, are to be examined, and in whose sentence we are to rest, can be no other but the Holy Spirit speaking in the scripture." [*]

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[*] *Quòd a Deo ipso sacræ scripturæ traditæ et inspiratæ, hancque ob causam potissimùm,—ut ab omnibus intelligantur; eas ecclesiis nostris linguâ vulgari (nostri omnes) legunt et recitant.—Confess. Bohemica*, art. 1.

[†] *Creditum est ecclesiæ sine omni scripturarum præsidio. Testimonio ecclesiæ si non sua tribuetur autoritas, nulla erit eorum quæ scripta sunt ab evangelistis autoritas.*—HOSII *Confess. Fid. Cath.* cap. 15.

[‡] PIGHIUS *De Hierarch.* lib. i. cap. 2.

[§] MELCHIORIS CANI *Loc. Com.* lib. ii. cap. 8.

"We hold no other judge in matters of faith than God himself, declaring by the holy scriptures what is true and what is false, what ought to be embraced and what to be avoided." [†]

"The infallible rule of interpretation of scripture is the scripture itself; and therefore, when there is a question about the true and full sense of any scripture, it must be searched and known by other places of scripture that speak more clearly." [‡]

"We acknowledge that interpretation of scripture only to be orthodox and genuine, which is fetched from the scriptures themselves." [§] So other churches in their Confessions. [||]

3. *The doctrine of the Papists concerning the judge of controversies and expounding scripture.*

The council of Trent decreed that "none should interpret the holy scripture contrary to the meaning which the holy mother-church, to whom it doth belong to judge of the true sense and interpretation of scripture, hath held and doth hold." [¶]

"Forasmuch as the holy church of Rome is set up to the whole world for a glass or example, whatsoever she determineth or ordaineth ought by all perpetually and invincibly to be observed." So their canon-law.[**]

Others of them to the same purpose: "All power to interpret scripture, and reveal the hidden mysteries of our religion, is given from heaven to the popes and their councils. We are bound to stand to the judgment of the pope, rather than to the judgment of all the world besides."

"We do constantly avouch all the popes that are rightly elected to be Christ's vicars, and to have the highest power in the Catholic church; and that we are bound to obey him in all things pertaining to faith and religion. All Catholic men must necessarily submit their judgment and opinions, either in expounding the scripture or otherwise, to the censure of the apostolic seat; and God hath bound his church to hear the chief pastor in all points." Thus Andradius, Alvarus, Pelagius, Simanca. (WHITE's "Way to the Church," p. 37.)

Bellarmine sticks so close to the judgment of the pope, that he had as good say that if the pope say that black is white or white black, that darkness is light or that light is darkness, we must believe it because his infallible Holiness saith it, as say what he doth in these words:

"If the pope did err, commanding vices and forbidding virtues; the church should be bound to believe that vices are good and virtues evil, unless she would sin against conscience." [††] Is not this a notable saying, spoken like a cardinal?

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[*] "Assembly's Confession."

[†] *Confess. Helvet.* cap. 2.

[‡] "Assembly's Confession."

[§] *Confess. Scoticana*, art. 18, *de Notis Ecclesiæ.*

[||] *Confess. Helvet.* cap. 2; *Confess. Wittemberg., de sacrâ Scripturâ, et de Ecclesiâ.*

[¶] *Nemo sacras scripturas contra eum sensum quem tenuit et tenet sancta mater ecclesia, cujus est judicare de vero sensu et interpretatione scripturarum sanctarum, interpretari audeat.—Concil. Trid.* sess. iv.

[**] *Corpus Jur. Can.* dist. xix. cap. *Enimvero.*

[††] To prove [that] the pope cannot err, he useth this argument: *Si autem papa erraret præci-*

Stapleton, advancing the judgment of the church, speaks resolvedly: "I have said, and do say, that scripture in itself is not so much the rule of faith, as the faith of the church is the rule of scripture." *

And Gregory of Valence puts-in his saying for the pope's judgment: "In the Roman bishop resideth that full authority of the church, when he pleaseth, to determine matters of faith, whether he doth it with a council or without." †

Yea, the canon law sets him up for such an uncontrollable judge, that "if the pope, by his negligence or remissness in his work, be found unprofitable to himself or others; or if he should draw with him innumerable souls by heaps or troops to hell; yet might no mortal man be so bold or presumptuous [as] to reprove him; because he is the judge of all, to be judged by none." ‡

VI. OF THE HEAD OF THE UNIVERSAL CHURCH.

1. *The doctrine of Christ and his apostles concerning the head of the universal church.*

"But be not ye called Rabbi: for one is your Master, even Christ; and all ye are brethren." (Matt. xxiii. 8.) "And hath put all things under his feet, and gave him to be the Head over all things to the church, which is his body, the fulness of him that filleth all in all." (Eph. i. 22, 23.) "Christ is the Head of the church: and he is the Saviour of the body." (Eph. v. 23.) "And he" (Christ) "is the Head of the body, the church." (Col. i. 18.) "And God hath set some in the church, first apostles, secondarily prophets, thirdly teachers," &c. (1 Cor. xii. 28.) "And he gave some, apostles," &c.; "and some, pastors and teachers." (Eph. iv. 11.)

Reader, observe, in these places where the apostle gives an enumeration of church-officers, here is no mention of a vicar of Christ, or of any mortal man being the head under Christ of all the churches of Christ in the world: and is it likely that he would have omitted the chiefest and most principal officer, that is essential to the church, if there had been any such? I can find several officers mentioned, but no universal, though secondary, head. If I have overlooked him, and thou findest any such, do me the kindness to come, or send, and tell me that thou hast found him in the apostle's catalogue; whom I could not see mentioned, neither expressly nor reductively: *not expressly;* that is plain: *not reductively;* for to which of these should he be reduced? To the prophets? Let me hear his prophecies, and when any of them have been fulfilled: besides, I know not that he pretends thereto. To be an apostle? Apostles went up and down to preach the gospel, and were not fixed to any particular state; which is not the case of the bishop of Rome. To the number of teachers and pastors? This is below the pope,—to be ranked amongst such; for he is the pastor of pastors. Besides,

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piendo vitio, prohibendo virtutes, teneretur ecclesia credere vitia esse bona et virtutes malas, nisi vellet contra conscientiam peccare; ac ne fortè contra conscientiam agat, tenetur credere bonum esse quòd ille præcipit, malum quòd ille prohibet.—BELLARMINUS *De Pont.* lib. iv. cap. 5.

* STAPLETONUS *De Autorit. Scrip.* lib. ii. cap. 11. † GREGORII DE VALENTIA *Analysis Fidei,* lib. viii. cap. 1. ‡ *Corpus Juris Can.* dist. xl. *Si papa,* &c.

in the catalogue there are many pastors; but I see not one to be the chief and head of all the rest, and of the whole universal church. So that in the catalogue of the apostle there is no such thing; but [it] is a *non-ens* ["non-entity"], a mere chimera, a fiction.

2. *The doctrine of the Protestants or Reformed churches concerning the head of the universal church.*

"There is no other head of the church but the Lord Jesus Christ; nor can the pope of Rome in any sense be head thereof. All true pastors, in what place soever they be placed, have the same and equal authority among themselves, given unto them under Jesus Christ, the only Head, and the chief, and alone universal, Bishop. And therefore it is not lawful for any church to challenge unto itself dominion or sovereignty over any other church. The bishop of Rome hath no more jurisdiction over the church of God, than the rest of the patriarchs, either of Alexandria or Antioch, have."

To this doctrine subscribe the churches of Helvetia, Scotland, Belgia, Wittemberg, Bohemia, &c.[*]

3. *The doctrine of the Papists concerning the head of the church.*

The canon-law makes the church of Rome higher than all others by the head; affirming the church of Rome to be "the head and prince of all nations, the mother of faith;" that it "had this headship, not from the apostles, but from the Lord himself; and hath the eminency of power over the universal church, and the whole flock of Christian people; [and is] the hinge and head of all churches; as the door doth turn upon the hinges, so all churches by God's appointment" (but where, I wonder) "are governed by the authority of this holy seat; the first of all other seats, without spot or blemish, or any such thing;" (that is a loud one!) "the mistress of all other churches; a glass and spectacle unto all men, to be followed in all things [which] she appointeth." "Against which church of Rome whosoever speaketh any evil, or endeavours to take away her privilege, is forthwith a heretic; and whoso shall refuse obedience to the apostolic seat, is an idolater, a witch, and Pagan."[†]

Reader, these are high and swelling words; but the best on [of] it is, [that] it is false doctrine.

The Roman Catechism propounds the question, "What are we to think of the bishop of Rome?" and answereth, "The account and unanimous opinion of all the fathers" (O horrible falsehood!) "concerning him was, that this visible head was necessary to the constituting and preserving of the unity of the church."[‡]

Reader, thou shouldest know that this is a great cause of division, not of union; for many churches have separated from them, and continue without communion with them, for this as well as for other reasons.

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[*] *Confess. Helvet.* cap. 17; *Confess. Scoticana*, art. 16, *de Ecclesiâ; Confess. Belgica*, art. 29; *Confess. Wittemb., de summo Pontifice; Confess. Bohemica*, art. 8.

[†] *Corpus Juris Can., Decret.* pars ii. quæst. vii. cap. *Beati;* dist. xxii. cap. *Romana Ecclesiâ cæterarum Primatum habet, et Gloss.;* dist. xxii. cap. *Non, et Gloss., Sacrosancta;* dist. xxi. cap. *Quamvis; ibid.* cap. *Denique;* dist. xix. cap. *Enimvero;* dist. xxii. cap. *Omnes;* dist. lxxxi. P. Greg. VII. cap. *Si qui.*

[‡] *Catechismus Tridentinus, in Expos. Symb. Apost.*

Bellarmine lays down this assertion: "The pope is immediately appointed by Christ" (but I wonder where) "the pastor and head, not only of all particular churches, but also of the whole universal church taken together." * But this is their so well-known doctrine by all, that I need quote no more that do assert it.

VII. OF INFALLIBILITY.

1. *The doctrine of the apostles concerning the fallibility of churches and pastors.*

"For now we see through a glass, darkly: now I know" but "in part." (1 Cor. xiii. 12.) "But when Peter was come to Antioch, I withstood him" (Peter, the pope's pretended predecessor) "to the face, because he was to be blamed." (And yet his successor must not be blamed, though through his negligence he should draw many to hell; as before is shown.) "For before that certain came from James, he" (Peter) "did eat with the Gentiles: but when they were come, he withdrew and separated himself, fearing them which were of the circumcision. But when I saw that they walked not uprightly according to the truth of the gospel, I said unto Peter before them all," &c. (Gal. ii. 11—14.) Reader, from hence thou mayest learn that the successor, so called, claimeth a greater privilege than his supposed predecessor had; for Peter did err, but the pope, forsooth, cannot. Yet Papists call this text "a rough scripture;" for it so puzzleth them, that they know not how to answer it. [See] Rom. xi. 18—21; turn to it,—verse 22: "Behold therefore the goodness and severity of God: on them" (the church of the Jews) "which fell, severity; but toward thee," (the Gentiles, and [the] church of Rome amongst them,) "goodness, if thou continue in his goodness:" (as she hath not:) "otherwise thou also shalt be cut off." Where then is her infallibility? "Babylon the great is fallen, is fallen, and is become the habitation of devils," (and yet cannot err; no more may devils,) "and the hold of every foul spirit," (and yet boasts [that] she is without spot,) "and a cage of every unclean and hateful bird," (Rev. xviii. 2,) and yet is the holy mother-church. All this is hard to be reconciled. Read also, [in] the second and third chapters of the Revelation, what is said of the seven churches; and then look for good proof that infallibility is settled by Christ upon the church of Rome above all other churches, before thou believest any such privilege to be granted to it.

2. *The doctrine of the Protestants and Reformed churches concerning the fallibility of churches.*

"As the churches of Jerusalem, Alexandria, and Antioch have erred; so also the church of Rome hath erred; not only in their living and manner of ceremonies, but also in matters of faith." † "When general councils are gathered together, (forasmuch as they be an assembly of men, whereof all be not governed with the Spirit and word of God,) they may err, and sometime have erred, even in things pertaining unto God." ‡ Hereunto agree many other churches in their Confessions. §

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* BELLARMINUS *De Concil. Autorit.* lib. ii. cap. 15.

† Church of England, art. 19.

‡ Article 21.

§ *Confess. Helvet., de Ecclesiâ; Confess. Saxon., de Eccles.; Confess. Wittemberg., de Conciliis.*

3. *The doctrine of the Papists concerning* [*the*] *infallibility of the church.*

They teach that "the visible church, whose rector is the pope of Rome, never hath erred, never can err." [*]

Bellarmine affirmeth, (1.) "That the pope, when he teacheth the whole church, can in no case err in things appertaining to faith." [†] (2.) "Not only the pope of Rome, but the particular church of Rome, cannot err in faith." [‡] (3.) "The pope of Rome cannot err, not only in decrees of faith, but also not in precepts of manners which are prescribed to the whole church and are necessary to salvation, or in those things which in themselves are good or evil." [§] (4.) "It is probably and piously to be believed, that the pope not only as pope cannot err, but as a particular person cannot be a heretic," (this is a foul mistake; for several popes have been heretics in the judgments of some of their popes: so that some of them must needs err; either some of them in being heretics; or others of them in saying they were, if they were not,) "by pertinaciously believing any thing that is false, contrary to the faith." [||] (5.) Saith he, "Our opinion is, that the church cannot absolutely err; neither in things absolutely necessary, nor in other things which she propoundeth to be believed or done by us, whether they be expressly contained in the scriptures or not." [¶] (6.) "In these two things all the Catholics do agree: First. That the pope with his general council cannot err in making decrees of faith, or general precepts of manners. Secondly. That the pope, alone or with his particular council, determining any thing in a doubtful matter, whether he may err or not, ought to be obeyed by all the faithful." [**] A goodly agreement!

Becanus gives the opinion of the Papists; saying, "(i.) That the church is the judge of controversies. (ii.) That the rule by which the church doth determine controversies, or give its definitive sentence, is not the scripture only, but the scripture and tradition together. (iii.) That the church according to the rule" (of scripture and tradition) "pronounceth sentence, either by the pope, the pastor of the church; or by a council approved by the pope; and both ways infallibly." [††]

Pighius also puts-in his judgment that "the pope cannot any way be a heretic, nor publicly teach heresy, though he alone determine any matter." [‡‡]

But, reader, notwithstanding all this confidence of infallibility, whether of pope or councils or both, they are proved to have erred, from the historical narratives of their own writers. Baronius acknowledgeth that pope Honorius was counted a heretic, joining with the Monothelites, or those that denied two wills in Christ; [§§] and [this is acknowledged] by their own Genebrard, [||||] and by the Rhemists: though some of them go one away, and some another, to salve the infallibility; yet in vain, when he was condemned by a general council, and anathematized, with six more, holding the same heresy; and this when the legates of pope Agatho were present; whose epistles to Sergius, &c., were produced and read in the council, and judged heretical, destructive to men's souls, and condemned to be presently burned; and so they were. *

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[*] *Catechismus Trident., in Expos. Symb. Apost. de Eccles.* quæst. 15; "Test. Rhemist. Annot." on 1 Tim. i. 15; and Eph. v. 24.

[†] BELLARMINUS *De Rom. Pontif.* lib. iv. cap. 3.

[‡] *Ibid.* lib. iv. cap. 4.

[§] *Ibid.* lib. iv. cap. 5.

[||] *Ibid.* lib. iv. cap. 6.

[¶] Idem *De Eccles. Milit.* lib. iii. cap. 14.

[**] Idem *De Rom. Pont.* lib. iv. cap. 2.

[††] *Catholici tria docent, &c.*—BECANI *Manuale*, lib. i. cap. 5.

[‡‡] PIGHIUS *De Hier. Eccl.* lib. iv. cap. 8.

[§§] SPONDANI *Epitome* BARONII, pars ii. p. 96.

[||||] GENEBRARDI *Chron.* lib. iii. p. 484.

Their own Baronius also gives an account of the barbarous actings of pope Stephen VII. (called "the sixth") toward the dead body of Formosus, his predecessor: for, taking it out of the sepulchre, [he] set it, clothed in its *pontificalibus*, ["pontificals,"] in the pontificial seat; and, after he had derided it, took off its vestments, and cut off three fingers, and cast it into the river Tiber: and all that Formosus had ordained, he degraded, and ordained them again. † "This pope," saith the author, "gathering a synod, approved his inhuman fact [deed]; which was condemned again by pope John IX., as he had made void the decrees of Formosus." And thus they can decree, and others rescind and decree the contrary, and act worse than Heathens; and yet not err, any of them, in faith or manners; which to any man's reason seemeth very strange.

Besides, Marcellinus was an idolater; ‡ Liberius, an Arian; § Siricius, Calixtus, Leo IX., and Paschalis condemned ministers' marriage. John XXII. held, that the souls of the wicked should not be punished till the day of judgment. John XXIII. denied the soul's immortality. John XI. kept for his paramour a famous strumpet, called Marozia. John XIII. at dice called to the devil for help, and drank a health to him; lay with his own mother and his father's concubine; ordained deacons in a stable; for money made boys bishops; committed incest with two of his sisters; at last being found in the act of adultery, was slain by the woman's husband.

Pope Sylvester II. was a conjuror. He, inquiring of the devil how long he should live, was answered, Till he should say Mass in Jerusalem. In the Lent after, as he was saying Mass in the chapel of St. Cross, he suddenly fell sick; and remembering that that chapel was called "Jerusalem," he perceived how he was cozened by the devil. Before he died, he bequeathed his soul to the devil, and commanded his cardinals that after his death they should cut his body in pieces, and so bury him. ‖ Pope Hildebrand was a conjuror; and inquiring of the host (which, they say, is the body of Christ) for an answer against the emperor, because it would not speak, he threw it into the fire and burned it. ¶ For many wickednesses he was deposed and banished. Pope Leo X., pleased with the great sums of money which he had got by indulgences, said to cardinal Bembus, "See what abundance of wealth we have gotten by this fable of Christ!" And when he lay upon his death-bed, the same cardinal rehearsing a text of scripture to him, he replied, "Away with these fables concerning Christ!" Pope Nicolas I. forbade marriage to the clergy; saying [that] it was more honest to have to do with many women privately, than openly to take one wife. John XXIV. was accused before the council of Constance for heresy, simony, murder, poisonings, adulteries, and sodomy; which being made good against him, he was deposed and imprisoned. Pope Eugenius IV was deposed by the general council at Basil, for "being a simonist and guilty of perjury, being a schismatic and an obstinate heretic." * It would make a large book, to give an account of the failings of popes in matters both of life and faith; but I have but little room allowed. Take two general expressions of their own authors, and then judge: "What then was the face of the holy Roman church? How exceeding filthy, when the most potent, and yet the most sordid, whores did rule at Rome, and their lovers [were] thrust in Peter's chair!" † Another, fixed enough to the Popish religion, acknowledged that "in this one thing that age was unhappy,—that, for near one hundred and fifty years, about fifty popes did wholly fall away from the virtue of their ancestors, being rather apotactical" (irregular) "and apostatical than apostolical." ‡

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* *Concil. Constantinop. VI.* act. 13; SURIUS, tom. ii. p. 992; CARANZÆ *Summa Concil.* p. 591, 610, 612.

† *Ita furore percitus homo, non quod jure liceret, sed quod exæstuans rabies suaderet, implens.*—SPONDANI *Epitome* BARONII, pars ii. p. 247. "A man so transported with rage, fulfilling, not what he lawfully might do, but whatever an overboiling frenzy prompted him."—EDIT.

‡ *Ipse Marcellinus ad sacrificium ductus est, ut sacrificaret; quod et fecit.*—CARANZÆ *Concil.* p. 72.

§ *Liberium tædio victum exilii in hæreticam pravitatem subscripsisse, asserit Hieronymus: testantur idipsum alii quoque antiqui scriptores; ac denique ipse Liberius scriptis literis ad, &c.*—SPONDANI *Epitome* BARONII, in ann. 357.

‖ *Sylvestrum II., Benedictum IX., Gregorium VI., Gregorium VII., fuisse magos, narrat* BENNO *cardinalis. Sylvester II. inter ipsas mortis angustias supplicat manus et linguam sibi abscindi, per quas sacrificando dæmonibus Deum inhonoravit.* "Cardinal Benno relates that Sylvester II., &c., were magicians. Sylvester II. in the very pangs of death begged that his own hands and tongue might be cut off; by sacrificing with which to devils, he had dishonoured God."—EDIT.

¶ *Hildebrandus (qui Gregorius VII.) consecratam eucharistiam in ignem projecit, consulens dæmones contra Henricum IV. imperatorem.*—BENNO *cardinalis, qui et plura de hoc et aliis Romanis pontificibus miranda narrat, quæ nullus historicorum, neque Platina nec quisquam alius, prodidit.* "This account is taken from Cardinal Benno, who also relates several other wonderful

And as the church, if thereby [be] understood the pope, hath failed; so also, if taken for general councils, [it] hath also failed; as is plain by this infallible argument,—in that several general councils, ratified by popes, have decreed things contradictory, and that in matters of faith; and some of them must necessarily err; except contradictions can be reconciled, and both parts be true; which is impossible. For example: the general councils of Constance and of Basil have fully asserted that a general council is above the pope, and [that he] is to be judged by them, and by them may be deposed; in these words: "Not one of the skilful did ever doubt but that the pope was subject to the judgment of a general council in things that concern faith; and that he cannot without their consent dissolve or remove a general council; yea, and that this is an article of faith, which, without destruction of salvation, cannot be denied; and that the council is above the pope *de fide* ['in matter of faith']; and that it cannot be removed without their own consent; and

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things respecting this and other Roman pontiffs, which no other historian, neither Platina nor any one else, has revealed."—EDIT. *Vide* ILLYRICI *Catalogum*, pp. 219—221, 223, &c.

* LAURENTII SURII *Concilia*, tom. iv. p. 104.

† Vide LUITPRANDUM, lib. ii. cap. 13; *et* BARONII *Annales*, ad an. 912; vel SPONDANUM. *Ex quibus videas fœdissimam hujus temporis ecclesiæ Romanæ faciem*, ad an. 912. "From whom you may see the most filthy appearance of the Roman church at this time."—EDIT.

‡ GENEBRARDUS *in seculum decimum: Infelix dicitur hoc seculum, exhaustum hominibus ingenio et doctrinâ claris, sine etiam claris principibus et pontificibus, in quo nihil ferè dignum memoriâ posteritatis gestum sit: hoc ipso infelicissimum, quòd ecclesia esset sine ullo bono ferè pontifice.—Hoc verò uno infelix, quòd per annos ferè* 150 *pontifices circiter* 50*—a Johanne, scilicet, VIII., qui Nicolao et Adriano II. sanctis successit, ad Leonem IX. usque—a virtute majorum prorsùs defecerint, apotactici apostaticive potiùs quàm apostolici. E tanto pontificum numero, quinque modò, et satis tenuiter, laudantur, &c.*—GENEBRARDI *Chronol.* lib. iv, pp. 552, 553.

that he is a heretic that is against these things." Thus the council of Basil, owned by pope Eugenius; and the council of Constance,* confirmed by pope Martin V., being personally present in it. And yet another general council, at the Lateran, under Julius II. and Leo X., expressly decree on the contrary that the pope is above a general council.† Till these two can be true, both of them,—The pope is above a general council, and, The pope is not above a general council,—the infallibility of their church (and that even in a fundamental point thereof) is laid in the dust. Let them choose which side they will, one did err.

VIII. OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH.

1. *The doctrine of the apostles concerning the catholic or universal church.*

"Unto the church of God which is at Corinth, with all that in every place call upon the name of Jesus Christ our Lord, both theirs and ours." (1 Cor. i. 2.) "For by one Spirit are we all baptized into one body, whether we be Jews or Gentiles, whether we be bond or free; and have been all made to drink into one Spirit." (1 Cor. xii. 13.) "After this I beheld, and, lo, a great multitude, which no man could number, of all nations, and kindreds, and people, and tongues, stood before the throne, and before the Lamb." (Rev. vii. 9.) See also Eph. i. 10, 22; Acts ii. 39; Eph. ii. 19; iii. 15; Acts ii. 47; Matt. xxviii. 19; Mark xvi. 15; Acts ii. 21; Rom. i. 16; Gal. iii. 28; Acts xiii. 39; Rom. x. 4; Luke xiii. 28, 29; Acts x. 35.

Reader, observe that these scriptures speak of the church under Christ, the Head thereof; (making no mention of owning of, or being joined to, any mortal man, as their visible head;) in which church (not limited or confined to the church of Rome) there is salvation.

2. *The doctrine of the Protestants concerning the catholic or universal church.*

"The catholic or universal church, which is invisible, consists of the whole number of the elect, that have been, are, or shall be gathered into one, under Christ, the Head thereof; and is the spouse, the 'body, the fulness of Him that filleth all in all.'

"The visible church, which is also catholic or universal, under the gospel, (not confined to one nation, as before under the law,) consists of all those throughout the world that profess the true religion, together with their children; and is the kingdom of the Lord Jesus, the house and family of God, out of which there is no ordinary possibility of salvation."

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* *Primò, definitur quòd generalis synodus, in Spiritu Sancto legitimè congregata, generule concilium faciens, ecclesiam militantem repræsentans, potestatem a Christo immediatè habet, cui quilibet, cujuscunque statûs, etiamsi Papalis existat, obedire tenetur in his quæ pertinent ad fidem et ad extirpationem schismatum et ad generalem reformationem ecclesiæ in capite et in membris. Secundò, declarat quòd quicunque, cujuscunque dignitatis, et etiamsi Papalis existat, qui mandatis aut præceptis hujus sanctæ synodi, et cujuscunque alterius concilii generalis, obedire contumaciter contempserit, nisi resipuerit, condignæ pœnitentiæ subjiciatur et debitè puniatur. Tertiò, declarat quòd ipsum generale concilium pro præmissis eaque concernentibus congregatum, sine ipsius consensu, per nullum, quâvis autoritate, etiamsi Papali dignitate præfulgeat, dissolvi, transferri, aut ad aliud tempus prorogari potest. Hæc tria sunt veritates fidei Catholicæ, quibus pertinaciter repugnans est censendus hæreticus.* † *Cùm etiam solum Romanum pontificem, pro tempore existentem, tanquam authoritatem super omnia concilia habentem, conciliorum indicendorum, transferendorum, ac dissolvendorum plenum jus et potestatem habere, ex conciliorum confessione manifestè constet.*—LAURENTII SURII *Concil.* tom. iv. p. 683. There was but one in all the council but gave his *placet* hereunto, that would not recede from the determination of the council of Basil.—*Ibid.* p. 684.

This is the confession also of the churches of Helvetia, Bohemia, Belgia, Wittemburgh, &c.*

3. *The doctrine of the Papists concerning the catholic or universal church.*

The Trent Catechism maketh *that* the only church, that is under the pope; excluding all others that submit not to him as the vicar of Christ.† The same in a general council made it necessary to salvation, to be subject to the pope of Rome,—by Leo X.‡ Pope Pius II. approved this doctrine: "I came to the fountain of truth, which—the holy doctors with one voice say that he cannot be saved that holdeth not the unity of the holy church of Rome; and that all those virtues are maimed to him that refuseth to obey the pope of Rome, though he lie in sackcloth and ashes, and fast and pray both day and night, and seem in other things to fulfil the law of God. We learned that the one Catholic and apostolical church" (of Rome) "is the mother of all the faithful, out of which there is no salvation." §

But, reader, dost thou think that God will damn any holy, humble, and believing persons, because they are not subject to the pope? Hath God any where made such subjection to him a condition of salvation? Let them show it, if they can. Or are there no such persons in the world that are holy and believing, that do not submit unto the pope? There are many thousands, that know themselves better than his infallible Holiness can know them, that know that to be a falsehood.

Neither doth Bellarmine vary from them in his definition of "the church:" "That it is a company of men knit together in the profession of the same Christian faith and communion of the same sacraments, under the government of lawful pastors, especially of the bishop of Rome, Christ's vicar upon earth. From whence it might be easily gathered," saith he, "who do belong to the church, and who do not. There are three parts," as he goeth on, "of this definition of the church: (1.) Profession of the true faith; (2.) Communion of the sacraments; (3.) Subjection to the pope of Rome, the lawful pastor. By the first, all infidels, Turks, Pagans, heretics, and apostates, are excluded from the church; by the second, catechumens and excommunicated persons be excluded; by the third, all schismatics, that have the word and sacraments, but do not submit to the lawful pastor:" (the pope:) "but all others, though they be reprobates, wicked, and ungodly, are included in the church." ||

Mark this, good reader, whether this sounds like the apostles' doctrine before laid down:—if men be never so good and holy, though [they be] converted and believe, if they do not submit to the pope as the universal

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* *Confess. Gall.* art. 27, 28; *Conf. Helvet. II.* cap. 17; *Bohem.* cap. 8; *Belg.* art. 27; *Wittemb.* art. 32.

† *Catechis. Rom., in Symb.* pp. 139, 141.

‡ *Concil. Lateran. Abrogat. Pragmat. Sanct. Bull.*

§ *Ad fontem veri perveni, quem sancti doctores,—quorum una vox est, salvari non posse qui sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ non tenet unitatem; omnesque illas virtutes mancas esse ei qui summo pontifici obedire recusat, quàmvis, in sacco et cinere jacens, dies et noctes jejunet et oret, et in cæteris videatur legem implere. Didicimus unam ecclesiam Catholicam et apostolicam* (subaudi *Romanam*) *esse matrem omnium fidelium, extra quam non invenitur salus.*—PII II. *Bulla Retractationum*, apud LAURENTII SURII *Concil.* tom. iv. p. 506.

|| BELLARMINUS *De Eccles. Milit.* lib. iii. cap. 2.

head, they are no members of Christ's church, nor can be saved: and if they be wicked and ungodly, if they own the pope, they are included in the church. O what an odious religion is that, which damns all the Christians in the world beside themselves! O what wretched dissembling is this,—to call their church "the most holy church, without spot or wrinkle or any such thing;" when the worst might be, and are, owned as members thereof, if they profess subjection to the pope! But, however, by this the head and members are conformable, and let them go together.

IX. OF JUSTIFICATION.

1. *The doctrine of the apostles concerning justification.*

"Now to him that worketh not, but believeth on him that justifieth the ungodly, his faith is counted for righteousness. Even as David describeth the blessedness of the man, unto whom God imputeth righteousness without works, saying, Blessed are they whose iniquities are forgiven, and whose sins are covered. Blessed is the man to whom the Lord will not impute sin." (Rom. iv. 5—8.) "Not imputing their trespasses unto them. For he hath made him to be sin for us, who knew no sin; that we might be made the righteousness of God in him." (2 Cor. v. 19, 21.) "Even the righteousness of God which is by faith of Jesus Christ unto all and upon all them that believe: being justified freely by his grace through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus." (Rom. iii. 22, 24.) See Rom. iii. 25, 28; Titus iii. 5, 7; Rom. v. 17—19; Gal. ii. 16; Phil. iii. 9; Acts xiii. 38, 39; Eph. ii. 8, 9.

2. *The doctrine of the Protestants concerning justification.*

"We are accounted righteous before God only for the merit of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ by faith, and not for our own works and deservings."

"Those whom God effectually calleth, he also freely justifieth; not by infusing righteousness into them, but by pardoning their sins, and by accounting and accepting their persons as righteous; not for any thing wrought in them or done by them, but for Christ's sake alone; imputing the obedience and satisfaction of Christ unto them; they receiving and resting on him and his righteousness by faith: which faith they have not of themselves; it is the gift of God."

To this doctrine consent the Reformed churches in Helvetia, Bohemia, France, Belgia, &c.*

3. *The doctrine of the Papists concerning justification.*

"Justification is not only the forgiveness of sin, but also the sanctification and renovation of the inward man by a voluntary susception of grace and gifts; whereby a man, of unjust, is made just, and, of an enemy, is made a friend, that he might be an heir according to the hope of eternal life. The only formal cause of justification is the righteousness of God; not wherewith he himself is righteous, but whereby he makes us righteous; namely, by which, being given to us by him, we are renewed in the spirit of our mind, and not only reputed, but are, and are truly called, 'righteous;' receiving righteousness in ourselves, every one according to his measure, which the Holy Spirit imparteth to each as he will, according to every one's own disposition and co-working. If any one shall say that a man is justified by the sole imputation of the righteousness of Christ, or in the sole remission of sin, excluding grace and charity, which is shed abroad in their hearts by the Holy Spirit, and is inherent in them; or that the grace whereby we are justified is only the favour of God; let him be accursed."*

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* *Confess. Helvet. I.* cap. 4, 16; *et II.* cap. 15; *Bohemica*, cap. 6, 7; *Gal.* art. 12, 22; *August.* art. 4, 6, 26; *Belg.* art. 22, 24; *Wittemberg.* art. 5; *Basil.* art. 8.

Reader, by this council thou mayest see how the Papists do confound justification and sanctification together, and place it in our inherent righteousness. Though these are not separated, [so] that any should be justified that are not sanctified, penitent, and believing; yet they are carefully to be distinguished.

X. OF MERIT OF GOOD WORKS.

1. *The doctrine of prophets, Christ, and his apostles.*

"All our righteousnesses are as filthy rags." (Isai. lxiv. 6.) "Can a man be profitable unto God? Is it" any "gain to him that thou makest thy ways perfect?" (Job xxii. 2, 3.) "If thou be righteous, what givest thou unto him? or what receiveth he of thine hand?" (Job xxxv. 7.) "We are unprofitable servants: we have done that which was our duty to do." (Luke xvii. 10.) "For I reckon that the sufferings of this present time are not worthy to be compared with the glory which shall be revealed in us." (Rom. viii. 18.) [See] also Psalm cxxx. 3; cxliii. 2; Rom. iv. 2—6; 1 Cor. iv. 7; Eph. ii. 9.

2. *The doctrine of the Protestants.*

"We cannot by our best works merit pardon of sin or eternal life at the hand of God; *by reason of* the great disproportion that is between them and the glory to come, and the infinite distance that there is between us and God; whom by them we can neither profit, nor satisfy for the debt of our former sins; but when we have done all we can, we have done but our duty, and are unprofitable servants: *and because,* [though] as good, they proceed from his Spirit, yet, as they are wrought by us, they are defiled and mixed with so much weakness and imperfection, that they cannot endure the severity of God's judgment." To this doctrine the Reformed churches do subscribe.†

3. *The doctrine of the Papists.*

"If any one shall say that the good works of a justified person are so the gifts of God that they may not also be the good merits of him that is justified; or that he that is justified doth not, by the good works which he doeth, by the grace of God and merit of Christ, (of whom he is a living member,) truly merit increase of grace, eternal life, and (if he depart in a state of grace) the enjoyment thereof, and moreover also increase of glory; let him be accursed."‡

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* *Justificatio non est sola peccatorum remissio, sed et sanctificatio et renovatio interioris hominis per voluntariam susceptionem gratiæ et donorum, &c. Unica formulis causa ejus est justitia Dei, &c.; quâ, videlicet, ab eo donati, renovamur spiritu mentis nostræ, &c. Si quis dixerit homines justificari vel solâ imputatione justitiæ Christi, vel solâ peccatorum remissione, exclusâ gratiâ et charitate, quæ in cordibus eorum per Spiritum Sanctum diffundatur, atque illis inhæreat; aut etiam gratiam quâ justificamur esse tantùm favorem Dei; anathema sit.—Concil. Trident.* sess. vi.

† *Confess. Wittemb., de bonis Operibus; Bohem.* art. 7; *Saxon.* art. 3 et 8; *August.* art. 4 et 20; *Helvet. II.* cap. 16; *Belg.* art. 24; *Argentinensis,* cap. 10.

‡ *Si quis dixerit hominis justificati bona opera ita esse dona Dei, ut non sint etiam bona ipsius justificati merita; aut ipsum justificatum bonis*

"Men's works, proceeding from grace, deserve or merit heaven. If the joy of heaven be retribution, repayment, hire-wages for works, then works can be no other but the value, desert, price, worth, and merit of the same." "The word 'reward' in Latin or Greek is the very stipend that the hired workman or journeyman covenanteth to have of him whose work he doeth, and is a thing equally and justly answering to the time and weight of his travails and works, rather than a free gift," &c.[*] "It is most clear to all not blinded in pride and contention, that good works are meritorious and the very cause of salvation."[†]

"The heavenly blessedness which the scripture calls 'the reward of the just,' is not given of God *gratis* and freely, but is due to their works; yea, God hath set forth heaven to sale for our works."[‡] "Far be it from us that the righteous should look for eternal life, as a poor man doth for his alms; for it is much more honour for them as victors and triumphers to possess it, as the garland which by their labour they have deserved."[§] "Although the restoration of mankind be ascribed to the merits of Christ, yet it is not for Christ's merits that our works are rewarded with eternal life; neither doth God, when he gives the reward, look toward Christ's death, but only to the first institution of mankind; wherein by the law of nature it was appointed that, in the just judgment of God, obedience should be rewarded with life, as disobedience is with death."[||]

"A supernatural work, proceeding from grace, within itself and of its own nature, hath a proportion and condignity with the reward, and a sufficient value to be worth the same. The reward, therefore, is not given for Christ's merit. It must not be denied but our merits are true merits; so that the works of the godly, proceeding from grace, have of themselves an inward worthiness, and are proportionable to the reward," &c.[¶]

The Papists in this point are not all of a mind; but many of them swell with horrible pride, and think [that] themselves do deserve heaven as well as a journeyman doth his wages, and cannot be brought to stoop so low as to receive the highest happiness as the free gift of God.

XI. OF WORKS OF SUPER-EROGATION.

1. *The doctrine of the scripture.*

"And I commanded the Levites that they should cleanse themselves. Remember me, O my God, concerning this also, and spare me according to the greatness of thy mercy." (Neh. xiii. 22.) [See] Luke xvii. 10; Gal. v. 17.

2. *The doctrine of the Protestants.*

"Voluntary works, besides, over, and above God's commandments, which they call 'works of super-erogation,' cannot be taught without arrogancy and impiety: for by them men do declare that they do not

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operibus, &c., non verè mereri augmentum gratiæ, vitam æternam, et ipsius vitæ æternæ, &c., consecutionem, atque etiam gloriæ augmentum; anathema sit.—Concil. Trid. sess. vi.

[*] Rhemists on 1 Cor. iii. 8.

[†] Rhemists on Heb. vi. 10.

[‡] ANDRADII *Orth. Explic.* lib. vi.

[§] Dean of Louvain's *Explicat. Art. Lovan.* tom. ii. art. 9.

[||] BAIUS *De Merit. Operum*, lib. i. cap. 9.

[¶] SAUREZ *in Thomæ Tertiam*, tom. i. dist. xli. sect. 3, ss. *Secundo*, et *Oportet.*

only render unto God as much as they are bound to do, but that they do more for his sake than of bounden duty is required; whereas Christ saith plainly, 'When ye have done all that are commanded you, say, We are unprofitable servants.'"

Against such works are the Reformed churches also in Helvetia, France, Saxony, &c.*

3. *The doctrine of the Papists.*

"The fastings and satisfactory deeds of one man be available to others; yea, and holy saints and other virtuous persons may in measure and proportion of other men's necessities and deservings allot unto them as well the super-erogation of their spiritual works, as those that do abound in worldly goods may give alms of their superfluities to them who are in necessity."† Again: they expound 1 Cor. ix. 16, "But now, preaching not only as enjoined me, but also as of love and charity and freely, without putting any man to cost, and that voluntarily and of very desire to save my hearers, I shall have my reward of God; yea, and a reward of super-erogation, which is given to them that of abundant charity do more in the service of God than they be commanded."

But, reader, though a man might have more money than he doth need, yet thou shalt not find a man that hath more grace than he doth need. And he that cannot satisfy for himself, cannot impart satisfaction to another; for none can give what they have not. And if we do what is no way commanded, we might hear, "Who hath required this at your hands?" And though Paul was not burdensome to the Corinthians, yet he received from other churches to do them service. So that all that is said falls short to prove works of super-erogation. Let proud Papists boast of doing more, while thou goest to thy knees to lament that, when thou hast done thy most and best, [thou] hast done less, than is commanded.

XII. OF RELIGIOUS WORSHIP.

1. *The doctrine of Christ and his apostles,*—that religious worship is due only to God.

"Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve." (Matt. iv. 10.) "Let no man beguile you of your reward in a voluntary humility and worshipping of angels." (Col. ii. 18.) "And I fell at his feet to worship him. And he said unto me, See thou do it not: I am thy fellow-servant: worship God." (Rev. xix. 10.) See also Rev. xxii. 8, 9. "As Peter was coming in, Cornelius met him, and fell down at his feet, and worshipped him. But Peter took him up, saying, Stand up; I myself also am a man." (Acts x. 25, 26.) Read also Acts xiv. 13—15, 18; Rom. x. 14.

2. *The doctrine of the Protestants.*

"Religious worship is to be given to God, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and to him alone; and not to angels, saints, or any other creature. The acceptable way of worshipping the true God is instituted by himself, and so limited to his own revealed will; that he may not be worshipped, according to the imaginations and devices of men or the suggestions of Satan, under any visible representations, or [in] any other way not prescribed in the holy scripture." In this the Reformed churches do agree in their public Confessions.*

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* *Confess. Helvet. II.* cap. 16; *August.* art. 20; *Gal.* art. 24; *Sax.* art. 3, 17; *Basil.* art. 10; *Belg.* art. 12.

† Rhemists on 2 Cor. viii. 14.

3. *The doctrine of the Papists concerning religious worship given to saints and their relics, and to images.*

"The holy synod of Trent doth command all bishops and others that have the office and care of teaching, that, according to the use of the Catholic and apostolical church," (that is false,) "received from the primitive times of the Christian religion, and according to the consent of the holy fathers" (this is false too) "and decrees of sacred councils," (which yet have decreed against it,) "they first of all diligently instruct the faithful concerning the intercession and invocation of saints, the honour of relics, and the lawful use of images: teaching them that the saints, reigning together with Christ, do offer their prayers to God for men: and that it is good and profitable, humbly kneeling, to call upon them; and to run to their prayers, help, and aid, for the benefits to be obtained from God, through his Son Jesus Christ our Lord, who is our only Redeemer and Saviour: and that *they* are of a wicked opinion *that* say that the saints, enjoying eternal happiness in heaven, are not to be called upon; or who do affirm, either that they do not pray for men; or that to pray to them, that they would pray for us, yea, each one particularly, is idolatry, or contrary to the word of God, or against the honour of Jesus, the one Mediator of God and men; or that it is a foolish thing to make humble request in words or in our minds to those that are reigning in heaven: moreover, that the sacred bodies of the holy martyrs and others living with Christ, which were living members of Christ, and the temple of the Holy Ghost, which shall be raised by him to eternal life and be glorified, are to be worshipped by believers, by which God bestoweth many benefits on men: so that, whosoever shall say that veneration and honour is not due to the relics of the saints, or that these and other sacred monuments are without profit honoured" (worshipped) "by the faithful, and that for the gaining of their help the memory of saints in vain is solemnized, are utterly to be condemned, even as the church hath long condemned them and doth now condemn them. Moreover the images of Christ, the Virgin Mary, and of other saints, are especially to be had and kept in churches, and due honour and veneration to be given to them."†

* *Confess. Helvet.* cap. 4, 5; *Gall.* art. 24; *Belgica*, art. 26; *Argent.* cap. 11; *August.* art. 21; *Saxon., de Invocatione, &c.*

† *Mandat sancta synodus omnibus episcopis et cæteris docendi munus curamque sustinentibus, ut juxta Catholicæ et apostolicæ ecclesiæ usum, a primævis Christianæ religionis temporibus receptum, sanctorumque patrum consensionem et sacrorum conciliorum decreta, imprimis de sanctorum intercessione, invocatione, reliquiarum honore et legitimo imaginum usu fideles diligenter instruant: docentes eos, sanctos, unà cum Christo regnantes, orationes suas pro hominibus Deo offerre: bonum atque utile esse simpliciter eos invocare; et ob beneficia impetranda a Deo per Filium ejus, &c., ad eorum orationes, opem, auxiliumque confugere: illos verò qui negant sanctos, æternâ felicitate in cœlo fruentes, invocandos esse; aut qui asserunt, vel illos pro hominibus non orare, vel eorum, ut pro nobis, etiam singulis, orent, invocationem esse idololatriam, vel pugnare cum verbo Dei, adversarique honori unius Mediatoris Dei et hominum Jesu Christi, vel stultum esse, in cœlo regnantibus voce vel mente supplicare; impiè sentire: sanctorum quoque martyrum et aliorum cum Christo viventium sancta corpora, quæ viva membra Christi fuerint et templum Spiritûs Sancti, ab ipso ad æternam vitam suscitanda et glorificanda, a fidelibus veneranda esse, per quæ multa beneficia a Deo hominibus præstantur: ita et affirmantes sanctorum reliquiis venerationem atque honorem non deberi, vel eas aliaque*

Again: "It is beyond all doubt that believers, according to the custom always received in the Catholic church, should give to the holy sacrament the worship of latria," (highest worship,) "which is due to the true God." *(Concil. Trident.* sess. xiii. cap. 5.)

The Popish doctors maintain of images in general, that they ought to be worshipped with the same adoration as the thing represented by the image. So Aquinas: "The same reverence is given to the image of Christ as to Christ himself. Since, therefore, Christ is worshipped with adoration of latria," (highest worship, due to God,) "it follows that his image ought to be worshipped with adoration of latria," or highest worship, due to God.

XIII. OF TRANSUBSTANTIATION.

1. *The doctrine of Christ and his apostles,*—that after consecration in the Lord's supper there is real bread and wine.

[See] Matt. xxvi. 26, 27; Luke xxii. 19, 20. "The Lord Jesus the same night in which he was betrayed took bread: and when he had given thanks," &c. "He took the cup, saying, This cup is the new testament in my blood." Mark, reader: after the blessing it is called "bread:" "As often as ye eat this bread, and drink this cup," &c. "Whosoever shall eat this bread," &c. "Examine, and eat of that bread." (1 Cor. xi. 23—28.) "The bread which we break, is it not the communion of the body of Christ?" (1 Cor. x. 16.) They "came together to break bread." (Acts xx. 7.) "And had broken bread." (Verse 11.)

2. *The doctrine of the Protestants.*

"Transubstantiation (or the change of the substance of bread and wine) in the supper of the Lord cannot be proved by holy writ; but is repugnant to the plain words of scripture, overthroweth the nature of a sacrament, and hath given occasions to many superstitions and idolatries, and is repugnant to very sense and reason." Which reasons have moved all the Reformed churches against the doctrine of transubstantiation.*

3. *The doctrine of the Papists.*

"If any shall deny the body and blood, together with the soul and Divinity, of our Lord Jesus Christ, and so whole Christ, to be truly, really, and substantially contained in the most holy sacrament of the eucharist;" (Lord's supper;) "but shall say [that] it is there only as in a sign, either figuratively or virtually; let him be accursed. If any shall say that the substance of bread and wine, together with the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, doth remain in the sacrament of the holy eucharist; and shall deny that wonderful and singular conversion of the whole substance of the bread into his body and of the whole substance of the wine into his blood, (the figures of bread and wine only remaining,)

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sacra monumenta a fidelibus inutiliter honorari, atque eorum opis impetrandæ causâ sanctorum memorias frustrà frequentari, damnandos esse, prout jampridem eos damnavit et nunc etiam damnat ecclesia: imagines porrò Christi, Deiparæ Virginis, et aliorum sanctorum, in templis præsertim habendas et retinendas, eisque debitum honorem et venerationem impertiendam.—Concil. Trident. sess. xxv.

* *Conf. Helv. I.* art. 22; *et II.* cap. 21; *Wittem.* cap. 19, *de Euchar.*; *Basil.* art. 6; *Scoticana,* art. 21.

which conversion" (change) "the Catholic church doth most fitly call 'transubstantiation;' let him be accursed." *

XIV. OF RECEIVING BOTH KINDS.

1. *The doctrine of Christ and his apostles,*—that those that have the bread should also have the cup.

[Read] Mark xiv. 22—24; Luke xxii. 19, 20; 1 Cor. x. 16. "Take, eat:" "As oft as ye drink it," &c.: "Eat this bread, and drink this cup," &c.: "Shall eat this bread, and drink this cup. So let him eat of that bread, and drink of that cup. For he that eateth and drinketh," &c. (1 Cor. xi. 24—29.)

2. *The doctrine of the Protestants.*

"The cup of the Lord is not to be denied to the lay-people; for both the parts of the Lord's sacrament, by Christ's ordinance and commandment, ought to be ministered to all Christian men alike." That the people are to receive the wine also, is the confession of [the] Reformed churches in Helvetia, Bohemia, France, &c. †

3. *The doctrine of the Papists.*

The council of Constance decreed that, "though Christ administered this sacrament in both kinds to his disciples, and in the primitive church it was also accordingly received by believers under both kinds;" (bread and wine;) *hoc tamen non obstante,* "notwithstanding" Christ's institution and the example of the primitive church, "the lay-people shall have the bread only. Others, that pertinaciously affirm otherwise, are to be expelled as heretics. Also we command, upon pain of excommunication, that no presbyter administer it to the people under both kinds of bread and wine." ‡ The council of Trent to the same purpose did decree the taking away the cup from the people, notwithstanding Christ's institution and administration of it in both kinds; "having a power to alter and change, so that they keep the substance of the sacrament, as they judge most profitable for the receivers:" and though they confess the primitive church received both, yet the church of Rome "for grand and just reasons hath approved and decreed the people's taking of it in one kind only." §

XV. OF THE SACRIFICE OF THE MASS.

1. *The doctrine of the apostle Paul.*

"And almost all things are by the law purged with blood; and without shedding of blood is no remission. Nor yet that he [Christ] should offer himself often, as the high priest entereth into the holy place every year with blood of others; for then must he often have suffered since the foundation of the world: but now once in the end of the world hath he appeared to put away sin by the sacrifice of himself. So Christ was once offered to bear the sins of many." (Heb. ix. 22, 25, 26, 28.) "And every priest standeth daily ministering and offering oftentimes the same sacrifices, which can never take away sins: but this man, after he had offered one sacrifice for sins, for ever sat down on the right hand of God. For by one offering he hath perfected for ever them that are sanctified. Now where remission of these [sins and iniquities] is, there is no more offering for sin." (Heb. x. 11, 12, 14, 18.) Read also Heb. vii. 24—27.

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* *Si quis negaverit, in sanctissimæ eucharistiæ sacramento contineri, verè, realiter, et substantialiter, corpus et sanguinem, unà cum animâ et Divinitate Christi, &c. Si quis dixerit in sacrosancto eucharistiæ sacramento remanere substantiam panis et vini, &c.; negaveritque mirabilem illam et singularem conversionem totius substantiæ panis in corpus, et totius substantiæ vini in sanguinem, &c.*—*Concil. Trident.* sess. xiii. can. 1, 2.

† *Confess. Helv. I.* art. 22; *et II.* cap. 21; *Bohem.* cap. 13; *Gal.* art. 36, 38; *Wittemb.* cap. 19; *Belg.* art. 35; *Saxon., de Cœnâ Domin.; August.,* de *Missâ,* art. 1, 2.

‡ *Concil. Constant.* sess. xiii.

§ *Concil. Trident.* sess. xxi. cap. 1—3.

2. *The doctrine of the Protestants.*

"The offering of Christ once made is that perfect redemption, propitiation, and satisfaction for all the sins of the whole world, both original and actual; and there is no other satisfaction for sin, but that alone. Wherefore the sacrifices of Masses, in the which it was commonly said that the priest did offer Christ for the quick and dead to have remission of pain or guilt, were blasphemous fables and dangerous deceits." This is the doctrine of all Reformed churches against the sacrifice of the Mass.[*]

3. *The doctrine of the Papists.*

"If any shall say that in the Mass a true and proper sacrifice is not offered to God, let him be accursed. If any shall say [that] in those words, 'Do this in remembrance of me,' Christ did not institute his apostles to be priests, or that he did not ordain that they and other priests should offer his body and blood; let him be accursed. If any shall say [that] the sacrifice of Mass is only of praise and thanksgiving, or a bare commemoration of the sacrifice of Christ upon the cross, and not a propitiatory sacrifice; or that it profits him alone that takes it, and ought not to be offered for quick and dead, for sins, punishments, and satisfactions, and other necessities; let him be accursed."[†]

So, in that part of the Mass called "the Offertory," the priest saith, "Holy Father, eternal and almighty God, receive this immaculate host, which I, thine unworthy servant, offer unto thee, my true and living God, for my innumerable sins and offences and neglects, and for all them that stand here about, and also for all faithful Christians both living and dead, that it may profit me and them unto salvation into eternal life. Amen."

Again: in the Mass-book the priest prayeth, "We beseech thee, therefore, most merciful Father, through Jesus Christ thy Son our Lord, and do ask of thee, that thou wilt accept and bless these † gifts, these † presents, these ho†ly sacrifices immaculate; especially those which we offer unto thee for thy holy Catholic church, and all them that assist here, for themselves and for all theirs, for the redemption of their souls and for the hope of their salvation: which oblation thou, O God, vouchsafe in all things to make blessed, † ascript, † reasonable, † and acceptable; that it may be made unto us the bo†dy and blood † of thy most beloved

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[*] *Confess. Helvet. I.* art. 22; *et II.* cap. 20, 21; *Basil.* art. 6; *Saxon.* art. 14; *Belg.* art. 35; *Wittemb.* cap. 19; *Bohem.* cap. 13; *Augustana de Missâ*, art. 13.

[†] *Si quis dixerit in Missâ non offerri Deo verum et proprium sacrificium, anathema sit. Si quis dixerit illis verbis,* Hoc facite in meam commemorationem, *Christum non instituisse apostolos sacerdotes, aut non ordinasse ut ipsi aliique sacerdotes offerrent corpus et sanguinem suum; anathema sit. Si quis dixerit Missæ sacrificium tantùm esse laudis et gratiarum actionis, &c., non autem propitiatorium; vel soli prodesse sumenti, neque pro vivis et defunctis, pro peccatis, pœnis, satisfactionibus, et aliis necessitatibus, offerri debere; anathema sit.—Concil. Trident.* sess. xxii. *de Sacrificio Missæ,* can. 1—3.

Son. We present to thy excellent Majesty, of thy gifts and things given, a pure † host, a holy † host, an immaculate † host; the holy bread † of eternal life, and the cup † of eternal salvation. We humbly pray thee, Almighty God, command that these things be carried by the hands of thy holy angels on thy altar on high, into the presence of thy Divine Majesty; that we all who, of the partici†pation of thine altar," (kisses here the altar,) "have taken the holy bo†dy and blood † of thy Son, may be filled with all heavenly bles†sings and grace." And then the priest for the dead prays, "Be mindful, also, O Lord, of thy men-servants and women-servants," (naming *their* names that are deceased, for *whom* friends or kindred would have Mass,) "who have preceded us with the sign of the faith, and who sleep in a sleep of peace."

View and consider this little piece which I have transcribed, reader, for thy sake, out of the Mass-book; and then judge whether there be any such thing concerning the Lord's supper in the scripture, and whether these be not new doctrines and devices.

XVI. OF WORSHIPPING THE HOST.

1. *The doctrine of the scripture concerning the Lord's supper*, where it is treated of, containeth nothing for the worshipping of it; as, Matt. xxvi. 26, 27; Mark xiv. 22—24; 1 Cor. xi. 24—29.

2. *The doctrine of the Protestants.*

"The worshipping the elements, the lifting them up or carrying them about for adoration, and the reserving of them for any pretended religious use, are all contrary to the nature of this sacrament and to the institution of Christ." So say other Reformed churches in their public Confessions of faith.[*]

3. *The doctrine of the Papists.*

"It is beyond all doubt that the faithful, according to the custom always received in the Catholic church," (that is poorly begun of a learned council,) "may give in veneration the worship of latria," (highest worship,) "which is due to God, to this holy sacrament: for it is not the less to be adored, because it was appointed by the Lord to be received; for we believe that the same God is present in it, whom the eternal Father bringing into the world saith, 'And let all the angels of God worship him.'" [†]

Moreover the holy synod doth declare, that "with very great religion and piety of the church was this custom brought in,—that every year, upon some peculiar holy-day, this high and venerable sacrament with singular veneration and solemnity should be celebrated; and that it should in processions, reverently, with honour and worship, be carried about through the ways and public places." [‡]

XVII. OF AURICULAR CONFESSION.

1. *The doctrine of Christ and his apostles concerning confession of sin.* [See] Luke xvii. 3, 4: James v. 16; 1 John i. 9. See also Prov.

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[*] *Confess. Helvet. II.* cap. 21; *Saxon., de Cœnâ Dom.; Wittemb., de Eucharistiâ; Basil.* art. 6.

[†] *Nullus itaque dubitandi locus relinquitur, quin omnes Christi fideles, pro more in Catholicâ ecclesiâ semper recepto, latriæ cultum, qui vero Deo debetur, huic sanctissimo sacramento in veneratione exhibeant, &c.*

[‡] *Concil. Trident.* sess. xiii. cap. 5.

xxviii. 13; Psalm xxxii. 5, 6; li. 4, 5, 7, 9, 14. In all which places there is confession of sin to God, to the party wronged by us, and to one another; but not a word of secret confession of all our sins in the ears of the priest.

2. *The doctrine of the Protestants.*

"As every man is bound to make private confession of his sins to God, praying for the pardon thereof, upon which and the forsaking of them he shall find mercy; so he that scandalizeth his brother or the church of God, ought to be willing, by a private or public confession and sorrow for his sin, to declare his repentance to those that are offended, who are therefore to be reconciled and in love to receive him." So other Reformed churches.[*]

3. *The doctrine of the Papists.*

"Let every one, both men and women, truly make confession of all their sins at least once a year to their own priest, or some other, having leave first from their own priest; else he can neither absolve nor bind him."[†]

"The universal church, to the great profit of souls, doth keep the custom of confession in that holy and most acceptable time of Lent; which also this holy synod doth most highly approve and receive, as piously and with good cause to be retained."[‡]

"If any shall deny sacramental confession either to be instituted or to be necessary to salvation by divine right; or shall say [that] the manner of making secret confession to the priest alone is not instituted and commanded by Christ, but is a human invention; let him be accursed."[§]

"If any shall say that in the sacrament of penance it is not necessary to remission of sin, and that by divine right, to confess all and every mortal sin that one can by all due diligent premeditation call to remembrance, even those that are secret sins and against the last precept of the Decalogue, and the very circumstances which alter the kinds of sin; let him be accursed."[||]

XVIII. OF PENITENTIAL SATISFACTION.

1. *The doctrine of the scripture.*

"Then shalt thou remember thy ways, and be ashamed. And I will establish my covenant with thee: that thou mayest remember, and be confounded, and never open thy mouth any more because of thy shame, when I am pacified toward thee for all that thou hast done, saith the Lord God." (Ezek. xvi. 61—63.) "Ye shall loathe yourselves in your own sight. Not for your sakes do I this: be ashamed and confounded for your own ways." (Ezek. xxxvi. 31, 32. See Hosea xiv. 2, 4.)

2. *The doctrine of the Protestants.*

"Although repentance be not to be rested in as any satisfaction for sin or any cause of the pardon thereof, which is the act of God's free grace in Christ; yet is it of such necessity to all sinners, that none might expect pardon without it." So other churches.*

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[*] *Confess. Helvet. II.* cap. 14; *Argentinensis,* cap. 20; *August., de Confess.; Saxon., de Pœnitentiâ; Wittemb., de Confessione.*

[†] *Concil. Lateran.* can. xxi.

[‡] *Unde jam in universâ ecclesiâ, cum ingenti animarum fidelium fructu, observatur mos ille salutaris, sacro illo et maximè acceptabili tempore Quadragesimæ; quem morem, &c.—Concil. Trident.* sess. xiv. cap. 5.

[§] *Si quis negaverit confessionem sacramentalem vel institutam vel ad salutem necessariam esse jure divino, &c.—Concil. Trident.* sess. xiv. can. 6.

[||] *Si quis dixerit in sacramento pœnitentiæ ad remissionem peccatorum necessarium non esse jure divino confiteri omnia et singula peccata mortalia, &c.—Concil. Trid.* sess. xiv. can. 7.

3. *The doctrine of the Papists.*

"If any shall say that the whole punishment, together with the guilt, is always remitted by God, and that the satisfaction of the penitent is no other than the faith whereby he apprehendeth Christ to have satisfied for him; let him be accursed."†

"If any shall say that God is not satisfied for sins, as to temporal punishment, through the merits of Christ, by the punishments which he inflicts and we patiently bear, or by such as are enjoined by the priest, nor by those that we voluntarily put ourselves unto, nor by fastings, prayers, alms-deeds, and other works of piety; and that therefore the best repentance is only a new life; let him be accursed."‡

"If any shall say that the satisfactions whereby penitents through Jesus Christ do redeem sins, are not the worship of God, but the traditions of men, thwarting the doctrine of the grace and true worship of God and the benefits of the death of Christ; let him be accursed."§

XIX. OF VENIAL SINS.

1. *The doctrine of Christ and his apostles.*

"I say unto you, That every idle word that men shall speak, they shall give account thereof in the day of judgment." (Matt. xii. 36.) "For the wages of sin is death." (Rom. vi. 23.) See Rom. v. 12; and Isai. lv. 7.

2. *The doctrine of the Protestants.*

"As there is no sin so small but it deserves damnation, so there is no sin so great that it can bring damnation upon those that truly repent." So other churches also.‖

3. *The doctrine of the Papists.*

"Some sins are venial, neither offering injury to God, nor deserving hell, nor binding us to be sorry for them; but may be forgiven by knocking of the breast,¶ going into a church, receiving holy water, or the bishop's blessing, or crossing one's self, or by any work of charity, though we never think actually of them."** "Those sins which in their own nature are not contrary to the love of God and our neighbour, as idle words, immoderate laughing; those sins that are not perfectly voluntary, as sudden motions of anger, &c.; and are in trivial things, as stealing of a halfpenny, &c.; are venial sins; that is, do not turn us from God, and are easily expiated; like unto a slight hurt, which doth not endanger life, and is easily cured."††

XX. OF THE STATE OF MEN AFTER DEATH.

1. *The doctrine of the scripture concerning the state of men after death.*

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* *August.*, *de Confessione; Saxon.*, *in Præfatione*, et artic. *de Satisfactione; Wittemb.*, *de Satisfactione.* † *Concil. Trident.* sess. xiv. can. 12. ‡ Idem, sess. xiv. can. 13. § Idem, sess. xiv. can. 14. ‖ *Confess. Bohemica*, art. 4; *Saxon.*, *de Discrimine Peccatorum.* ¶ AQUINATIS *Pars Tertia*, quæst. 87, art. 3. ** BELLARMINI *Opera.* tom. iii. *De Amissione Gratiæ*, lib. i. cap. 3. †† Idem, *ibid.* cap. 2.

"Verily I say unto thee, This day shalt thou be with me in Paradise." (Luke xxiii. 43.) "And to the spirits of just men made perfect." (Heb. xii. 23.) "For we know that if our earthly house of this tabernacle were dissolved, we have a building of God." (2 Cor. v. 1.) "Willing rather to be absent from the body, and to be present with the Lord." (Verse 8.) "Having a desire to depart, and to be with Christ." (Phil. i. 23.) See also Matt. vii. 13, 14; John iii. 18; Luke xvi. 23, 24: where, and in other places, the scriptures speak of *two ways:* one leading to destruction; the other, to life: *two sorts of men:* some that do not believe, and they are damned; some that do, and they are saved: *no third.*

2. *The doctrine of the Protestants.*

"The bodies of men after death return to dust, and see corruption; but their souls, which neither die nor sleep, having an immortal subsistence, immediately return to God who gave them. The souls of the righteous, being then made perfect in holiness, are received into the highest heavens; where they behold the face of God in light and glory, waiting for the full redemption of their bodies: and the souls of the wicked are cast into hell; where they remain in torments and utter darkness, reserved to the judgment of the great day. Beside these two places for souls separated from their bodies, the scripture acknowledgeth none." So the Reformed churches also in Helvetia, France, Saxony, &c.*

3. *The doctrine of the Papists.*

"If any shall say that, after the grace of justification received, the offence is so forgiven to every penitent sinner, and guilt of eternal punishment so removed, that there remains no guilt of temporal punishment to be suffered, either in this life, or [in] the life to come in purgatory; let him be accursed."†

By this parallel of doctrines you may easily judge that ours is the old religion, and the religion of the Papists (wherein they differ from us) is a new religion. For they that do own, profess, and hold-to the same doctrines and worship that were taught by Christ himself and his apostles, and no other, (as to essentials at least,) are of the old religion; and those that, forsaking and corrupting the doctrine and worship taught by Christ and his apostles, maintain and hold doctrines not contained in the scripture, but risen up since and contrary to it, are of a new religion: But the Protestants do the first, and the Papists do the last; as appeareth by the parallel of doctrines: Therefore the Protestants are of the old religion, and the Papists of a new one. For that religion which doth agree with the oldest and the only rule, is the oldest and only religion: and if the Papists will keep to the first and ancient rule, the word of God, they must be of our religion; if they will not, but add or diminish, they will never answer to the charge of novelty laid upon them.

So that their insulting and ridiculous question, so often used, even till it is become odious and doth nauseate, "Where was your religion before Luther?" (which is the second part of my task,) is plainly and fully resolved in the scriptures and in the primitive churches. And, methinks, learned Papists should blush and be ashamed (that have or can read the writings of the fathers and determinations of ancient councils) to propound such a question: but they do it to amuse the common people, that cannot read Greek and Latin authors, and are not acquainted with the history of the church; whilst, I am persuaded, they themselves know better, and could resolve this question themselves, if they would read indifferently and judge impartially. But the people, that cannot read the fathers, councils, &c., might be abundantly satisfied that our religion is the old religion, because found in and founded upon the word of God; for all the books in the world must give place to the holy, sure, infallible word of the most true and faithful God.

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* *Confess. Helv. II.* cap. 26; *Gall.* art. 24; *Saxon.* art. 11; *August.* art. 11; *Wittemberg.* cap. 25.

† *Concil. Trident.* sess. vi. can. 30; et *Decret. de Purgat.* sess. 25.

III. But though we show our doctrines in the scripture, yet the question, Where was our religion before Luther? (who began the Reformation in the year 1517,) is put to beget jealousies in the people, that, for many hundred years before him, our doctrine and religion was not taught nor professed: and therefore [they] call for a catalogue of such as have taught our doctrines from the apostles' time successively to the time of Luther, as they pretend they can do theirs; and would bear the people in hand that the church as now Reformed, and the doctrines now received by them, are new and upstart things, and have not been since the apostles' times or before Luther. The contrary whereof—*that there have been such doctrines, and a church owning them, in all ages since they were preached by the apostles*—will appear by two heads of arguments: the one taken *a priori;* that such a church cannot, shall not, cease, but always be in some part or other of the world: the other, *a posteriori;* that it hath not ceased, but hath always actually been, and therefore before Luther.

1. The first,—*that it cannot, shall not, cease to be,*—taken *a priori*, stands firm upon these two grounds:—

(1.) *Upon the promise of Christ.*—That is of infallible verity. Christ hath promised that the true church which is built upon the doctrine of the scripture and is conformed thereunto, should continue always, and not fail. That the Reformed churches are built upon the doctrine of the scriptures, and are conformed thereunto, appeareth from the parallel of doctrines before laid down. So that there is evidence from the promise of Christ that the church holding such doctrines as the Reformed churches do, did continue, could not fail: and there our church and religion was before Luther.

(2.) *Upon the relation between Christ and his church.*—Christ is the only Head of the church; and the church, the body of Christ: Christ is the King of his church; and the church, subject to Christ: Christ is the Husband and Bridegroom of the church; and the church, the wife and spouse of Christ. Such a church, then, could not cease to be; else there would have been some time in which Christ would have been a Head without any body upon earth, a King without subjects, a Husband and Bridegroom without a wife or spouse; all which are [as] absurd as to say [that] a man is a father that hath no child. But in this the controversy doth not lie betwixt us; but *which* church is this body, subjects, and spouse of Christ, which, by virtue of Christ's promise and relation to him, could not fail or cease to be; *theirs*, or *such as the Reformed churches are*. There is this ground (among others) on our side:—That church which owneth Christ to be her only Head, Husband, and King, and no other; which owneth and professeth subjection to the laws of Christ, and no other, as necessary to salvation; and worshippeth the true God according to the scripture, and no other; is the body, spouse, and subjects of Christ, that could not cease to be in any age: But such churches as the Reformed are, do own Christ to be their only Head, Husband, and King, and no other; and profess subjection to the laws of Christ, and no other, as necessary to salvation; and worship God according to the rules contained in the scripture, and no other: all which the Roman church, as Papal, doth not do; for they own another head, beside Christ, as necessary to salvation; and profess subjection to the laws of another, beside the laws of Christ, and that equally with them, yea, before them, though distinct from and contrary thereunto; and give religious worship to others beside the true God; and so play the whore and harlot: That we might conclude, that such churches as the Reformed are, and not as the Papal, are the body, subjects, and spouse of Christ, which could not cease in any age to be, since the apostles' times: and there our religion was, and church too, before Luther.

2. The second evidence that there have been the same doctrines, necessary to salvation, taught all along since the apostles' successively to Luther's times, is *a posteriori*,—from the writings of men and histories of the church; even such as are abundantly satisfactory to us, and undeniable by our adversaries, that our doctrines are not so late as Luther. I had here prepared several things to be inserted concerning the succession of the church from the primitive times to the age in which we live; but because I would not have this discourse to swell above the bounds of a sermon, and understanding that there is a reverend brother desired to treat of that particularly, (to whom I do refer you,) I here omit them. Yet the frequent demand of Papists, asking, "Where was your religion before Luther?" and that part of this present position,—*that it was before Luther*,—will not suffer a total silence herein. Though this is no real prejudice to the truth of our doctrine or religion, if we could not give a catalogue of names that did hold and profess them in all ages, so long as we find them in the scripture; nor could they for want thereof be justly charged either with falsity or novelty: for what is in the word of God is true and old; and what is not contained therein and made necessary to salvation, is false and new, though of many hundred years' standing. That this is unreasonably required by the Papists; no hurt to our religion, as to the verity and antiquity of it; nor no [any] cause of stumbling to the common people, familiarly assaulted in this point; and all because not necessary to be known; will appear by these things following:—

(1.) It is not necessary, [in order] to prove ourselves to be men, to give an account of all the names of all the men that have lived before us; no, nor of any of them. It is sufficient hereunto that we can prove [that] we have the same essential constitutive parts of men as our predecessors had. That we have such bodies and such souls as they had, is a proof [that] we are real men, as they were; though we know not the names of all the intermediate persons successively by whom we have received our beings from them. Would not you laugh at one that would persuade you [that] you are no men, or that the human nature is a new thing, because you cannot give a catalogue of the names of men from Adam, or from Noah, from one age to another? Or would it not be sufficient proof of your manhood, that you have the same identity of nature as Adam, or Noah, and men of former ages, had? So here: so long as we can tell and are sure [that] we own and believe the same doctrines that the apostles did, we are sure [that] we are of the same religion as they were, though we could not give the names of the persons that have from time to time professed the same. This is as if one should say [that] Melchizedek did not succeed his progenitors, because his genealogy cannot be given. Ridiculous!

(2.) It is not necessary, [in order] to know the falseness of any doctrine, that we should know the names of the heretics that have handed them down from one age to another; but we know them to be false by their being contrary to the scripture.

(3.) We know that the dictates of the law of nature are good and true, and that we have such a law, though we cannot give an account of the name of our ancestors from whom we have received them.

(4.) A man might be an exact artificer, though he be not able to mention the names of those that have been in all ages that professed the same occupation from the times of those that did first invent them. So a man might be a good Christian and of the true religion, and be ignorant of the many thousands [of] Christians that have been before him.

(5.) Without this knowledge a man might love God, repent, believe, and be saved; therefore [it is] not necessary to true doctrine, religion, or salvation: else every unlearned believer must be acquainted with all the histories of the church and fathers and professors before him; which is impossible.

(6.) If a man did know this, yet he might be damned. If a man could tell all the writers, preachers, doctors, and councils, that have lived these sixteen hundred years, he might go to hell at last. God will condemn men for being ignorant of the essential points in Christianity contained in the scripture, and if they do not believe nor are converted; but not for being unacquainted with the histories of the church, and names of those that did profess the true religion in the ages before them.

(7.) The scripture never denieth that to be a true church, that cannot, and because it cannot, show the succession thereof by histories and human writings.

(8.) The scripture doth never send us to histories, councils, and fathers, to judge of true doctrine and religion by; but to the word of God. Where in scripture are professors, or ministers either, commanded to study and be so conversant in all histories, councils, and antiquities, as to be able to give a catalogue,—who have taught or owned the true doctrine in ages before them?

(9.) What deceitful dealing is this! to deny the people the reading of the scriptures and acquaintance with them, and in such things commend ignorance as the mother of devotion; and [they] will yet call upon them to say, "Who taught your doctrines before Luther?" as if it were more material to know who taught them, than to know them; or to be more skilled in the writings of men, than in the word of God.

(10.) They call for that from us on our part, which they cannot give themselves for themselves on their part. You ask, "Who taught your doctrines from the apostles' times?" and we retort your question: "And who taught all your doctrines from the apostles' times?" We know, you can never show them. So that if we could not, yet we were even with you. I know, you pretend a large catalogue of popes; but yet you are greatly puzzled to give their succession, when there have been several popes together, and they that then lived could not know which was the right. But if you could give a succession of persons, it profits nothing without a succession of true doctrine: if you could show a succession *de facto,* you can show none *de jure.* That may be "actual" that may not be "lawful." A thief may actually succeed a true possessor; and a tyrant and usurper, a lawful prince; but not lawfully: this is usurpation, not legitimate succession. We might say therefore to your people, as you do to ours: "Is it safe for you to continue in that religion of which you can give no account, who have taught your doctrines from the apostles' times?" For you cannot; no, nor your doctors neither; no, though they call a council, and search all records and writings of men; as shall be shown in the next general head of this sermon.

Yet this is not said as if we doubted of our cause, if it were to be tried by the writings of the ancient fathers; or as if we could not mention multitudes before Luther that have taught and owned our doctrines: for there are many great volumes and cart-loads of books in which our doctrines are to be found. To give a large rehearsal of their words on our side, would be an endless work, and not to be crowded into a piece of one sermon: yet a few shall be picked out of many, sufficient to show that our doctrines, in which we do oppose the doctrines of the church of Rome, have been taught of old.

What was the doctrine in the first hundredth year from the birth of Christ, is best understood from the holy scriptures; and this is that age, and the writings of the apostles are those writings, by which the writings of all other ages must be examined, as their surest rule: and that our doctrines are there contained, and not the doctrines of the Papists, as such, see the parallel before.

In the writings of the fathers that lived in the second hundredth year we have many testimonies.

In this age the bishop of Rome had not that power as now they challenge; as appears from a letter of Eleutherius, bishop of Rome, to Lucius, king of England; who had sent to the bishop for the Roman laws, as they were framed in religion; to whom is sent an answer by Eleutherius: "Ye require of us the Roman laws, and the emperor's, to be sent over to you. The Roman laws and the emperor's we may ever reprove; but the law of God we may not. Ye have received of late through God's mercy in the realm of Brittany the law and faith of Christ. Ye have with you, within the realm, both the parts of the scripture. Out of them by God's grace, with the council of your realm, take ye a law: and by that law (through God's sufferance) rule your kingdom of Britain; for you be God's vicar in your kingdom." Afterwards: "Whose vicar you be in the realm."[*] From whence is clear, that this bishop of Rome, (1.) Challenged not the supremacy over England; but acknowledged the king to be supreme governor in his own kingdom. (2.) That he acknowledged the perfection of scripture for life and manners, when laws should be taken from thence for the government of a kingdom. (3.) That England received the gospel early, and not so late from the church of Rome as some of them boast; nor at all first from them, but from the Grecians of the East-church, as some think.[†]

Particulars would be [in] abundance; but brevity is one part of my task in this present matter: I must therefore take up with a testimony or two of the doctrine taught in this age. Irenæus testifieth that the same truths of apostolical doctrine were in this age;[‡] and that the church that was planted through a great part of the world, even to the end of the earth, by the apostles and their disciples, received the same faith that is contained in that which is called "the Apostles' Creed:" and he gives a summary of doctrines to the same purpose as in that Creed is contained.[§]

Unto these times Hegesippus, that lived in this age, declareth that the church of God remained a pure and uncorrupted virgin. Moreover, the same witness gives a general testimony of the doctrine in this age. Coming to Rome, he met with many bishops, of one mind and doctrine; [and] saith, "The church of Corinth remains in the pure and right rule of doctrine;" and was comforted very much with their doctrine: "Being come to Rome, I stayed there till Anicetus was stalled bishop. In all the succession, and in every one of their cities, it is no otherwise than the law and prophets and the Lord himself did preach."[||]

After the apostles, many taught our doctrines long before Luther. Having but little room, I must take up with the fewer heads of doctrine, and fewer testimonies under each doctrine. I had begun to give a catalogue in every hundredth year since Christ; but that being too large for this place, I laid it by, and give instances in these few following:—

I. THE PERFECTION AND SUFFICIENCY OF THE SCRIPTURE TO SALVATION, TAUGHT LONG BEFORE LUTHER.

Justin Martyr, who lived in the second hundredth year after Christ, writeth that "the true religion is contained in the writings of the prophets and apostles, who have taught all things necessary for us to know. We are not commanded to give credit to the traditions and doctrines of men, but those doctrines which were published by the prophets, and [which] Christ himself delivered. All things are to be brought to the scripture, and from thence are arguments and proofs to be fetched: for if a man be never so often asked, 'How many do two times two make?' he will still say, 'Four;' so a Christian, discoursing with others, will always allege the scripture."[¶] And Irenæus: "The scriptures are perfect, as spoken and dictated from the Word of God and his Spirit."[**]

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[*] Fox's "Acts and Monuments," vol. i. p. 139.

[†] Idem, *ibid.* p. 138.

[‡] Irenæus *Adversùs Hæreses*, lib. iii.

[§] Idem, lib. i. cap. 2; Eusebii *Eccles. Hist.* lib. iii. cap. 24.

[||] Hegesippus apud Eusebii *Eccles. Hist.* lib. iv. cap. 21.

[¶] Justinus Martyr *in Dial. cum Tryphone, et Parænesi.*

[**] *Scripturæ perfectæ sunt, quippe a Verbo Dei et Spiritu ejus dictæ.*—Irenæus *Adversùs Hæreses*, lib. ii. cap. 47.

So Tertullian, A.D. 200, &c., writes, "I adore the fulness of the scriptures. Let Hermogenes show that it is written; if it be not written, let him fear that woe appointed for those that add or diminish."[*] In another place thus: "We have the apostles of the Lord for our authors: who never brought-in any thing at their own will; but what doctrine they had from Christ, they faithfully delivered to the nations. Wherefore, if an angel from heaven should preach otherwise to us, we would pronounce him accursed."[†] To this objection, "The apostles did not know all; or if they did, they did not deliver all," he replieth that "both ways such reproach Christ, as if he had sent apostles either unskilful or unfaithful." Again: "In matters of faith, men must argue no other way than from the scriptures."[‡] In short, he lays down the doctrines of this age in a Confession of faith, agreeable to that which is called "the Apostles' Creed;" and saith, "They are not doubted of by any amongst us, but heretics."[§] In the like manner speaketh Origen, that lived also in this age, of the perfection of the scripture: "In the two Testaments every word that appertaineth to God may be required and discussed, and all knowledge of things out of them may be understood; but if any thing do remain which the holy scripture doth not determine, no other third scripture ought to be received for to authorize any knowledge."[||] And more in other places;[¶] and [see] a large Confession of faith also by him, and Gregory Neocæsariensis, containing the doctrines that we hold.[**]

Jerome, that died A.D. 420, thus: "Whatsoever we affirm, we ought to prove out of the holy scriptures: the speaker's words have not so much authority as the Lord's command."[††]

Ambrose, also, who was born about the year 333, is of the same judgment: "We ought to add nothing, no not for caution, to God's command: for if thou dost add or diminish, it is a prevaricating of the command. The pure and simple form of the command is to be kept. Nothing, therefore, seem it never so good, ought to be added to it. Therefore we ought not to add to or take away from the commands of God."[‡‡] And he is more large, which I cannot (for brevity) transcribe. Again: he saith, "Who shall speak, where the scripture is silent?"[§§]

Augustine, born A.D. 355, subscribes the same doctrine: "In those things which are laid down plainly in the scripture, all those things are found which belong to faith or direction of life."[*] "Let us not hear, 'This I say, this you say;' but let us hear, 'This saith the Lord.' There is God's book, to whose authority we on both sides consent, believe: there let us seek the church; there let us discuss our cause. Let those things be taken from amongst us which we quote or allege one against another, but not from the divine canonical books; for I will not that the holy church be demonstrated from the documents of men, but from the oracles of God." Again: "Read us these things out of the law, out of the prophets, or Psalms, or gospel, or the apostles' epistles; read ye, and we believe." Again: "Our Lord Jesus himself did rather judge that his disciples should be confirmed by the testimony of the law and prophets. These be the proofs, foundation, and strength of our cause." Again: "Let no man ask me my opinion; but let us hearken to the scripture, and submit our petty reasonings to the word of God." "We walk much safer according to the scripture: controversies are to be determined by the scripture." Again: "I insert the opinion of Ambrose, Jerome, &c., not for that thou shouldest think that the sense of any man is to be followed as the authority of canonical scripture."[†] Augustine hath abundance more (in many places) of such-like doctrine; and he was above a thousand years before Luther.

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[*] *Adoro scripturæ plenitudinem. Scriptum esse doceat Hermogenis Officina; si non est scriptum, timeat væ illud adjicientibus aut detrahentibus destinatum.*—TERTULLIANUS *Adversùs Hermogenem.*

[†] *Apostolos Domini habemus authores: qui nec ipsi quicquam ex suo arbitrio, quod inducerent, elegerunt; sed acceptam a Christo disciplinam fideliter nationibus assignaverunt. Itaque etiamsi angelus de cœlis aliter evangelizaret, anathema diceretur a nobis.*—Idem *De Præscript. Hæret.*

[‡] *Solent dicere non omnia apostolos scisse; omnia quidem apostolos scisse, sed non omnia omnibus tradidisse: in utroque Christum reprehensioni subjicientes, qui aut minùs instructos aut parùm simplices apostolos miserit.—Ibid. Aliunde suadere non possent de rebus fidei nisi ex literis fidei.—Ibid.*

[§] Idem, *ibid.*

[||] ORIGENIS *Homil. v. in Levit.* tom. i.

[¶] *Hom. ii. in Hieremiam.*

[**] *Centuriæ Magdeburgenses,* cent. iii. pp. 34, 35.

[††] HIERONYMUS *in Psalmum xcviii.*

[‡‡] *Nihil, vel cautionis gratiâ, jungere nos debemus mandato. Si quid enim vel addas vel detrahas, prævaricatio quædam videtur esse mandati: pura enim et simplex mandati forma servanda. Nihil, vel quod bonum videtur, addendum est. Docet igitur nos præsentis lectionis series neque detrahere aliquid divinis debere mandatis neque addere.*—AMBROSII *Opera,* tom. iv. *De Paradiso,* cap. 12.

[§§] *Sanctis scripturis non loquentibus, quis loquetur?*—Idem *De Voc. Gent.* lib. ii. cap. 3.

Chrysostom, also, that lived in the same age, and died about the year 407, taught the same doctrine—so long before Luther—in this point as the Reformed churches now do. Thus he writes: "Would it not be an absurd and preposterous thing, that when we have to do with men in matters of money, we believe them not, but count it after them; but when we are to judge of things, we are simply drawn into their opinions; and *that* when we have the law of God for an exact rule, balance, and square of all things? Wherefore I beseech and entreat you all, that ye matter not what one or another thinks of these things, but that ye would consult the holy scriptures concerning them."[‡] In another place thus: "These things which are in the holy scripture are clear and right; whatsoever is necessary is manifest therein."[§] Many more testimonies we might have from this author, and others quoted in the margin;[*] but brevity forbids the transcribing of their words. To conclude this particular: take the testimony of a council, wherein are many witnessing together that the scripture is so perfect that nothing is to be added to it.[†] Ambrose said, "Anathema to him that addeth any thing to the scripture, or taketh from it;" and all the bishops said, "Let him be accursed." And their own canon-law, reciting the words of Cyprian,—that the scripture must be followed, and not custom or traditions: "If Christ only is to be heard, we ought not to regard what any one before us thought was to be done; but what Christ, that was before all, did: neither ought we to follow the custom of men, but the truth of God; whenas the Lord hath said by the prophet Isaiah, 'In vain do they worship me, teaching the commands and doctrine of men.'"[‡] And again: "It is not lawful for the emperor, or any other person piously disposed, to presume any thing against the divine precepts, nor do any thing that is contrary to the rules of the evangelists, prophets, or apostles."[§] Then their writings must be perfect; or we shall often be at a loss, for want of a rule to direct us. All these, and multitudes more, taught this long before Luther.

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[*] *In iis quæ apertè in scripturâ posita sunt, inveniuntur illa omnia quæ continent fidem moresque vivendi.*—AUGUSTINI *Opera*, tom. iii. *De Doct. Christ.* lib. ii. cap. 9.

[†] *Non audiamus, Hæc dico, hæc dicis; sed audiamus, Hæc dicit Dominus. Sunt certè libri Dominici, quorum autoritati utrique consentimus, utrique credimus: ibi quæramus ecclesiam; ibi discutiamus causam nostram. Auferantur illa de medio, quæ adversùs nos invicem, non ex divinis canonicis libris, sed aliunde, recitamus; quia nolo humanis documentis, sed divinis oraculis, sanctam ecclesiam demonstrari.*—Idem *De Unitate Eccles.* cap. 3. *Legite nobis hæc de lege, de prophetis, de Psalmis, de ipso evangelio, de apostolicis literis; legite, et credimus.*—Idem, *ibid.* cap. 6. *Ipse Dominus Jesus discipulos testimoniis legis et prophetarum confirmandos esse magis judicavit. Hæc sunt causæ nostræ documenta, hæc fundamenta, hæc firmamenta.*—Idem, *ibid.* cap. 16. *Nemo ex me quærat sententiam meam; sed potiùs audiamus oracula, nostrasque ratiunculas divinis summittamus affatibus.*—Idem, tom. i. *De Moribus Eccles. Cath.* cap. 7. *Per scripturas divinas multo tutiùs ambulatur. Controversia ex eâdem scripturâ terminetur.*—Idem *De Doct. Christ.* cap. 8. *Sententias Ambrosii, Hieronymi, &c., non ob hoc interponere volui, ut cujusquam hominis sensum tanquam scripturæ canonicæ auctoritatem sequendum arbitreris.*—Idem, *Epist.* cxii.

[‡] Πως γαρ ουκ ατοπον, ὑπερ μεν χρηματων μη ἑτεροις ϖιστευειν, αλλ᾽ αριθμῳ και ψηφῳ τουτο επιτρεπειν· ὑπερ δε ϖραγματων ψηφιζομενους ἁπλως ταις ἑτερων ϖαρασυρεσθαι δοξαις· και ταυτα, ακριβη ζυγον ἁπαντων εχοντας και γνωμονα και κανονα, των θειων νομων την αποφασιν; Διο ϖαρακαλω και δεομαι ϖαντων ὑμων, αφεντες τι τῳ δεινι και τῳ δεινι δοκει ϖερι τουτων, ϖαρα των γραφων ταυτα ἁπαντα ϖυνθανεσθε.—CHRYSOSTOMI *Homil. xiii. in 2 Cor.*

[§] Ταυτα σαφη και ευθεα τα ϖαρα ταις θειαις γραφαις· ϖαντα τα αναγκαια δηλα.—Idem, *Homil. iii. in 2 Thess. ii.*

II. THAT THE PEOPLE OUGHT TO READ THE SCRIPTURE, AND THEREFORE OUGHT IT TO BE TRANSLATED INTO VULGAR TONGUES,—WAS A DOCTRINE TAUGHT LONG BEFORE LUTHER.

By Chrysostom: "'Let the word of God dwell in you richly:' he doth not say only, 'Let it dwell in you;' but, 'in great abundance.' Hear this, ye worldly men, that have wives and children,—how he commandeth you to read the scriptures; and that not slightly, but with all diligence. Hear this, I pray you, all ye that are careful about the things of this life; and get you Bibles, which are the medicines of your souls. Ignorance of the scriptures is the cause of all evils. We go to war without our weapons; how then can we be safe?" &c.[‖] In another place he instructed the people that, when they went from the congregation to their houses, they should take their Bibles, and call their wives and children to participate of the discourse of the things that were said. And in another place he exhorts them diligently to attend the reading of the holy scripture; not only when they came to the assembly; but at home to take the sacred scriptures into their hands: and this he doth by an argument drawn from the great profit that they may receive thereby. Elsewhere he also mentioneth that the Syrians, Egyptians, Indians, Persians, Ethiopians, and multitudes more, had the doctrines of the scripture translated into their own tongues.

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[*] CYPRIANUS, lib. ii. epist. 3, *et ad Quintinum, et ad Pompeium, et ad Jubaianum.* *Αυταρκεις εισιν αἱ ἁγιαι και ϑεοπνευστοι γραφαι ϖρος την της αληθειας επαγγελιαν.*—ATHANASIUS, tom. i. p. 1. "The holy and divinely inspired scriptures are perfectly sufficient to the exposition of the truth."—EDIT. *Ἡ μεν αληθης και ευσεϐης εις τον Κυριον ϖιστις φανερα ϖασι καθεστηκεν, εκ των ϑειων γραφων γινωσκομενη τε και αναγινωσκομενη.*—Idem, tom. i. p. 398. "True and pious faith in the Lord has now become manifest unto all, being known from and read in the sacred writings."—EDIT. *Ἡ ϑεια γραφη ϖαντων εστιν ἱκανωτερα.*—Idem, p. 114. Vide etiam pp. 217, 428. "The divine scripture is of all things the most useful."—EDIT. *Τα μεν συμφωνα ταις γραφαις δεχεσθαι, τα δε αλλοτρια αποϐαλλειν.*—BASILIUS MAGNUS *in Moralium Libro*, sum. lxxii. cap. 1. Vide etiam eundem, sum. lxxx. cap. 22, et *Homil. de Confess. Fidei*, et passim. "We must receive those things that are consonant to the scriptures, but reject whatsoever is foreign to them."—EDIT.

[†] *Concil. Aquileiense;* SURIUS *De Concil.* tom. i. p. 477.

[‡] *Corp. Jur. Can.* dist. viii. cap. *Si solus.*

[§] *Ibid.* dist. x. cap. *Non licet.*

[‖] *Ακουσατε, ὅσοι εστε κοσμικοι, και γυναικος και ϖαιδων ϖροιστασθε, ϖως και ὑμιν επιτρεπει μαλιστα τας γραφας αναγινωσκειν· και ουχ ἁπλως ουδε ὡς ετυχεν, αλλα μετα ϖολλης της σπουδης. Ακουσατε, ϖαρακαλω, ϖαντες οἱ βιωτικοι· και κτασθε Βιϐλια, φαρμακα της ψυχης. Τουτο ϖαντων αιτιον των κακων, το μη ειδεναι τας γραφας. Χωρις ὅπλων εις ϖολεμον βαδιζομεν, και ϖως εδει σωθηναι;* &c.—CHRYSOSTOMI *Homil. ix. in Coloss.;* item, *Hom. ii., v., in Matt.* To this purpose, also, *Hom. iii. de Lazaro; Hom. xxix. in Genes.; Hom. i. in Johan.*

The like also by St. Augustine: "It is come to pass that the scripture—wherewith so many diseases of men's wills are holpen, proceeding from one tongue, which fitly might be dispersed through the world, being spread far and wide by means of the divers languages whereinto it is translated—is thus made known to nations for their salvation; the which when they read, they desire nothing else but to attain to the mind of Him that wrote it, and so to the will of God, according to which we believe [that] such men spake."*

To the new doctrine of Hosius, president at the council of Trent, "That a distaff was fitter for women than a Bible,"† we will oppose the testimony of Theodoret of the old practice in the church in this point: "You shall every where see these points of our faith to be known and understood, not only by such as are teachers in the church, but even of cobblers and smiths and websters and all kind of artificers: yea, all our women—not they only who are book-learned, but they also that get their living with their needle, yea, maid-servants and waiting-women; and not citizens only, but husbandmen of the country—are very skilful in these things: yea, you may hear among our ditchers and neatherds and wood-setters discoursing of the Trinity and creation," &c.‡

III. THAT RELIGIOUS WORSHIP WAS NOT TO BE GIVEN TO IMAGES OR RELICS OF SAINTS, WAS TAUGHT LONG BEFORE LUTHER.

When Polycarpus suffered, the envious persecutors not willing that his body should be honourably buried, as the Christians were desirous to do, they moved the proconsul not to deliver to the Christians the body of Polycarp, lest they, leaving Christ, fall a-worshipping of him: concerning which the church of Smyrna (for I have not room for citations of particular persons) in their Epistle to the Church at Philomilium, &c., said, "This they said, being ignorant of this,—that we can never forsake Christ, and that we can worship no other: for we worship Christ as the Son of God; the martyrs we love as disciples and followers of the Lord."§

About the time of Sylvester I., who was [pope] A. D, 314, a council was so far from worshipping of images, that they would not have any pictures in the churches, "lest that which is worshipped or adored should be painted on walls."‖ Also, about the year 700, a synod at Constantinople (which the Greeks call "the seventh") did not only condemn the worship of images, but also images themselves; and [decreed] that they should be cast out of churches. Gregory, bishop of Neocæsarea,

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* AUGUSTINUS *De Doct. Christ.* lib. ii. cap. 5.

† HOSIUS *De Express. Dei Verb.*

‡ THEODORETUS *De curand. Græc. Affect.* lib. v.

§ EUSEBII *Eccles. Hist.* lib. iv. cap. 15.

‖ *Placuit picturas in ecclesiâ esse non debere; ne quod colitur aut adoratur, in parietibus depingatur.* *Concil. Elibert.* can. 36.

(not the ancient of that title, but another since him,) wrote a book against images;[*] which was read and approved by this council, and inserted into the synodical acts as a common decree: in which book there are testimonies of scripture and fathers against the idolatry of images; and that they would not allow any image or picture of Christ, but anathematized them that should draw his effigies in material colours; (can. 8—13;) and determined that there was one only image appointed by Christ; to wit, the blessed bread and wine in the eucharist, (Lord's supper,) which represent to us the body and blood of Christ. The second Nicene synod was against this and for images; and a synod at Francfort, against the second Nicene council and their images.

Pezelius gives us this account:—That Leo III., emperor, called a synod about the year 730; in which it was controverted, whether images were to be worshipped, &c.: the issue whereof was, that the fathers then present (except only Germanus; and [he] therefore resigned, and one Anastasius was chosen in his room) condemned and subscribed, that worshipping of images and relics was mere idolatry, contrary to the scripture; and the intercession of saints, a fable. The emperor put the decrees of the synod into execution; commanded the images to be brought into the midst of the city, and burned; and the pictures on walls to be whited over, and so defaced; and did write to pope Gregory III., (according to some, II.,) and commanded him, as he would keep in his favour, to do the like. After him his son Constantinus, called Copronymus, out of his zeal called a synod at Byzantium, A. D. 754; which is called "the seventh general council;" where were present three hundred and thirty-eight fathers: where the question being discussed, Whether it were lawful that images should (so much as) be in churches; who, receiving the decrees of the first and second councils of Constantinople, Ephesus, Nice, Chalcedon, did determine with one consent, that all images should, as abominations, be cast away.[†]

IV. THAT INVOCATION OF ANGELS AND SAINTS IS UNLAWFUL, WAS TAUGHT LONG BEFORE LUTHER.

By the council of Laodicea, which was about the year 364, according to Caranza; who, relating the canon I am to produce, for *angelos* ["angels"] reads twice *angulos*, ["corners,"] to evade the force of the council's canon, which he could not stand before; for which tricks of legerdemain their translations are little to be trusted to. Let us take it in the Greek text:—

'Οτι ου δει Χριστιανους εγκαταλειπειν την εκκλησιαν του Θεου, και απιεναι και αγγελους ονομαζειν και συναξεις ϖοιειν, ἁπερ απηγορευεται. Ει τις ουν εὑρεθῃ ταυτῃ τῃ κεκρυμμενῃ ειδωλολατρειᾳ σχολαζων, εστω αναθεμα· ὁτι εγκατελιπεν τον Κυριον ἡμων Ιησουν Χριστον, τον Υἱον του Θεου, και ειδωλολατρειᾳ ϖροσηλθεν.[‡] "Christians ought not to forsake the church of God, and go and call upon angels and gather assemblies, which are forbidden. If therefore any shall be found giving himself to this secret idolatry, let him be accursed; because he hath

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[*] ILLYRICI *Catalogus Testium Veritatis*, pp. 73, 74.

[†] PEZELIUS, *et* LAMPADII *Mellificium Historicum*, pars iii. pp. 37, 41.

[‡] *Concil. Laodic.* can. 35; *Codice Canonum Eccles. univers.* can. 139.

forsaken our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, and hath approached to idolatry."

The Papists are so humble, that they will go to God by having recourse to saints to intercede for them: this we dislike. "Who taught the contrary before Luther?" Multitudes: one of which, because it is so pat, I will transcribe. Ambrose, above a thousand years ago, condemned such "that used such a miserable excuse, in that they think to go to God by these, as men go to a king by his nobles. Go to; is any man so mad or so unmindful of his salvation as to give the king's honour to a courtier? Which if any do, are they not righteously condemned as guilty of treason? And yet these do not think themselves to be guilty, who give the honour of the name of God unto a creature, and, forsaking the Lord, they adore their fellow-servants. For therefore do men go to the king by tribunes or officers, because the king is but a man, and knoweth not to whom to commit the state of the commonwealth: but to procure the favour of God, (from whom nothing is hid; for he knoweth the works of all men,) we need no spokesman, but a devout mind; for wheresoever such an one shall speak unto Him, He will answer him."*

V. THAT THERE ARE BUT TWO PLACES FOR THE SOULS OF MEN AFTER DEATH, AND CONSEQUENTLY NO PURGATORY, WAS TAUGHT LONG BEFORE LUTHER.

Augustine, born above a thousand years before Luther, taught, that "there is no middle place for any; *he* must needs be with the devil, *that* is not with Christ."† Again: "The catholic faith, resting upon divine authority, believes the first place the kingdom of heaven; and the second, hell: a third we are wholly ignorant of."‡ Again: "What Abraham saith to the rich man in Luke,—that the righteous, though they would, cannot go to the place where the wicked are tormented,—what doth it mean, but that the godly can afford no help of mercy, though they would, to those that be shut up in prison after this life, that they should come out from thence; and that through the unchangeableness of God's judgment?" Again: "There is no place for the amending of our ways but in this life; for after this life every one shall receive according to what he seeketh after in this: therefore the love of mankind doth constrain us to intercede for sinners, lest by punishment they so end this life, that, their life being ended, their punishment never end."§ Another: "Whatsoever state or condition, whether good or bad, a man is taken in when he dieth, so must he abide for ever; for he shall either rest in eternal happiness with the saints and the Lord Christ, or shall be tormented in darkness with the wicked and the devil."[*] This cannot be purgatory; for the Papists do not say that the wicked or the devils be in purgatory, but in hell.

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* *Solent tamen, pudore passi neglecti Dei, miserâ uti excusatione; dicentes per istos posse ire ad Deum, sicuti per comites pervenitur ad regem. Age, nunquid tam demens est aliquis aut salutis suæ immemor, ut honorificentiam regis vendicet comiti; cùm, de hâc re si qui etiam tractare fuerint inventi, jure ut rei damnentur majestatis? Et isti se non putant reos, qui honorem nominis Dei deferunt creaturæ, et relicto Domino conservos adorant. Nam ideò ad regem per tribunos aut comites itur, quia homo utique est rex, et nescit quibus debeat rempublicam credere. Ad Deum autem (quem utique nihil latet; omnium enim merita novit) promerendum suffragatore non opus est, sed mente devotâ: ubicunque enim talis loquutus fuerit ei, respondebit illi.*—AMBROSIUS *in Rom. i.*

† AUGUSTINUS *De Pec. Merit. et Remis.* lib. i. cap. 28.

‡ Idem, *Quæst. Evang.* lib. ii. cap. 38.

§ Idem, *Epist. liv. ad Maced.*

VI. THAT THE MARRIAGE OF MINISTERS WAS LAWFUL, WAS TAUGHT LONG BEFORE LUTHER.

Long before, indeed! for it is the sixth of the (supposed) apostolical canons, owned by the church of Rome; in these words: "Let not a bishop or a presbyter, upon pretence of religion, put away his wife: but if he do, let him be excommunicated; if he shall persist therein, let him be deposed."[†]

The council at Ancyra also did decree that such as in their ordination did declare their purpose for to marry, if they did so, should continue in their ministry.[‡] Another council, about the year 300, decreed that, "if any should judge that he ought not to partake of the oblation from a married presbyter, let him be accursed."[§] And the first general council at Nice, that had this under debate, after Paphnutius had delivered his judgment about it, did leave it at every minister's liberty to marry or not marry, as they should see cause; which the Romanists' canon law doth also set down.[||] Likewise this is fully stated in the sixth general council:—that "the lawful marriages of holy men should be valid; but whosoever is found diligent, should no way be hindered from that office because of living with his lawful wife. Therefore if any shall presume, contrary to the apostles' rules, to deprive any presbyters or deacons of communion with their lawful wives; let him be deposed." Well said, council! and if this could have been put into execution, the pope would have been down long before now, or mended his tyrannical dealings. And yet this stands in their canon law;[¶] and they act quite contrary to it. Here being so many councils, and so many ancient fathers in all these councils, I need not look for more, to tell you who taught this doctrine before Luther.

VII. COMMUNION IN BOTH KINDS WAS TAUGHT LONG BEFORE LUTHER.

[By] Ignatius: "One bread is broken to all, and one cup distributed to all."[**] And by Justin Martyr: "They give to every one that is present of the consecrated bread and wine, as Christ commanded them."[††] And by Cyprian: "How do we invite them to shed their blood for Christ in the confession of his name, if, when they set forth to fight for him, we deny them his blood? How shall we fit them for the cup of martyrdom, if, before, we admit them not by right of communion to drink of the Lord's cup in his church?"[‡‡] In another place thus: "Because some men, out of ignorance or simplicity, in sanctifying the cup of the Lord and ministering it to the people, do not that which Christ, the Institutor thereof, did and taught; I thought it both matter of religion and necessity to acquaint you herewith by letters; that if any be held in that error, the light of truth being now discovered to him, he might return unto the root and beginning of our Lord's institution," &c.* Fully and plainly by Chrysostom,—that the people have as good a title to the cup, as the minister: "Sometimes and in some things there is no difference between the people and the priest; as in the participation of the dreadful mysteries; for all are equally admitted unto them. In the time of the old law it was not lawful for the people to eat of those things of which the priests did eat: but it is not so now; for one body is offered to all, and one cup."†

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[*] OLYMPIODORUS *in Eccles. xi.*

[†] CARANZÆ *Sum. Concil.* p. 14.

[‡] *Concil. Ancyran.* can. 10; *Codice* verò *Can. Eccles. univers.* can. 30.

[§] *Codex Can. Eccles. univers.* can. 63; *Concil. Gangrense*, can. 4.

[||] *Corp. Jur. Canon.* dist. xxxi. cap. *Nicæna Synodus.*

[¶] *Jus Canon.* pars prima, dist. xxxi. cap. *Quoniam in Roman.*

[**] Εἱς και αρτος τοις ϖασιν εθρυφθη, και ἑν ϖοτηριον τοις ὁλοις διενεμηθη.—IGNATIUS *ad Philadelphenos.*

[††] Διδοασιν ἑκαστῳ των ϖαροντων μεταλαβειν απο ευχαριστηθεντος αρτου και οινου και ὑδατος, καθως ϖαρεδωκαν εντεταλθαι αυτοις Ιησουν.—JUSTINI MARTYRIS *Apolog. II.* in fine.

[‡‡] CYPRIANI *Epist. liv.*

I must thrust-in the doctrine of Leo the Great; who was a bishop of Rome, A. D. 440, and yet did count it sacrilege not to have the cup received by the people. He saith thus, speaking of the Manichees: "And when, to cover their infidelity, they dare be present at our mysteries, they so carry themselves at the communion of the sacrament, that they may the more safely lie hid. They take the body of Christ with their unworthy mouths; but they altogether decline the drinking of the blood of our redemption: which I would have you to know, that these kind of men by this mark being [may be] made manifest; whose sacrilegious simulation when discovered, let them be marked, and by priestly authority be driven from the society of the saints," &c.‡

Because in councils there are many witnesses at once, let us hear them. The council at Ancyra, (though but provincial, yet, as Caranza saith, [it] was confirmed by the general council at Nice,) [which] was, according to Caranza's computation, in the year of our Lord 308, did decree that deacons that had sacrificed to idols, should not deliver the bread nor the cup in the sacrament. (Can. 2.) Whence it appears that in that age the cup was given, as well as the bread. And the council at Neocæsarea, confirmed also by the Nicene council, (so Caranza,) did decree that the country-priests, in the presence of the bishop or presbyters of the city, should not give the bread, nor reach the cup; but if they were absent, they alone should do it. (Can. 13.) At the general council at Chalcedon, consisting of six hundred and thirty fathers, the seventh accusation brought against Iba, bishop of Edessa, was, "That there was not sufficient quantity of wine provided; that those that did administer were constrained to go to the taverns for more." § But what need this complaint, if the people were not to drink, as well as to eat? This being a general council, it seems that through the whole church the cup was given to the laity. This was about the year 451, in the time of Leo I. In the third Toletan council it was decreed that, through all the churches of Spain and Gallicia, the Creed should be repeated with a loud voice, and the people make profession of their faith, before they receive the body and blood of Christ. At the council of Ilerda it was decreed that the clergy, that deliver Christ's body and blood, should abstain from all men's blood, even of their enemies.[*] One more testimony of one of their bishops of Rome, full and good Protestant doctrine, which I find in their Decretals; the doctrine of Gelasius, who was bishop of Rome (for as yet there were no popes properly, as now they use the word) A. D. 492, thus: "We have found that certain, having received a portion of the sacred body, abstain from the cup of his sacred blood, being entangled with I know not what superstition: let them either receive the whole sacrament, or else let them be wholly excluded from receiving; because the division of one and the self-same mystery cannot be without grievous sacrilege."[†] Well said, Gelasius! Ye Papists, that ask, Who preached our doctrine before Luther? in this point, I say, Gelasius, bishop of Rome: and he taught of old that the not partaking in both kinds is, (i.) Superstition; (ii.) A maiming or halving of the sacrament. (iii.) That it is grand sacrilege. Was your bishop in his chair when he did thus determine? And yet will ye neither believe that he did err, nor yet give the cup to the people, though he did infallibly dictate this to be a duty? Surely he did err in saying so, or you do err in not doing so.

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* CYPRIANI *Epist. lxiii.*

† Και ϑεμις ουκ ην τῳ λαῳ μετεχειν ὧν μετειχεν ὁ ἱερευς· αλλ' ου νυν· αλλα ϖασιν ἑν σωμα ϖροκειται, και ϖοτηριον ἑν.—CHRYSOSTOMI *Homil. xviii. in 2 Cor.*

‡ *Cùmque, ad tegendum infidelitatem suam, nostris audeant interesse mysteriis, ita in sacramentorum communione se temperant, ut interdum tutiùs lateant. Ore indigno Christi corpus accipiunt; sanguinem autem redemptionis nostræ haurire omninò declinant: quod ideò vestram volumus scire Sanctitatem, ut vobis hujuscemodi homines et his manifestentur indiciis; et quorum deprehensa fuerit sacrilega simulatio, notati et proditi, a sanctorum societate sacerdotali autoritate pellantur, &c.*—LEONIS I. *Serm. iv. de Quadragesimâ.*

§ *Concil. Chalced.* act. 10, apud SURIUM, tom. ii.

VIII. THAT IN THE LORD'S SUPPER AFTER CONSECRATION THERE IS TRUE AND REAL BREAD AND TRUE AND REAL WINE, WAS A DOCTRINE TAUGHT BY MANY LONG BEFORE LUTHER.

By Tertullian: "Christ, taking the bread and distributing it to his disciples, made it his body; saying, 'This is my body;' that is," (mark this,) "'a figure of my body.'"[‡] By Augustine, who bringeth-in our Saviour speaking after this manner: "Ye shall not eat this body which ye see, nor drink that blood which *they* shall shed *that* will crucify me: I have commended a certain sacrament unto you, that, being spiritually understood, will quicken you."[§] By Gelasius, saying, "The sacraments which we receive of the body and blood of Christ, are a divine thing, by means whereof we are made partakers of the divine nature: and yet the substance or nature of bread and wine doth not cease to be; and, indeed, the image and the similitude of the body and blood of Christ are celebrated in the action of the mysteries."[||]

By Ambrose: "'How can that which is bread by consecration be the body of Christ?' By the words of Christ. 'What words of Christ?' By which all things were made: the Lord commanded, and the heaven was made; the Lord commanded, and the earth and the sea were made. Seest thou, then, how powerful is the word of Christ? If, therefore, there be such virtue in the words of our Lord, to make those things that were not to begin to be; how much more powerful is his word, that they remain the same they were, and yet be changed into another thing!" This author doth acknowledge a change, but not a transubstantiating change; for he expressly saith, "They be what they were." It was bread and wine before; and therefore, though set apart for holy use, yet [is] not changed into another nature, so as, [with regard] to substance, to cease to be what they were. And he giveth instance in ourselves: when converted, there is a change; of old [we] are made new creatures; but not by being changed into a new substance, but [by having] our souls set upon right objects, &c. And when the objection is made, "But I do not see blood in kind;" he replieth, "But it hath the likeness or similitude of it; and thou drinkest that which hath the resemblance of the precious blood of Christ." [*] This was taught, then, above a thousand years before Luther by this father. And so it was by Chrysostom also; who saith, "If it be perilous to put these hallowed vessels to private use, in which is not the true body of Christ, but the mystery of his body is contained therein; how much more," &c. [†]

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[*] *Concil. Ilerd.* can. 1, *apud Magdeburg. Centur.* cent. vi. p. 467.

[†] *Comperimus autem quòd quidam, sumptâ tantummodò corporis sacri portione, a calice sacri cruoris abstineant: qui proculdubiò (quoniam nescio quâ superstitione docentur obstringi) aut integra sacramenta percipiant, aut ab integris arceantur; quia divisio unius ejusdemque mysterii sine grandi sacrilegio non potest provenire.—Corpus Jur. Can. Decret.* pars iii. dist. iii. cap. *Comperimus autem.*

[‡] *Hoc est corpus meum; id est, figura corporis mei.*—TERTULLIANUS *Advers. Marc.* lib. iv.

[§] *Non hoc corpus quod videtis manducaturi estis, et bibituri illum sanguinem quem fusuri sunt qui me crucifigent: sacramentum aliquod vobis commendavi; spiritualiter intellectum, vivificabit vos.*—AUGUSTINUS *in Psalmum xcviii.*

[||] *Certa sacramenta quæ sumimus corporis et sanguinis Christi divina res est; et tamen esse non desinit substantia vel natura panis et vini.*—GELASIUS *De duabus Naturis in Christo contra Eutychen.*

IX. THAT THE BISHOP OF ROME WAS NOT THE UNIVERSAL HEAD OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH, NOR THE JUDGE IN WHOSE DEFINITIVE SENTENCE ALL WERE BOUND TO ACQUIESCE, WAS TAUGHT LONG BEFORE LUTHER.

In the second hundredth year after Christ, there were six councils, provincial only; the cause whereof was the difference about the feast of Easter. Irenæus, president of the synod in France, did write to Victor, then bishop of Rome; and sharply reprehended him for going about to sever from the unity in communion all the churches of Asia: which pleased not all the bishops. So Eusebius.[‡] In the year 418 was the sixth council of Carthage, which resisted three popes one after another. About the year 450 the council of Chalcedon withstood Leo, then bishop of Rome, in the question of supremacy.

Illyricus upon his word affirmeth that he saw an epistle of the bishops of France and Germany (written by Aventinus's own hand) to Anastasius, bishop of Rome, and others of his complices; the sum whereof was, to admonish the pope, and those bishops of Italy that sided with him, to let them alone, and not proceed to exercise their tyranny over them. The whole epistle is to be found in Illyricus. *(Catal. Test. Verit.* p. 41.)

The bishops also of Belgia, about the year 860, did contest with the pope; whose epistle to pope Nicolas I. is taken by Illyricus out of Aventinus; in the close of which epistle they declare that, for the causes before mentioned, they would "not stand to his decrees, nor hear his voice, nor fear his thundering Bulls. Thou condemnest them that obey not the decrees of the senate. We assault thee with thine own weapon, that despisest the decree of our Lord God. The Holy Spirit is the Author of all the churches which are spread both far and near. The city of our God, whose free denizens we are, is greater than that city which by the holy prophets is called Babylon; which exalts herself to heaven, and doth falsely glory that she never hath erred nor can err." [*]

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[*] *Si ergo tanta vis est in sermone Domini Jesu, ut inciperent esse quæ non erant; quantò magis operatorius est, ut* SINT QUÆ ERANT, *et in aliud commutentur! Tu ipse eras; sed eras vetus creatura: posteaquam consecratus es, nova creatura esse cœpisti. Sed fortè dicis,* Speciem sanguinis non video. *Sed habet similitudinem: similitudinem preciosi sanguinis bibis.*—AMBROSIUS *De Sacram.* lib. iv. cap. 4, edit. *(mihi)* Paris. 1529.

[†] CHRYSOSTOMI *Homil. xi. in Matt.* tom. postr. ii.

[‡] EUSEBII *Hist. Eccles.* lib. v. cap. 23, 26; et lib. vii. cap. 5.

Ludovicus the emperor, son of Charles the Great, and the nobles and clergy in his time, did not own the bishop of Rome to have that headship and power as now they claim and usurp, when by his authority, without any mention of the pope, he assembled several councils. Beside others, he called four several synods for the reformation of the church of France; namely, at Mentz, at Paris, at Lyons, and at Tholouse [Toulouse]; to inquire what was held answerable or contrary to the revealed will of God, and wherein they departed from the holy scripture. He was so famous for the church's good procured by him, that Platina, bewailing the most horrible wickedness of the popes and their clergy in his days,—that he crieth out, *O Ludovice, utinam nunc viveres:* "O Ludovicus, I wish thou wert now alive." [†]

Hincmar, archbishop of Rhemes [Rheims], openly published that it was not lawful for the inferior bishops upon any public or general occasion to consult the pope, unless they had first advised thereof with their own archbishops; that it was needless for archbishops to expect resolutions from the see of Rome concerning such things that are already sentenced in holy scripture, in the councils, canons, and decrees of the church: and expounded those words, *Tu es Petrus*, "Thou art Peter," thus: "Upon this sure and solid confession of faith which thou hast made, will I build my church." And as touching the power of binding and loosing, he did write to the pope himself, Leo IV., that that power was passed and derived from St. Peter and from the rest of the apostles to all the chief heads of the church; and that St. Peter's privilege took place only where men judge according to the equity of St Peter, and is of force wheresoever that equity is used. [‡] If Luther had now been born,

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[*] *Hisce de causis, cum fratribus nostris et collegis, neque edictis tuis stamus, neque vocem tuam agnoscimus, neque tuas Bullas tonitruaque tua timemus. Tu eos qui senatûs consultis non parent, impietatis condemnas. Nos tuo te ense jugulamus, qui edictum Domini Dei nostri conspuis. Spiritus Sanctus Autor est omnium ecclesiarum, quà longissimè et latissimè terrarum orbis porrigitur. Civitas Dei nostri, cujus municipes sumus, major est urbe quæ Babylonia a sacris vatibus appellatur; quæ cœlo se æquat, neque unquam se errasse aut errare posse mendaciter gloriatur.*—ILLYRICI *Catal. Test. Verit. (ex* AVENTINO) p. 80.

[†] Idem, *Ibid.* p. 86.

[‡] *Magdeb. Centur.* cent. ix. p. 338. *Proceres regni affirmare, inquit, illa nova et inaudita esse, quòd papa velit sibi de jure regnorum judicia sumere; non posse eum simul episcopum et regem esse, &c.*—HINCMARUS *apud Magd. Cent.* cent. ix. p. 356. "The nobles of the kingdom affirm, he says, that it is a new and unheard-of thing, for the pope to wish to assume to himself decisions concerning the law of kingdoms; that he cannot be both bishop and king at one and the same time," &c.—EDIT. *Monet pontificem ne tam temerè excommunicationes præcipiat; sed patiatur causas diligentiùs in suis provinciis cognosci, et juxta canones dijudicari.*—Idem, *ibid.* p. 524. "He admonishes the pope not to issue excommunications so rashly; but to suffer causes to be inquired into more diligently in their own provinces, and to be decided according to the canons."—EDIT. *Luithpertus Otgarius, Guntherus Coloniensis, Thetgondus Treverensis, et alii episcopi Belgici, graviter tyrannidem Romani pontificis redarguunt.—Ibid.* p. 338. *Item ecclesiæ Græcorum et imperatores contra papam.—Vide Magdeb. Cent.* cent. ix. pp. 340, 341. "Luithpert of Œtingen, Gunther of Cologne, Thetgond of Treves, and other Belgic bishops, inveigh bitterly against the tyranny of the Roman pontiff. The Grecian churches and emperors were also hostile to the pope."—EDIT.

(as he was not for many hundred years after,) this would have been called "Luther's doctrine."

Likewise, when Leo IV. encroached upon the church of Germany, Luithpert, archbishop of Mence [Mentz], writing to Lewis, king of Germany, speaks much against the pope; saying that the church's head did ache; and if speedy remedy were not taken, it would quickly distil upon the members.

About this time, (854,) the church of Rome had a sore miscarriage; when pope John, *alias* —, not being like to other males, was great with child by his, rather her, servant; and, going to the Lateran, fell in pieces: a good device to provide for succession!—the pope brings forth a child. But since that time they have made a hole in St. Peter's chair, that when a new pope sits down, the puny deacon might search of what ——. Before, the one body of the Romish church had two heads; the one visible, the other invisible: but now the head of that church had two bodies, and both visible.

Arnulphus, in a synod held at Rhemes [Rheims], noted the pope to be Antichrist; saying, "What, O reverend fathers, what, I say, think you him to be, who sitteth thus in a lofty throne, in purple robes and glittering gold? Certainly, if he be void of charity, lifted and puffed up only with knowledge, he is Antichrist, sitting in the temple of God: but if he want both charity and knowledge, then he is an idol; and to seek to him for answer, is to inquire of marble stones." [*]

Theophylact, archbishop of the Bulgarians, expounding these words, "Upon this rock will I build my church," made no mention of the pope of Rome; saying, "That confession that Peter made should become the foundation of the faithful; in such sort that every man that would build the house, must necessarily put this confession for his foundation. Of the power of the keys he said, "Though it were only said to Peter, 'To thee will I give,' &c.; yet that power was once given to all the apostles, when He said, 'Whose sins ye remit, shall be remitted.'" [†]

Famous is the history of Otho,[‡] who assembled a great synod, in the church of St. Peter at Rome, of archbishops and bishops in Rome from Millain [Milan], Ravenna, Germany, and France; to which pope John XIII. would not come: to whom a letter was sent by the emperor, that he would make his appearance to answer to the things of which he was accused; (and they were very many and very heinous; [§]) to which letter he returned this answer: "I hear say you mean to create another pope; which if you do, I excommunicate you by the omnipotent God, that you have no power to ordain any, nor to celebrate the Mass." When this letter was reading, come-in the archbishop of Trevers [Treves], and other bishops—of Lorrain, Liguria, and Æmilia; with whose advice and counsel the emperor and synod sent this answer:—that they made light of his excommunication, and they would return it upon himself; for when Judas had become a murderer, he could tie none but himself, strangling himself with a halter. Otho deposed pope John, and took into his hands the nominating and making of popes afterwards. As yet emperors were not come to wait bare-foot at the pope's palace, nor to hold their stirrups.

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[*] For ARNULPHUS'S Oration at large, see the Magdeburgh Centuriators, cent. xvi. pp. 486—489.

[†] THEOPHYLACTUS *in Matt. xvi. et Johan. xx.*

[‡] *Magd. Cent.* cent. x. *de Synod.* p. 433, &c.

[§] *Johannes XIII. venationibus magis quàm orationibus vacabat; et multa alia auditu indigna de eo dicuntur.*—CARANZÆ *Sum. Concil.* p. 787. "John XIII. spent his time in hunting rather than praying; and many other things are reported of him which are unfit to be heard."—EDIT. *In hoc concilio, objectis in Johannem criminibus homicidii, perjurii, sacrilegii, incestus, aliorumque nefandorum scelerum, &c.*—LUITPRANDUS apud BARONIUM in SPONDANI *Epitome*, in annum 963. "In this council, John was accused of the crimes of murder, perjury, sacrilege, incest, and other abominable offences," &c.—EDIT.

When the pope, A. D. 996, sent a cardinal into France to consecrate a church there, the prelates of France, hearing of it, "judged it to be sacrilegious presumption, proceeding from blind ambition, that he should transgress apostolical and canonical orders, especially being confirmed by many authorities." *

Gregory VII., strictly forbidding priests to marry, writeth to the princes of Germany that they would not frequent the Masses of married priests. But yet the bishops in Germany did refuse to yield to this decree, or to depose those priests that were married; defending themselves by the authority of the scripture, ancient councils, and the primitive church; adding thereunto that the commandment of God and human necessity did directly oppugn the pope's decree.† They long continued to defend their liberty; insomuch that, seeing neither reason nor prayer nor disputation would serve the turn, the clergy consulting together what to do, some advised not to return again to the synod; others, to return and thrust out the archbishop from his seat, and give him due punishment of death for his deservings, that by the example of him others might be warned hereafter never to attempt that thing any more to the prejudice of the church and the rightful liberty of ministers. The archbishop spake them fair, and bid them be of good hope; he would send again to Hildebrand, (the pope,) and they should have what would content their minds; willing them in the mean time to continue as they had done in their cure and ministry. The next year the pope sent bishop Curiensis as legate to the archbishop of Mentz; and assembled again a council, where the clergy were commanded, under pain of the pope's curse, to renounce their wives or their livings. The clergy still defended their cause with great constancy. In the end it brake forth into a tumult; [so] that the legate and archbishop hardly escaped with their lives. After this the churches would choose their ministers themselves; and not send them to the bishops (the enemies of ministers' marriage) to be con-

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* GLABRI *Historiarum*, lib. ii. cap. 4; BARONII *Annales*, ad ann. 996.

† *Adversùs Hildebrandi decretum (quo magnâ severitate sacerdotum conjugium damnabat per universum Christianum orbem) infremuit tota factio clericorum, hominem planè hæreticum et vesani dogmatis esse clamitans.*—NAUCLERUS, vol. ii. generat. 36, apud *Magd. Centur.* cent. xi. p. 389. "Against Hildebrand's decree (in which he with great severity condemned the marriage of priests throughout the Christian world) the whole faction of clergymen roared out, exclaiming that he was plainly a heretic and entertained unsound opinions."—EDIT. *Quòd sacerdotibus connubiis interdixit Hildebrandus pontifex, plerisque episcopis novum dogma, omnium maximè pestifera hæresis quæ unquam Christianum perturbasset regnum, visa est. Quamobrem Italiæ, Germaniæ, Galliæ, pontifices, Hildebrandum contra pietatem Christianam verbis, factis agere, facere, decernunt; eundem ambitûs, hæreseos, impietatis, sacrilegii condemnant.*—AVENTINI *Annales*, lib. v.; ILLYRICI *Catal; et Mag. Cent.* cent. xi. p. 389. "Pope Hildebrand's interdiction of the clergy from marrying seemed to most of the bishops a new dogma, a heresy the most pestiferous of all those which had ever disturbed Christendom. Wherefore the bishops of Italy, Germany, and Gaul, decreed that Hildebrand did and acted contrary to Christian piety, both in word and deed; and condemned him of ambition, heresy, impiety, sacrilege."—EDIT.

firmed and inducted, but put them to their office without knowledge or leave of the bishop.

The pope did write also about this matter to Otho, bishop of Constance; but this bishop would neither separate those that were married from their wives, nor yet forbid them to marry that were unmarried.

The clergy of France did stoutly oppose the pope's Bull for the excommunicating of married priests that would not divorce their wives; declaring their reasons from the word of God, from councils, from the necessity of nature; and [that they were] resolved to lose their benefices, rather than put away their wives; saying moreover [that] if married priests would not please the pope, he must call to angels from heaven to serve the churches.[*] But if these clergymen would not be at the pope's beck, neither would the angels in heaven: I know not what other angels may be.

In the pope's proceeding against Henry the emperor, he was opposed by the council at Worms; in which were the bishops, not only of Saxony, but of all the whole empire of the Germans: who did agree and conclude upon the deposing of Hildebrand; and Roulandus was sent to Rome, who, in the name of the council, commanded the pope to yield up his seat.[†]

This same pope was again judged and condemned by another council held at Brixia, where were divers bishops of Italy, Lombardy, and Germany; in which condemnation is recited, amongst other things, his usurping authority over the emperor, and taking away and forbidding the marriage of priests.

Toward the end of the thousandth year (when there were again two popes at once,—Urban and Clement III.) William Rufus, king of England, would suffer no appeal from England to the pope of Rome; as it was not lawful to do from the time of William the Conqueror.[‡] And when Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, appealed to Rome, the king charged him with treason for so doing. All the bishops of the realm stood on the king's side against Anselm; though Anselm pleaded hard, saying, "Should I forswear St. Peter, I should deny Christ." But all the rest of the bishops disowned any appeal from England to Rome.

About the year 1105, two famous bishops of Mentz, recorded to be very virtuous and well-disposed, were cruelly and tyrannously dealt with by the pope. Their names were Henry and Christian. Henry would make no appeal to the pope; but said, "I appeal to the Lord Jesus Christ, as to the most high and just Judge; and cite you" (the two cardinals that had done him wrong) "before his judgment, there to answer me before the high Judge." Whereunto they scoffingly said, "Go you before first, and we will follow after." Not long after, the same Henry died; whereof the two persecuting cardinals having intelligence, said one to another jestingly, "Behold, he is gone before, and we must follow after according to our promise." A little after, they both died in one day: the one voided out all his entrails into the draught; the other, gnawing off the fingers off his hands, and spitting them out of his mouth, (all deformed in devouring himself,) died.*

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[*] So the clergy of France.—Fox's "Acts and Monuments," vol. i. p. 227.

[†] *Roulandus sacerdos, literas imperatoris deferens, absque omni salutationis honore*, Tibi, *Hildebrandum compellans inquit*, imperator, et Italiæ, Galliæ, Germaniæque episcopi, præcipiunt, ut te munere quod astu, pecuniâ, gratiâ occupasti, abdices. Non enim verus pastor neque pater neque pontifex es; sed fur, lupus, latro, et tyrannus. (Brave, courageous Rouland!)—AVENTINI *Annales*, lib. v.; *Magdeb. Centur.* cent. xi. p. 425. "Rouland, the priest who carried the emperor's letters, addressing Hildebrand without any salutation of respect, said, 'The emperor, and the bishops of Italy, Gaul, and Germany, command thee to abdicate the office which thou hast seized by craft, money, and influence. For thou art neither a true pastor nor father nor pope; but a thief, wolf, robber, and tyrant.'"—EDIT.

[‡] Fox's "Acts and Monuments," vol. i. p. 242.

How the clergy were against the pope's decrees that they should put away their wives or lose their livings, we might learn from a large copy of verses made by an English author, concerning pope Calixtus, for this:—

O bone Calixte, nunc omnis clerus odit te.
Quondam presbyteri poterant uxoribus uti:
Hoc destruxisti, postquam tu papa fuisti, &c.†

About this time the bishop of Florence did teach and preach that Antichrist was now manifest; for which pope Paschalis did burn his books.‡

At this time, also, historians mention two more famous preachers,—Gerhardus and Dulcinus Navarensis,—who did earnestly labour and preach against the church of Rome; defending and maintaining that prayer was not more holy in one place than in another; that the pope was Antichrist; that the clergy and prelates of Rome were rejects; and she, the very whore of Babylon spoken of in the Revelation.§ These two brought thirty more with them into England; who by the king and prelates were all burned in the forehead, and so driven out of the realm; and after that were slain by the pope.

At this time, also, in the city of Tholouse [Toulouse], there were a great multitude of men and women whom the pope's commissioners did persecute and condemn for heretics; of whom some were scourged naked, some chased away. One of the articles [which] they maintained was, that the bread in the sacrament after consecration was not the very body of the Lord.||

In Germany, also, Robert, abbot of Duits, preached against the pope's jurisdiction as to temporal dominion; interpreted that place, "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build my church," to be understood concerning Christ, &c.¶

Beside these there was Peter Bruis, A.D. 1126; and after him his disciple Henry, A.D. 1147; [who] in France drew many provinces from the church of Rome; preached against transubstantiation, the sacrifice of the Mass, suffrages and oblations for the dead, purgatory, worshipping of images, invocation of saints, single life of priests, pilgrimages, superfluous holy-days, consecration of water, oil, frankincense, &c. The pope and his prelates they called "princes of Sodom;" the church of Rome they termed "Babylon, the mother of fornication and confusion." This Peter Bruis preached the word of God among the people of Tholouse [Toulouse] for the space of twenty years with great commendation, and at last was burned.**

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* FOX'S "Acts and Monuments," vol. i. p. 254.

† *Ibid.* p. 256. "O good Calixtus, now all the clergy hate thee. Formerly the presbyters might marry wives: but thou hast put an end to this, since thou camest to be pope"—EDIT.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 254.

§ ILLYRICI *Catalogus.*

|| FOX'S "Acts and Monuments," vol. i. p. 299.

¶ ILLYRICI *Catalogus.*

** PETRUS CLUNIACENSIS, lib. i. epist. 1 et 2.

I must but name Honorius, bishop of Augusta; who set out the iniquity and wickedness of the church of Rome to the life; recited largely by du Plessis: * and Nordbertus, A.D. 1125; that protested to Bernard that Antichrist, he knew certainly, would be revealed in this present generation: and John of Salisbury; who, visiting the pope, was asked by him, what men thought of the pope and of the Roman church; who told him to his face, "They say, the pope is a burden to all, and almost intolerable," and much more.†

Did the Papists never hear of the Waldenses, or have they not been vexed with their doctrine before Luther was born, that they ask, Where was our doctrine and religion before Luther? Did the council of Constance condemn the doctrines of Wickliffe and Huss as erroneous, and was there such a noise about them, and yet did not the church of Rome hear of our doctrines (then owned by them) before Luther? They can never make us believe it.

Let Raynerius, a friar, writing of the Waldenses, or *pauperes de Lugduno*, ["poor men of Lyons,"] satisfy them; who saith, "Among all the sects that are or ever will be, none can be more pernicious to the church of God" (he means the church of Rome) "than that of Lyons." And he giveth these three reasons: "(1.) Because it hath continued a longer time than any: some say that it hath been ever since the time of Sylvester; others say, from the times of the apostles. (2.) Because it is more general; for there is not almost any country whereinto this sect hath not crept. (3.) Because, [whilst] others procure horror by their blasphemies against God, this of the Lyonists hath a great appearance of piety; inasmuch as they live uprightly before men, and put their trust in God in all things, and observe all the articles of the Creed: only they blaspheme the church of Rome, and hold it in contempt; and therein they are easily believed by the people." ‡ A fair confession of a Papist! So that, you see, they can tell, if they list, where and when and by whom our doctrines were taught before Luther; but they use this question to beguile the ignorant people: "Where was your religion before Luther?"

And Jacobus of Riberia acknowledgeth that the Waldenses had continued a long time. "The first place," saith he, "[that] they lived in was in Narbonne in France, and in the diocess of Albie, Rhodes, Cahors, &c.: and at that time there was little or no estimation of such as were called priests, bishops, and ministers of the church. For, being very simple and ignorant almost of all things, it was very easy for them, through the excellency of their learning and doctrine, to get unto themselves the greatest credit among the people: and forasmuch as the Waldenses disputed more subtilly than all others, [they] were often admitted by the priests to teach openly; not for that they approved their opinions, but because they were not comparable to them in wit. In so great honour was the sect of these men, that they were both exempted from all charges and impositions, and obtained more benefits by the wills and testaments of the dead than the priests."

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* "Mystery of Iniquity," p. 294.

† JOHANNES SARISBURIENSIS in his *Polycraticon*, lib. vi. cap. 24; DU PLESSIS, p. 319.

‡ *Inter omnes has sectas quæ adhuc sunt vel fuerunt, non est perniciosior ecclesiæ quàm Leonistarum; et hoc tribus de causis. Prima est, quia est diuturnior: aliqui enim dicunt quòd duravit a tempore Sylvestri; aliqui, a tempore apostolorum. Secundu, quia est generalior; ferè enim nulla est terra in quâ hæc secta non sit. Tertia, quia, cùm aliæ omnes sectæ immanitate blasphemiarum in Deum audientibus horrorem inducunt, hæc magnam habet speciem pietatis; eò quòd coram hominibus justè vivant, et benè omnia de Deo credant, et omnes articulos qui in Symbolo continentur: solummodò Romanam ecclesiam blasphemant et clerum, cui multitudo laicorum facilis est ad credendum.*—RAYNERIUS *Cont. Hæres.* cap. 4.

Raynerius saith of them, that they had translated the Old and New Testament into the vulgar tongue. "They teach and learn it so well, that I have seen and heard," saith he, "a country clown recite Job word by word, and divers others that could perfectly deliver all the New Testament."

The doctrines that these Waldenses taught before Luther, are the same that the Reformed churches do now hold; (1.) As that only the holy scripture is to be believed in matters of salvation. (2.) That all things are contained in holy scripture necessary to salvation, and nothing [is] to be admitted in religion but what only is commanded in the word of God. (3.) That there is one only Mediator; other saints in no wise [are] to be made mediators, or to be invocated. (4.) That there is no purgatory. (5.) That Masses sung for the dead are wicked. (6.) All men's traditions [are] to be rejected; at least, not to be reputed as necessary to salvation. (7.) That differences of meats, (8.) Variety of degrees and orders of priests, friars, monks, and nuns, (9.) And superfluous holydays, (10.) And peregrinations, with all the rabblement of rites and ceremonies brought in by man, are to be abolished. (11.) That the supremacy of the pope, usurping above all churches and kings and emperors, is to be denied. (12.) That the communion in both kinds is necessary to all people. (13.) That the church of Rome is very Babylon; and the pope, Antichrist, and the fountain of all other. (14.) That the pope's pardons and indulgences are to be rejected. (15.) That the marriage of ministers is lawful; and such-like. Their doctrines are related by Æneas Sylvius, afterwards pope, none of their best friends.* But the English reader might find them in the "Book of Martyrs." Luther lived and began the Reformation after the year 1500; these preached this doctrine before the year 1200: look, and see [that] our doctrine was before Luther.

In the year 1200, &c., it would be endless to give an account of particular doctors that did oppose the doctrine of the church of Rome, and did maintain the doctrines [which] we receive.

I might mention Almaricus, a doctor of Paris, that suffered martyrdom for withstanding altars, images, invocation of saints, and transubstantiation.

Also Everard, an archbishop in Germany, in an assembly of bishops at Regensperg, gave his judgment of the bishop of Rome. "Hildebrand," said he, "under colour of religion, laid the foundation of the kingdom of Antichrist. These priests of Babylon will reign alone; they can bear no equal: they will never rest, till they have trampled all things under their feet, and sit in the temple of God, and be exalted above all that is worshipped. He who is 'the servant of servants' coveteth to be lord of lords, as if he were God: his brethren's counsels, yea, and the counsel of his Master, he despiseth. He speaks great things, as if he were God.

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* ÆNEÆ SYLVII *Bohemica Historia de Waldensium Dogmatibus*; FOX'S "Acts and Monuments," vol. i. pp. 299, 300.

In his breast he casteth new devices, whereby to raise a kingdom to himself. He changeth laws, and confirms his own: he defileth, plucketh down, spoileth, deceiveth, murdereth. Thus that child of perdition, (whom they use to call 'Antichrist,') in whose forehead is written the name of blasphemy, 'I am God; I cannot err,' sitteth in the temple of God, and beareth rule far and near." * Was this Luther, that speaks so like him against the pope? No, one born long before him; or else the Papists would go too nigh to say, "This doctor had learned this from Luther."

The preachers in Sweden publicly taught that the pope and his bishops were heretics. It would be too long to give account how the pope was opposed by Frederick II., and by John, king of England, a great while; though at last he delivered the kingdom of England and Ireland to the pope, and farmed them of him for a thousand marks *per annum;* and afterward was poisoned by a monk. And though he made this resignation of these kingdoms for himself and his heirs for ever to the pope, yet his son and successor, Henry III., made great opposition against [it]; as did the lords and nobles in his father's days, and have left a lamentation upon record of that fact of king John.†

But the history of the Waldenses, now spread far and near, stands like a beacon on a hill, [so] that all that do not shut their eyes have clear light to see that our doctrines were taught in abundance of places before Luther. These continued in Dauphiny, Languedoc, and Guienne, and in all those mountains which reach from the Alps to the Pyrenæan. They had spread themselves into Germany; where were a great many of their preachers, who, at the sound of a bell, preached in a public place, that the pope was a heretic; his prelates, seducers; that they had no power to bind and loose, or to interdict the use of sacraments; and told them that though *they* had not come, God would have raised up others, even of the very stones, for to enlighten the church by their preaching, rather than he would have suffered faith utterly to have perished.

By this time they ordained preachers in Spain, who preached the same doctrine with them; and in Lombardy much multiplied. Yea, in one only valley, called Camonica, they had ten schools. Another saith, that their little rivers streamed so far as to the kingdom of Sicily; and the only reason of their sufferings is said to be, because they withdrew the sheep from the keeping of St. Peter, and departed from the Roman church. Do not you yet see where any were that owned and preached our doctrines before Luther? Go, then, to "Jack Upland," written by

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* AVENTINUS, lib. vii. p. 546.

† Fox's "Acts and Monuments," vol. i. GULIELMUS PARISIENSIS, *circa annum Domini* 1220, *acerrimè insectatur sacerdotes sui temporis; dicens, in eis nihil pietatis ac eruditionis comparere, sed potiùs diabolicas turpitudines, omnium spurcitiarum ac vitiorum monstruositatem; eorum peccata non simpliciter peccata esse, sed peccatorum monstra terribilissima; eos non ecclesiam, sed Babylonem, Ægyptum, ac Sodomam, esse; prælatos non ædificare ecclesiam, sed destruere, ac Deo illudere: eos cum aliis sacerdotibus profanare ac polluere corpus Christi,* &c.—*Liber de Collatione Beneficiorum.* "William of Paris, about the year 1220, inveighs most bitterly against the priests of his time; saying that nothing of piety and erudition was apparent in them, but rather diabolic turpitude, the monstrosity of all filthiness and vice; that their sins were not merely sins, but most terrible monsters of sins; that they were not the church, but Babylon, Egypt, and Sodom; that the prelates did not build up the church, but destroy it, and mock God; that they, with other priests, profaned and polluted the body of Christ," &c.—EDIT.

Geoffrey Chaucer; * and answer his questions; and ask this question no more for shame.

From the year 1300, the bloody persecutions and the great sufferings of multitudes for the true doctrine and opposition to the church of Rome do prove what is sought after; except they imprisoned and burned so many they know not for what. For Satan, (according to some,) being bound at the end of the first ten persecutions, and remaining bound a thousand years, was now let loose again. Do they ask still, Where was our doctrine before Luther? Why, where persecution was raised by Papists before Luther. For why were so many imprisoned, banished, and burned, if they did not look upon them as heretics? and whom they so call is notoriously known. Was not Conradus Hager imprisoned for preaching against the Mass? Johannes de Castilone and Franciscus de Arcatura,—were they not burned, and Haybulus martyred, and Johannes de Rupescissa imprisoned, for certain prophecies against the pope? Did not Militrius, a Bohemian, preach that Antichrist was come? and was he not excommunicated for the same? Was not Occam excommunicated, and his books prohibited, because they displeased the pope?

Brushius relates that six-and-thirty citizens of Moguntia were burned for following the doctrine of the Waldenses, affirming the pope to be the great Antichrist. † Also Massæus recordeth of one hundred and forty in the province of Narbonne, [that they] were put to the fire for not receiving the decretals of Rome; beside them that suffered at Paris to the number of twenty-four, and after them four hundred burned for heretics. ‡ Was not Matthias Parisiensis before Luther, that writ that the pope was Antichrist? And was there not an old ancient writing, called "The Prayer and Complaint of the Plowman," containing many things against the church of Rome? And Nicolas Orem, before the pope, preached against them.

Was not John Wickliffe before Luther? and did not he maintain the doctrines that the Reformed church now holdeth, and a great company of valiant defenders of the same truths? Twenty-five articles of Wickliffe you may read in the "Book of Martyrs." § And may we not learn something by the laws then made in England,—that many here did oppose the church of Rome? || as *anno* 5 *Richardi II.* In the year 1380, we read of a great number, called "evil persons," going about from town to town preaching to the people divers sermons, containing heresy and notorious errors, (so Papists call our doctrines,) to the emblemishing of the holy church.

And were there not many witnesses against Popish doctrines, and asserters of ours, from the year 1400? as John Badby, Nicolas Tayler, Richard Wagstaff, Michael Scrivener, William Smith, &c., John Huss, Jerome of Prague. But why do I mention particular names, when there were a great number of faithful Bohemians, not to be reckoned; and

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* Fox's "Acts and Monuments," vol. i. † *Ibid.* p. 550. ‡ *Ibid.* pp. 521—532.

§ *Ibid.* pp. 568, 569. Yea, forty-five articles of Wickliffe, condemned in the council of Constance.—Surius *in Concil.* tom. iii. p. 790.

|| "Acts and Monuments," vol. i., beginning in "the Protestation to the Church of England." Had the council of Constance so much ado with the articles of Huss and Jerome, who were charged with articles against the church of Rome, and condemned and burned by the council? and yet do Papists know none that taught our doctrine before Luther?

many other places? The Bohemians in this age, near to Tabour castle, assembled themselves together to the number of thirty thousand; and having three hundred tables erected in the fields for that purpose, they received the sacrament in both kinds.[*]

In the statute *anno* 2 *Henrici IV.*, in the year 1402, in England, there were many preachers of true doctrine;[†] which those times called "new doctrines and heretical, contrary to the faith and determination of the holy church," Rome, forsooth. It is recorded in the year 1422, that Henry Chichely, archbishop of Canterbury, did write to pope Martin V. that there were so many in England infected with the heresy of Wickliffe and Huss, that without force of an army they could not be suppressed.

Beside all these that have preached and owned our doctrine long ago, we might send such Papists as ask, "Where was your doctrine before Luther?" to the churches in other parts of the world; as to the Greeks, the Muscovites, the Melchites or Syrians, the Armenians, the Jacobites, the Cophti [Copts] or Egyptian Christians, the Abassines, and others; who, though too corrupt in many things, yet do agree with the Reformed churches in many points, wherein they with us differ from the church of Rome: as is witnessed by David Chytræus, who travelled amongst many of them, and, from his personal knowledge and conversing with many that were amongst them, and by letters from others, gives an account of the state of several churches; and by the "Confession of Faith in the Eastern Churches," composed by Critopulus, patriarch of Constantinople, and others; as also by the confession of Papists themselves.

(1.) These churches do deny the pope's supremacy,—that he is head of the church; and never did submit unto him as universal head. Their words are: "It was never heard in the catholic church, that a mortal man, subject to a thousand sins, should be called 'the head of the church;' but the Head of the catholic church is Jesus Christ." And much more they in their Confession say.[‡]

The Grecians account Christ's vicar, the pope, and the Latins, excommunicate persons. (PRATEOLUS.) Of this opinion are the Muscovites, the Armenians, &c.

(2.) These churches agree with us in rejecting the apocryphal books from the number of canonical scriptures.[§]

(3.) They give the sacrament in both kinds. They say, of necessity they must communicate in both kinds; so that if any take it under one kind, although a layman, he is said to sin, because, they say, he doeth against Christ's command. So Prateolus: "All partake of both kinds,—the bread and the cup,—whether ecclesiastical or lay-persons, men and women."[||]

(4.) They turn not the sacrament into a sacrifice offered for the quick and dead.

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[*] COCHLÆUS, lib. iv. ex BIRCKBEK'S "Protestants' Evidence," p. 386.

[†] "Acts and Monuments," vol. i. "Protestation to the Church of England."

[‡] Ουδε γαρ ηκουσθη ϖαρα καθολικῃ εκκλησιᾳ ανθρωπον ϑνητον και μυριαις ἁμαρτιαις ενοχον κεφαλην λεγεσθαι της εκκλησιας, &c.—*Confessio Fidei Eccles. Orient. per* CRITOPULUM, cap. 23. Item DAVID CHYTRÆUS *De Statu Ecclesiæ*, p. 21; PRATEOLI *Elench. Hæret.* lib. vii. pp. 202, 228.

[§] *Confess. Fidei Eccles. Orient. per* CRITOPULUM, cap. 7.

[||] PRATEOLI *Elench. Hæret.* p. 202. Μετεχουσι δε ϖαντες ἑκατερου ειδους των εν τῃ δεσποτικῃ τραπεζῃ, τουτε αρτου και του ϖοτηριου· εκκλησιαστικοι τε και λαϊκοι, ανδρες και γυναικες.—*Confess. Fid. Eccles. Orient.* cap. 9.

(5.) They have no private Masses. These both are testified by Chytræus.*

(6.) The doctrine of transubstantiation is not received amongst them: they "confess a true and real presence in the Lord's supper; but such an one as faith offereth, not such as the devised transubstantiation vainly teacheth." †

(7.) They admit not the seven Popish sacraments: they own properly but three,—baptism, the Lord's supper, and penance.‡

(8.) They admit ministers' marriage.§

(9.) They deny purgatory. It is true, the Greek church do believe that there is a place distinct from heaven and hell, where some departed souls are lodged for a while. Their opinion is, that those that lived holily, and died in the Lord, go immediately to heaven; and the wicked, that die without repentance, go presently to hell; but such as are converted at the end of their life are in another place, in a middle condition; and for these they pray: but yet they do not call this "purgatory." So Chytræus. And in their Confession they utterly deny Popish purgatory; for they affirm [that] the punishment of such departed souls that are neither in heaven nor in hell "is not material, neither by fire nor by any other matter; but only from the affliction and anguish of their own consciences, remembering then what they did amiss while they were in this world."‖ However they be far from the truth, yet they be far also from purgatory-fire. For Alphonsus saith, that "it is one of the most known errors of the Grecians and Armenians that they teach no place of purgatory," &c.¶

(10.) Though the Greeks dote too much upon images of saints, yet they differ much from Papists in this point: for they are against making any image of God, which the Papists do in the likeness of an old man; and to other images they give τιμην, "honour," but neither the worship of latria nor dulia. "No," say they, "God forbid; for these are only to be given to God." **

(11.) They carry not the sacrament in procession about the streets, (as the Papists do, to be worshipped by them that meet it,) except they send it to the sick: "For," say they, "it was not given to be carried about the streets; but religiously to be received for the remission of sins, according to the word of God." ††

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* *Ex liturgiis Græcorum et narrationibus hominum fide dignorum constat, nec Missas privatas absque communicantibus ab eis celebrari solere, nec ullam in eorum canone, sacrificii corporis et sanguinis Christi pro redemptione vivorum et mortuorum oblati, mentionem fieri, &c.*—DAVID CHYTRÆUS, *De Statu Eccles.* p. 14.

† Την αληθη και βεϐαιαν ϖαρουσιαν του Κυριου ἡμων Ιησου Χριστου ὁμολογουμεν και ϖιστευομεν, ϖλην ἡν ἡ ϖιστις ἡμιν ϖαριστησι και ϖροσφερει, ουκ ἡν ἡ εφευρηθεισα εικη διδασκει μετουσιωσις, &c.—CYRILLUS, *Patriarcha Constant.* cap. 17, p. 60.

‡ Ὡς ειναι τα ϖρος σωτηριαν αναγκαια μυστηρια τρια,—βαπτισμα, κοινωνια, μετανοια.—*Confess. Fid. Eccles. Orient. per* CRITOPULUM, cap. 5.

§ *Eadem*, cap. xi. et DAVID CHYTRÆUS *De Statu Eccles.* p. 14.

‖ Λεγει τοινυν ἡ εκκλησια την εκεινων ϖοινην μη ὑλικην ειναι, ειτ᾽ ουν οργανικην, μη δια ϖυρος, μητε δι᾽ αλλης ὁποιας ουν ὑλης, αλλα δια ϑλιψεως και ανιας της απο συνειδησεως συμϐαινουσης τουτοις εκ του μιμνησκεσθαι των ὁσα εν τῳ κοσμῳ μη κατα λογον μηδε ὁσιως επραξαν.—*Confess. eadem*, cap. 20.

¶ *Unus ex notissimis erroribus Græcorum et Armenorum est, quo docent nullum esse purgatorium locum, &c.*—ALPHONSUS DE CASTRO, *Advers. Hæres.* lib. xii. p. 188.

** Ου γαρ ϑεμις τον απεριγραπτον Θεον ϖεριγραπτῃ εικονι ϖαρεικαζειν.—Αἱς ἁγιαις εικοσι και τιμην την ϖροσηκουσαν απενειμεν· ου λατρευτικην η δουλικην· απαγε· αὑται γαρ Θεῳ μονῳ ϖροσηκουσιν.—*Confess. Fid. Eccles. Orient. per* CRITOPULUM, cap. 15.

†† Ου ϖεριφερομεν δε τουτο το ἁγιον μυστηριον δια των ϖλατειων, αλλ᾽ η μονον ὁταν κομιζεται εις οικον νοσουντος·

(12.) They hold the perfection and sufficiency of the scripture; that it is sacrilege to add any thing to it, or take away from it; and contradict those that do.*

(13.) Concerning the marks of the true catholic and apostolical church, they greatly differ from the church of Rome. The Confession mentions four: and the last they lay most stress upon, wherein they teach the same with us; namely, "That it faithfully and sincerely keep the word of God, which God hath given to us by his prophets and apostles." †

(14.) They do not define the catholic church as the Romanists do, by making it essential to submit to any one man as the head of the whole; but the whole company of such as are found in the doctrine of Christ, every where dispersed, but knit together by the bond of the Spirit, is the catholic church. *(Confessio eadem,* cap. 7.)

By all this, reader, laid down in as little room as I could, thou mayest see the harsh and uncharitable spirit of the Romanists,—to unchurch all these who do profess that they keep to all the doctrines of the first general councils in which essential doctrines were ratified; ‡ as appears by their Creeds, containing the articles of the Christian faith. (But the Muscovites condemn and curse the Romans, as forsakers of the primitive church, and breaking of the seven general synods.) As also thou mayest see their impudence in asking where our church and doctrines were before Luther; when there have been so many churches ever since the apostles' times that have (though not without many corruptions in many things, yet) held to the essential doctrines of Christian religion, and have not received these doctrines of the church of Rome, which is but a little church in comparison of all the rest, amongst whom our religion was before Luther.

IV. Having made appear that the doctrines of the Reformed churches are the same that were taught by Christ and his apostles, and that by many after them long before Luther; the next thing is, *to demonstrate that Popery is a novelty.*—This follows, indeed, by just and good consequence from what hath hitherto been said in the former parts of the method first proposed to speak of this position in: for two such doctrines as are so contrary, yea, so contradictory, cannot both be true and equally old; for truth must be before error. But yet [to prove more clearly] that Popery had not its being till many hundred years (as now framed) after Christ, I shall pick out some of the chief and most mate-

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ὁτι ου διδοται ἡμιν τουτο ἱνα ϖεριφερηται δια των ϖλατειων, αλλ' ἱνα ευλαϐως μετεχηται εις αφεσιν ἁμαρτιων, κατα τα δεσποτικα ῥηματα.—Confess. eadem, cap. 9.

* *Ἡτις ἁγια γραφη ενεπιστευθη εκκλησιᾳ ὑπο Θεου,—ουχ ὁπως αὑτη μηδεν ϖροστιθεισα, η αφαιρουσα εκειθεν, (τουτο γαρ αντικρυς ἱεροσυλια,) αλλα και τους τοιουτον τι τολμωντας ελεγχει και καταφαιρει.—Confess. eadem,* cap. 7.

† *Τεταρτον και σαφεστατον εκκλησιας γνωρισμα, το ϖιστως και αδολως ϖαρακατεχειν το ϑειον ῥημα, ὁ ὁ Θεος εξεθετο δια ϖροφητων και αποστολων.—Confess. eadem,* cap. 7.

‡ *Ἑπτα γαρ και μονας οικουμενικας συνοδους ἡμεις αποδεχομεθα, και ὁσα αἱ οικουμενικαι ἑπτα εδεξαντο τε και εϐεϐαιωσαν.—Confess. eadem,* cap. 15. *Acta septem synodorum Græcarum, scripta Basilii, Chrysostomi, Damasceni, eorumque traditiones, tanquam divina oracula amplectuntur, ad eaque de fide et religione ipsorum sciscitantes remittunt: ex literis Constantin. ad* DAVID CHYTRÆUM *De Statu Eccles.* p. 71. "The acts of the seven Greek synods, the writings of Basil, Chrysostom, and Damascene, and their traditions, are embraced by the Greek church as divine oracles; and to them are referred all who seek information concerning its creed and religion; as appears from the letters of the patriarch of Constantinople to David Chytræus."— EDIT.

rial points of Popery, (and if these fall, the other cannot stand,) and give an account of the time when they first came in. The rest—whose rise and original as to the particular time is more uncertain, though clear enough that they were not from the beginning, nor long, long after—will not need such large insisting on: and yet in all I must endeavour brevity; which is a task that lieth upon me and pincheth me hard all along in such a copious subject as this position is.

1. I shall begin at the head; (which is indeed the head and heart of Popery;) which though by that age [which] it hath, gray hairs are upon it, yet, *in comparison of true antiquity indeed, it will appear that their head is both raw and green.*—And if the head be young, the whole body cannot be old. And the witnesses to give-in their testimony of the minority of the pope as head of the church as now claimed, are at hand; even six several councils; which have so polled this head and clipped his beard, that it looketh very young, and beareth his age marvellously well: for, look upon him in the glass of true history, and no man will believe that he is so old as he brags to be.

(1.) My first catalogue of witnesses consists of three hundred and eighteen grave ancient fathers assembled in the first general council that ever was since the apostles' times, at Nice, in the year of our Lord 325. In reading over the canons of this council, I fix upon two, which are fully and directly against the pope's universal sovereignty and dominion above all other churches.

The one is against excommunicate persons' appeal in any diocess unto remote churches, or being harboured or received by them; in these words: "Concerning persons excommunicated, whether they be of the clergy or the laity, let this sentence be observed by the bishops of every province, according to the canon which saith, that those which are cast out by some shall not be admitted by others." * This canon clips the power of the pope, and takes away his jurisdiction over other churches: and [that it] was so understood of old, is plain; because, when some were excommunicated in Afric, and did run to and were entertained by the bishop of Rome, the council in Afric did hold [it] irregular, and did write to the pope so too, and alleged this canon of the council of Nice, that he ought not to admit them whom they had excommunicated. Of which more when I come to that council.

The other canon in this council runs, "Let the ancient customs obtain" (continue in force) "which are in Egypt, Libya, and Pentapolis,—that the bishop of Alexandria have power" (authority, the government) "of all these; because also the bishop of Rome hath the same custom. Likewise also in Antioch, and in other provinces, let the churches have their dignities" (privileges, prerogatives) "preserved" (secured) "to them." † From thus much of this canon we easily learn, First, That the bishop of Rome had not universal jurisdiction over all the churches, because the bishop of Alexandria was to have the same "power," εξουσιαν, "authority," over those parts, and the bishop of Antioch in those parts, and others in other provinces, as the bishop of Rome had in those parts: which could not be, if the bishop of Rome were universal, and they provincial underlings; for there is not like power, authority, or equality, in an universal and provincial bishop, according to their own doctrine. Secondly. We as easily see that what power the pope had, is not by this council bottomed upon and derived from the holy scriptures or succession from Peter, but grounded only upon custom. Not a word is here of any divine right to that power or place in which he then was, which was far inferior to what he claimeth and usurpeth now. For the first three hundred years, then, an universal head was a *non-ens*, ["non-entity,"] not risen nor acknowledged in the church of God. Very good.

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* Περι των ακοινωνητων γενομενων, ειτε των εν κληρῳ ειτε των εν λαϊκῳ ταγματι τεταγμενων, ὑπο των καθ᾽ ἑκαστην επαρχιαν επισκοπων κρατειτω ἡ γνωμη κατα τον κανονα τον διαγορευοντα, τους ὑφ᾽ ἑτερων αποϐληθεντας ὑφ᾽ ἑτερων μη ϖροσιεσθαι.—*Codex Can. Eccles. Univers.* can. 5.

† Τα αρχαια εθη κρατειτω τα εν Αιγυπτῳ και Λιϐυῃ και Πενταπολει, ὡστε τον εν Αλεξανδρειᾳ επισκοπον ϖαντων τουτων εχειν την εξουσιαν· επειδη και τῳ εν τῃ Ῥωμῃ επισκοπῳ τουτο συνηθες εστιν. Ὁμοιως δε και κατα την Αντιοχειαν, και εν ταις αλλαις επαρχιαις, τα ϖρεσϐεια σωζεσθαι ταις εκκλησιαις.—*Ibid.* can. vi.

(2.) The next catalogue of witnesses against the universal sovereignty of the bishop of Rome hath in it one hundred and fifty fathers, assembled at Constantinople, (which, Caranza saith, is one of the four principal councils, and next after the council of Nice,* whose authority is already alleged,) about the year 383. (So *Codex Canonum.)* These in their first canon did ratify and confirm what was done in the Nicene council, and would have it to be observed without violation. Moreover they did decree "that no bishop of any diocess should go to any churches beyond their own bounds, to meddle with them, nor confound or mingle churches: but, according to the canons, the bishop of Alexandria should govern what belongs to Egypt; and the bishops of the east, only the east, reserving the privileges" (dignities) "by the canons of the council of Nice to the church of Antioch; and the bishops of the Asian diocess should govern the Asian diocess only; and the bishops of the diocess of Pontus, what appertaineth to that diocess only; and so the bishops of Thrace should in Thrace: and that no bishop of any diocess should go, except he be called, to ordination or any other church-dispensations. This canon above-written, concerning diocesses, being kept, it is manifest that those things which appertain to each province should be ordered by the synod of that province," (if they had said, "All by the bishop of Rome, the universal head," it would have made their hearts to leap within them, and made his Holiness smile; but, alas! they carried it quite another way,—"by the synod of that province,") "according to the determinations of the Nicene council." † And in the next canon they decreed "that the bishop of Constantinople, forasmuch as it is New Rome, should have the badges of honour next to the bishop of Rome." ‡ From this general council we learn, First, That they vote against any one being universal head; because, Secondly, Every bishop was to govern in his own diocess, and no other was to meddle, except desired, with any ecclesiastical matters in another's province. Thirdly. That the bishop of Constantinople is made equal with the bishop of Rome, save that his worship (I should have said "lordship," but *that* they will not think high enough: but I cannot help it; these two councils forbid me to say "head") should sit in the first place, or before the other; which yet he might have done, without universal jurisdiction. Fourthly. We learn that this honour that they either had was not bottomed upon divine right, but because they were bishops in the imperial cities; but here is not a word [of], "Thou art Peter," &c., "Peter's successor," &c., "apostolical seat," &c. All this is very good evidence that the pope is not so old as to reach to the times of this council neither.

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* CARANZA, p. 200.

† Τους ὑπερ διοικησιν επισκοπους ταις ὑπεροριαις εκκλησιαις μη επιεναι, μηδε συγχεειν τας εκκλησιας· αλλα, κατα τους κανονας, τον μεν Αλεξανδρειας επισκοπον τα εν Αιγυπτῳ μονον οικονομειν· τους δε της ανατολης επισκοπους την ανατολην μονον διοικειν, φυλαττομενων των εν τοις κανοσι τοις κατα Νικαιαν ϖρεσβειων τῃ Αντιοχεων εκκλησιᾳ· και τους της Ασιανης διοικησεως επισκοπους τα κατα την Ασιανην μονον οικονομειν, &c. Φυλαττομενου δε του ϖρογεγραμμενου ϖερι των διοικησεων κανονος, ευδηλον ὡς τα καθ' ἑκαστην επαρχιαν ἡ της επαρχιας συνοδος διοικησει, κατα τα Νικαια ὡρισμενα.—*Codex Can. Eccles. univers.* can. 165; sed *Concilii Lib.* can. 2.

‡ Τον μεντοι Κωνσταντινουπολεως επισκοπον εχειν τα ϖρεσβεια της τιμης μετα τον της ʽΡωμης επισκοπον, δια το ειναι αυτην Νεαν ʽΡωμην.—*Codex Can.* can. 166; aliter, can. 3.

(3.) The next catalogue of witnesses that yet the bishop of Rome was not universal head, consists of two hundred fathers, assembled in a general council at Ephesus, in the year 431, (so *Codex Canonum,)* or (as others) 434, or thereabouts. This council is so full, that I wonder how the Papists, so many of them as have set forth so many volumes of councils, could with patience write what so much made against them; and yet go on in their error, challenging headship from the apostles' times. The canon declareth the occasion of its constitution in this manner: "Reginus, our fellow-bishop and beloved of God, together with the holy bishops of the province of Cyprus, Zenon and Evagrius, have declared to us a new thing, contrary to ecclesiastical laws and canons of the holy fathers, and that which reacheth" (concerneth) "the liberty of all. Wherefore, since common diseases need the greater medicine, forasmuch as they do the more harm, the ancient custom not being followed; to wit," (this new thing was,) "that the bishop of Antioch had ordained some in Cyprus, as some eminent for religion coming to the holy synod have both by writing and by their own words informed:" (wherefore it is decreed that) "the presidents of the holy churches in Cyprus shall have this, without detriment and violation of their right, according to the canons of the holy fathers and the ancient custom,—themselves to ordain godly bishops; and this also shall be observed in other diocesses and provinces every where; that no bishop draw under his subjection any other province which was not his from the beginning, or his predecessors'; and if any bishop hath made such invasion, and by violation" (or wrong) "made it subject to him, he shall again restore it; that the canons of the fathers be not transgressed; lest, under pretence of priesthood, the arrogance" (or swelling pride) "of worldly power creep in unawares, and we insensibly and by little and little lose that liberty which Jesus Christ our Lord, the Redeemer of mankind, hath purchased for us with his own blood and given freely to us. It seemeth good, therefore, to this holy and general synod, that the rights which they have had from the beginning be secured to every province, pure and inviolable, according to the ancient custom; every metropolitan having liberty to take a copy of the acts for his own security. And if any one shall take a copy contrary in any thing to what is now determined, it pleased all the holy and universal synod that it should be void." * Thus far this general council unanimously voted against one bishop's meddling with, encroaching upon, the provinces of others; calling it "a new thing," &c. How, then, was one bishop owned as head over all the rest?

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* Πραγμα ϖαρα τους εκκλησιαστικους ϑεσμους και τους κανονας των ἁγιων καινοτομουμενον, και της ϖαντων ελευθεριας ἁπτομενον, ϖροσηγγειλεν, &c.; ὡστε τον επισκοπον της Αν-

(4.) Another catalogue of six hundred and thirty, (so Caranza,) assembled in a general council at Chalcedon, in the year 451. Therein their first canon ratifies and confirms all the canons of the former councils; so that, by the vote of these, they to this year are against the primacy and sovereignty of any one bishop. In another canon they determined that "if any clergyman had any difference with his own or another bishop, it should be tried by the synod of the province; but if there were any controversy betwixt a bishop or clergyman and the metropolitan of the province, he or they should go to the diocesan, or to the seat of the royal city of Constantinople, and there have it tried." * So, then, appeals to Rome hereby are cut off: and the same is ratified again in another canon of the same council. Again: they "decreed that the church of Constantinople should have equal privileges with Rome; that, as the fathers before them had given the privilege to elder Rome, because it had the empire, so, being moved by the same reason, they gave the same privileges to Constantinople, New Rome; thinking it reason that the city which is honoured with the empire and senate should be alike advanced with old Rome in all ecclesiastical matters." † From whence it plainly follows, First. That what privilege or precedency was given to Rome, was not by reason of Peter's supposed chair, but because it was honoured with empire; so that, in the judgment of the ancients, he had no divine right. Secondly. That the bishop of Constantinople was equal with the bishop of Rome in all things; as also were the metropolitans of the Asian-Thracian diocess, and of Pontus: then at this time he was not yet universal bishop.

(5.) Another evidence in this cause is the council held at Antioch in the year 341; (so *Codex Canonum;*) the occasion whereof was this:—in the time of Julius I., bishop of Rome, in the eastern church several bishops were deposed for divers causes by their synods; ‡ which bishops went to Rome, acquainted Julius with their whole estate and trouble. Julius writeth to the bishops of the east, telling them [that] they had done very ill, to determine and conclude any thing against those bishops without his privity. Which when they received, [they] took the correction of

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τιοχεων ϖολεως τας εν Κυπρῳ ϖοιεισθαι χειροτονιας, &c. Ἑξουσι το ανεπηρεαστον και αϐιαστον οἱ των ἁγιων εκκλησιων κατα την Κυπρον ϖροεστωτες κατα τους κανονας των δσιων ϖατερων και την αρχαιαν συνηθειαν, δι᾽ ἑαυτων τας χειροτονιας των ευλαϐεστατων επισκοπων ϖοιουμενοι· το δε αυτο και επι των αλλων διοικησεων και των ἁπανταχου επαρχιων ϖαραφυλαχθησεται· ὡστε μηδενα των ϑεοφιλεστατων επισκοπων επαρχιαν ἑτεραν, ουκ ουσαν ανωθεν και εξαρχης ὑπο την αυτου, ηγουν των ϖρο αυτου, χειρα, καταλαμϐανειν· αλλ᾽ ει και τις κατελαϐεν, και ὑφ᾽ ἑαυτῳ ϖεποιηται βιασαμενος, τουτον αποδιδοναι· ἱνα μη των ϖατερων οἱ κανονες ϖαραϐαινωνται, μηδε, εν ἱερουργιας ϖροσχηματι, εξουσιας κοσμικης τυφος ϖαρεισδυηται, &c.—Codex Can. Eccles. univers. can. 178; aliter, *Concil. Ephes.* can. 8.

* *Ει δε και κληρικος ϖραγμα εχει ϖρος τον ιδιον η και ϖρος ἑτερον επισκοπον, ϖαρα τῃ συνοδῳ της επαρχιας δικαζεσθω· ει δε ϖρος τον της αυτης επαρχιας μητροπολιτην επισκοπος η κληρικος αμφισϐητοιη, καταλαμϐανετω η τον εξαρχον της διοικησεως, η τον της βασιλευουσης Κωνσταντινουπολεως ϑρονον, και επ᾽ αυτῳ δικαζεσθω.—Codex Can. Eccles. univers.* can. 187; item, can. 195.

† *Τα ισα ϖρεσϐεια απενειμαν τῳ της Νεας Ῥωμης ἁγιωτατῳ ϑρονῳ· ευλογως κρινοντες την βασιλειαν και των ισων απολαυουσαν ϖρεσϐειων τῃ ϖρεσϐυτερᾳ βασιλιδι Ῥωμῃ και εν τοις εκκλησιαστικοις τε ὡς εκεινην μεγαλυνεσθαι ϖραγμασι, &c.*—Idem, can. 206.

‡ EUSEBII *Eccles. Hist.* lib. vii. cap. 23, &c., et 36; SOCRATES, lib. ii. cap. 11.

Julius for a contumely or slander: they summon a council at Antioch. There as soon as they had assembled together, [they] devised an epistle by uniform consent of them all; wherein they bitterly inveigh against Julius, and signify withal that if any were banished the church and excommunicated by their decree and censure, it were not his part to intermeddle nor to sit in judgment upon their sentence: and did then decree "that if any bishop should be accused, and the matter could not be determined by the bishops of the province, some pronouncing the accused to be innocent, others [pronouncing him] to be guilty; for the taking up of the whole controversy, the metropolitan should call others to judge from the neighbouring province; and what should be so determined, should stand firm." * And in the next canon they did ratify that "if any bishop was accused and condemned by all the bishops of the province, and all should with one consent pronounce sentence against him, he should no more be tried by any other; but the sentence of the bishops of the province should be to all purposes valid." † Clearly do they take away all appeals to Rome; as the matter of the canons, and the occasion of making of them, do fully demonstrate. And this council was confirmed in the sixth general Constantinopolitan synod held in Trul [Trullo], and by pope Dionysius; and so hath the authority of a general council and pope too; therefore with the Papists themselves should be authentic.‡

(6.) Another full evidence that the bishop of Rome was not owned as universal head is the stout opposition made against it, in their early aspiring after it, by two hundred and seventeen fathers, assembled (Augustine being one, and Aurelius president) in the year 419. (So *Codex Canonum Ecclesiæ Africanæ.)* The controversy then was this:—Apiarius, a priest in Africa, was for his scandalous life excommunicated in an African synod. Hereupon he fled to the bishop of Rome; who absolved him, and commanded him to be restored to his place: and Sozimus, bishop of Rome, to justify this, claimed a right to receive appeals from all parts of the world; and, for proof thereof, pretended a certain canon of the Nicene council that did give it him. The council, not finding any such canon in the decrees of the fathers at Nice, sent away letters and messengers to the bishops of Constantinople, Alexandria, and Antioch, that they would send to them the acts of the Nicene council, fast closed and sealed up, because they could not find a canon which was alleged by the legates of the bishop of Rome. From these they received several copies, all agreeing; but in none of them [was] what Sozimus had affirmed to be in them: [so] that he was shamefully by all the council convinced [convicted] of forgery; that he did greatly err, they all proved;

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* *Ει τις επισκοπος επι τισιν εγκλημασι κρινοιτο, επειτα συμϐαιη ϖερι αυτου διαφωνειν τους εν τῃ επαρχιᾳ επισκοπους, των μεν αθωον τον κρινομενον αποφαινοντων, των δε ενοχον· ὑπερ απαλλαγης ϖασης αμφισϐητησεως εδοξε τῃ ἁγιᾳ συνοδῳ τον της μητροπολεως επισκοπον απο της ϖλησιοχωρου επαρχιας μετακαλεισθαι ἑτερους τινας τους επικρινουντας και την αμφισϐητησιν διαλυσοντας, του βεϐαιωσαι συν τοις της επαρχιας το ϖαρισταμενον.—Codex Can. Eccles. univers.* can. 93.

† *Ει τις επισκοπος, επι τισιν εγκλημασι κατηγορηθεις, κριθειη ὑπο ϖαντων των εν τῃ επαρχιᾳ επισκοπων, ϖαντες τε συμφωνοι μιαν κατ᾽ αυτου εξενεγκοιεν ψηφον, τουτον μηκετι ϖαρ᾽ ἑτεροις δικαζεσθαι, αλλα μενειν βεϐαιαν την συμφωνον των επι της επαρχιας επισκοπων αποφασιν.—Ibid.* can. 94; apud CARANZAM et SURIUM, *Concil. Antioch.* can. 14, 15.

‡ CARANZÆ *Sum. Concil.* p. 165; EUSEBIUS, lib. vii. cap. 24 et 25; SURII *Concil.* tom. i. p. 399.

for the copies taken out of the originals by Cyril of Alexandria, and by Atticus of Constantinople, &c., had no such thing in them. And the whole council, writing to Boniface, (in which letter they call Sozimus "a man of unhappy memory,") desired him to repel those that made him their refuge; "both because there is no such constitution of the fathers which hath at any time so much derogated from the authority of their churches; as also because the Nicene council hath apparently left the ordering of all inferiors to the judgment of their metropolitan, and had determined that all matters of controversy should receive their final decision in the place where they began. For how can a judgment given beyond the seas be good, where witnesses, necessarily required in such cases, cannot be present, either in regard of their sex or age or some other impediment?—Because it is granted to every one to appeal to the councils of their own provinces, or to an universal council: unless there should be any one that can think that our God can inspire a justice of trial into any one man, and deny it to innumerable priests that are assembled in council;" and much more. These letters of the council to Boniface, of Cyril of Alexandria to the council, and of Atticus of Constantinople to the same, and the copies of the Nicene council sent to them, and the epistle of the council to pope Celestine, are in the end of *Codex Canonum Ecclesiæ Africanæ,* and in Surius, tom. i. p. 588, &c. Thus much for their letters: now for the canons of the African church against the headship of the bishop of Rome. In canon 19: "If any bishop be accused, the accuser should bring his cause before the primate of the province." Canon 23: "That no bishop should go beyond the sea, unless he had the consent of the bishop of the first seat of every province." Canon 28: "That presbyters, deacons, and others, if they have complaint against their bishops, the neighbouring bishops should hear them; and if they would appeal from them, it should not be to the judgments of any beyond the sea, but to the primates of their own provinces or to a general council, as was decreed before concerning bishops. As for those that shall appeal beyond the sea, none shall receive them into communion in Afric."* So also canon 125.

So far we see that the church of God did curb and restrain the ambition of the bishop of Rome, and stoutly stood against the invading endeavours of aspiring Antichrist. Yet will I add one more: (and so let the councils pass for this head; that is, against the universal head:) and that is of a council at Constantinople, in the time of Agatho, bishop of Rome, which was about the year 673, or (as others) 681; who did smartly snub the pretended mother, that is to give laws to all others, by making a law to reach as far, and to bind the church of Rome; saying, "Forasmuch as we understand that in the city of Rome, in time of Lent, they fast upon the sabbath-days, contrary to the custom of the church;

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* Ὁμοιως ηρεσεν ἱνα οἱ ϖρεσβυτεροι και οἱ διακονοι και οἱ λοιποι κατωτεροι κληρικοι, εν αἷς εχωσιν αιτιαις, εαν τα δικαστηρια μεμφωνται των ιδιων επισκοπων, οἱ γειτονες επισκοποι ακροασωνται αυτων, και, μετα συναιρεσεως του ιδιου επισκοπου, τα μεταξυ αυτων διαθωσιν οἱ ϖροσκαλουμενοι δι' αυτων επισκοποι· διο, ει και ϖερι αυτων εκκλητον ϖαρεχειν νομισωσιν, μη εκκαλεσωνται εις τα ϖεραν της θαλασσης δικαστηρια, αλλα ϖρος τους ϖρωτευοντας των ιδιων επαρχιων, ὡς και ϖερι των επισκοπων ϖολλακις ὡρισται. Οἱ δε ϖρος ϖεραματικα δικαστηρια δι εκκαλουμενοι, ϖαρα ουδενος εν τῃ Αφρικῃ δεχθωσιν εις κοινωνιαν.—*Codex Can. Eccles. Afric.* can. 28.

it is decreed in this synod that also in the church of Rome that canon shall be of force without violation, which saith, 'If any of the clergy shall be found fasting on the Lord's-day or sabbath, except one and that only, let him be deposed; but if he be of the laity, let him be excommunicated.'" * This the church of Rome in the height of their pride would hardly brook; but you see, as far as this time reacheth, many councils knew no such thing as an universal head, but opposed the first appearance of it.

To these evidences fetched from councils, I shall add further the expressed judgment of two of their own bishops, predecessors of him that first got the title of "universal head,"—Pelagius and Gregory the Great; which two did so exceedingly inveigh against this title; God in his providence so ordering it, that the following popes might be condemned out of the mouths of their predecessors. Whose sharpness of speech against this usurpation was occasioned by John, bishop of Constantinople, surnamed "the Faster;" who did assume to himself the title of "universal bishop" about the year 580: about which time Pelagius II., being bishop of Rome, did write to all the bishops assembled at Constantinople in a synod called by John, the bishop of that seat; saying that they ought not to acknowledge John as universal bishop, unless they purposed to depart away from the communion of all other bishops; moreover saying, "Let no patriarch use so profane a title; for if the chief patriarch should be called 'universal,' the name of a patriarch should be taken away thereby from all others; but God forbid it should ever enter into the heart of a Christian to assume any thing unto himself whereby the honour of his brethren should be debased! For this cause I in my epistles never call any by that name, for fear lest, by giving him more than is his due, I might seem to take away that which of right belongeth to him. For the devil, our adversary, goeth about like a roaring lion, exercising his rage upon the humble and meek-hearted, and seeking to devour now, not the sheep-cots, but the very principal members of the church. For he" (of whom he writes) "cometh near unto him of whom it is written, 'This is he who is king over all the children of pride.' Which words I speak with grief of mind, seeing our brother and fellow-bishop John, in despite" (mark his reasons against this head) "of the commandment of our Saviour, the precepts of the apostles, and canons of the church, by this haughty name, to make himself his" (Antichrist's) "forerunner: and hereby John goeth about" (mark, reader) "to attribute to himself all those things which belong properly to the Head himself, that is, Christ; and, by the usurpation of this pompous title, to bring under his subjection all the members of Christ.—And that they ought to beware lest this temptation of Satan prevail over them; and that they neither give nor take this title of 'universal bishop.'" †

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* *Quoniam intelleximus in Romanorum civitate in sanctis Quadragesimæ jejuniis in ejus sabbatis jejunare, præter ecclesiasticam consuetudinem traditam; sanctæ synodo visum est, ut in Romanorum quoque ecclesiâ inconcussè vires habeat canon qui dicit.* Si quis clericus inventus fuerit in sancto Dominico vel sabbatho jejunans, præter unum et solum, deponatur; sin autem laicus, segregetur.—SURIUS *in Concil.* tom. ii. p. 1048, *Concil. VI. Constant.* can. 55. Refertur autem ad *Canon. Apostol.* 66.

† *Nullus patriarcharum universalitatis vocabulo unquam utatur; quia, si unus patriarcha universalis dicitur, patriarcha-*

This is a large testimony against, and a full condemnation of, both name and office of "universal bishop;" and this by a bishop of Rome, before his successor had usurped the same. And I might infer, either that the following bishops of Rome do greatly err in taking to themselves this name and office, or else this bishop of Rome was fallible and did err in a matter of faith, made now by them necessary to salvation. Let them choose which they will, (for one they must,) their principles are wounded by it.

After this Pelagius (for the usurper was not immediately after him) succeeded Gregory, called "the Great," about the year 590; at which time John IV. of Constantinople did still persist in claiming and maintaining his title of "universal bishop." At which Gregory being much grieved and offended writes to Constantia the empress against it; calling the exaltation of one man "a defiling of that time;" (mark his reasons also;) saying, "Far be it that your time should be defiled by the exaltation of one man!" [He] termeth it "the crooked name of 'universal,' and an unsufferable thing; and [saith] that by this arrogancy and pride is portended that the time of Antichrist is now at hand; and that John imitated him" (Lucifer) "who, making light of that happiness which he had in common with the other angels, would needs aspire to a singularity above all the rest."[*] And, to the emperor writing, [he] saith that "all those who have read the gospel know well that Peter" (mark, reader) "is not called 'the universal apostle;' and yet, behold! my fellow-priest John seeketh to be called 'the universal bishop.' I am now forced to cry out, 'O the times! and O the manners of men!' Europe is now exposed for a prey to the barbarian; and yet the priests, who should lie along in the dust upon the pavement, weeping and rolling themselves in ashes, do seek after names of vanity, and boast themselves of their new-found" (this is a novelty in the judgment of a bishop of Rome) "and profane titles." And in opposition to this pride of John, he was the first bishop of Rome that took this title, "the servant of servants:" which title his successors in feigned humility still use; though they usurp the title of "universal bishop," in opposition to which he did so style himself, and in excessive pride have added to themselves since many pompous appellations. Again, saith the same Roman bishop, "Now the king of pride is at the gates; and, which I dread to speak, an army of priests and bishops stands ready to receive him:" [he] calls it "a superstitious and haughty name of 'universal bishop.'" "Never may such foolery befall us: call an universal bishop" (very true) "an universal enemy." And again: "I speak it boldly, that whosoever calleth himself, or desireth to be called by others, 'the universal bishop,' is in his elation of mind the forerunner of Antichrist, because that in like pride he pre-

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rum nomen cæteris derogatur: sed absit hoc, absit a fidelis cujusquam mente, hoc sibi vel velle quempiam arripere, unde honorem fratrum suorum imminuere ex quantulâcunque parte videatur, &c.—Jus. Can. dist. xcix. cap. *Nullus patriarcharum;* Gloss.

[*] *Triste tamen valdè est, ut patienter feratur, quatenus, despectis omnibus, prædictus frater et co-episcopus meus solus conetur appellari episcopus. Sed in hâc ejus superbiâ quid aliud, nisi propinqua jam Antichristi tempora, designatur? Quia illum videlicet imitatur qui, spretis in sociali gaudio angelorum legionibus, ad culmen conatus est singularitatis erumpere. Unde per Omnipotentem Dominum rogo, ne pietatis vestræ tempora permittatis unius hominis elatione maculari, neque tam perverso vocabulo ullum quoquo modo præbeatis assensum, &c.*—GREGORIUS MAGNUS *Ad Constantiam, Epist.* lib. iv. epist. 34.

ferreth himself before others: *like*, I say; for as that wicked one would seem as God above all men, so will this man exalt himself above all bishops." He plainly saith, that "none of the bishops of Rome did ever assume that word of singularity," &c.*

And this same Gregory, writing to John of Constantinople, deals roundly and plainly with him; saying, "When thou wast called to the office of a bishop, thou saidest that thou wert not worthy to be called a bishop; and now thou wouldest have none a bishop but thyself. What wilt thou answer unto Christ, who is the true Head of the universal church, in that day of judgment; seeing that, by this name of 'universal,' thou seekest to enthrall all the members of his body unto thyself? Whom dost thou imitate herein, save only him who, in contempt of those legions of angels which were his fellows, sought to mount aloft to the top of singularity, where he might be subject to none, and all others subject unto him?"†

But did not he raise all this stir and make all this opposition because John had prevented him,—because he had not this name and title himself;‡ since, as he is said to be "the best of all the bishops of Rome that came after him," so "the worst of all that were before him?" Let alone what his heart and end was; and hear what he saith, writing to Eulogius, bishop of Alexandria: "You have been careful to advertise me that you forbear now to write unto any by those proud names which do spring merely from the root of vanity; and yet, speaking to me, you say, 'As you commanded.' Let me, I pray you, hear no more of this word 'command;' for I know well enough what I am and what you are. In degree you are my brethren, and in manners you are my fathers: wherefore I commanded you nothing; only I advised you what I thought fittest to be done. And yet I do not find that you have perfectly observed that which I desired to leave deepest graven in your remembrance: for I told you that you should not write in any such manner either to me or to any other; and yet, in the very preface of your epistle, you call me by that name of pride and vanity, 'universal pope;' which I would entreat you to forbear hereafter, seeing that yourselves lose whatsoever you give unduly to another. For my part, I seek to increase in virtues, and not in vanity of titles: *that* addeth nothing to my honour *which* I see taken from my brethren: my honour is the honour of the universal church, and the sound vigour of my brethren. For if you call me 'universal pope,' you deny yourselves to be that which indeed you are, in that you call me 'universal.' But God forbid! Let us rather put far from us these words, which do puff up to pride and vanity, and wound charity to the death." *

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* *Cunctis evangelium scientibus liquet, quòd Petrus universalis apostolus non vocatur; et vir sanctissimus, consacerdos meus, Johannes, vocari universalis episcopus conatur. Exclamare compellor ac dicere, O tempora! O mores!—Et tamen sacerdotes vanitatis sibi nomina expetunt, et novis ac profanis vocabulis gloriantur, &c. Nullus Romanorum pontificum unquam hoc singularitatis vocabulum assumsit, nec uti consensit, &c. Quis est iste qui, contra statuta evangelica, contra canonum decreta, novum sibi usurpare nomen præsumit?*—Idem *Ad Mauritium*, lib. iv. epist. 32. "Who is he that presumes, contrary to the precepts of the gospel, and contrary to the canonical decrees, to assume to himself a new name?"—EDIT.

† *Qui enim indignum te esse fatebaris, &c. Nec stulto ac superbo vocabulo appellari consentias. Ut cuncta brevi cingulo locutionis astringam: sancti ante legem, sancti sub lege, sancti sub gratiâ, omnes hi, perficientes corpus Domini, in membris sunt ecclesiæ constituti; et nemo se unquam universalem vocare voluit, &c.*—Idem *Ad Johan. Constantinop.* lib. iv. epist. 38. "Nor shouldest thou consent to be called by that foolish and haughty name. To sum up all in a brief form of speech: The saints before the law, the saints under the law, the saints under the dispensation of grace,—all these, perfecting the Lord's body, were constituted members of the church; and yet no one of them ever desired to claim for himself the appellation of 'universal.'"—EDIT.

‡ *Nunquid ego hâc in re, piissime domine, propriam causam defendo? nunquid specialem injuriam vindico? et non magis causam Omnipotentis Dei et causam universalis ecclesiæ?*—Idem, *Ad Mauritium*, epist. 32. "Do I, in this matter, O most pious lord, defend my own cause?—do I resent a special injury to myself?—and not rather the cause of Almighty God and the cause of the church universal?"—EDIT.

This is that Gregory, bishop of Rome, that was so vehement in his writing against the name and office of "universal bishop," that after his death the Romanists would have burned his works, had not one Peter, a deacon, restrained them, by affirming to them that he often saw the Holy Ghost in the form of a dove sitting upon the head of Gregory, while he was writing of them. This is that Gregory that so earnestly cried down an universal bishop, that pope Gregory XIII. could not answer but by giving this Gregory the flat lie. (PLESSÆUS.)

But what follows from that learned, authoritative confutation, but that the bishop of Rome is fallible and may err? For if Gregory the Great did speak truth, then Gregory XIII. did speak false in saying [that] his doctrine was a lie. If Gregory XIII. did speak true in saying [that] the other did lie, and that in a matter of faith made necessary to salvation; then did Gregory the Great greatly err in a matter that concerned the universal church. Let them take which they will, their infallibility lieth in the dust; for it will much puzzle his Holiness to reconcile the parts of a contradiction. Let him try his skill, that both Gregories might in this be found true.

I have borrowed some paper, to be a little the larger in this, both from councils, and in transcribing the words of these two, (1.) Because this is the main *head* and hinge of our controversies. (2.) Because these two were their own, and yet against them. (3.) Because it makes it plain, that to six hundred years the bishop of Rome was not universal head; for at that time it was disclaimed by themselves, as you see. (4.) Because the English reader, that understandeth not Latin authors, might be satisfied from their own mouths that universal sovereignty of the bishop of Rome is not so old as to come up so high as six hundred years after Christ.

But when was this title first assumed? and by whom was it first conferred upon the bishop of Rome, to be called "universal?" that you might know when and how he got up into the chair.

You have been told before, that Gregory the Great did write letters to Maurice the emperor in the controversy betwixt him and John of Constantinople about the name "universal." This emperor Maurice falling into dislike among the soldiers, one Phocas, a centurion, made himself captain of those that did mutiny, and was afterward by them proclaimed emperor. Maurice, seeing this, fled away with his wife and children.

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* *Indicare vestra Beatitudo studuit, &c. Nam dixi nec mihi vos nec cuiquam alteri tale aliquid scribere debere; et ecce, in præfatione epistolæ quam ad meipsum qui prohibui direxistis, superbæ appellationis verbum, universalem me papam dicentes, imprimere curastis: quod, peto, dulcissima mihi Sanctitas vestra ultrà non faciat, &c.*—Idem, *Epist.* lib. vii. epist. 30. *Lege etiam ejusdem de eodem Epistolarum*, lib. iv. epist. 36; et lib. vi. epist. 5, 24, 28, 30, 31.

Phocas was crowned, and pursueth after his own master Maurice; overtakes him, slew his wife and children, or some of them, before his eyes, and afterward caused him to be murdered also. Mark that this Phocas was a vile traitor, and a murderer of such an excellent emperor and virtuous man as historians say that Maurice was. A while after that Phocas was emperor, Gregory, that was bishop of Rome and opposed the title of "universal head," departed out of this life; and Sabinian, a malicious detractor of Gregory and his works, succeeded him, and continued bishop of Rome scarcely two years. After whom succeeded Boniface III. about the year 605; who lived not, as some say, above eight months—or, as others, but a year—after he was bishop of Rome; but in that time he obtained what he aimed at. For the murder committed by Phocas upon the emperor Maurice being not approved of by the bishop of Constantinople, he [Phocas] seeking to establish himself in the empire (gotten by blood) by the friendship of the bishop of Rome, Boniface, making great offers of his service to Phocas, took this opportunity to desire of him that he and his successors after him should be called "universal head of all the churches of Christ;" and that the church of Rome thenceforward should have the pre-eminence, and be head of all other churches. This murdering Phocas and this aspiring Boniface agreeing to help one another; the bishop [having consented] to strengthen him in his empire got by rebellion, the emperor Phocas quickly grants that he should be the universal and head-bishop over all Christian churches. And this is acknowledged by their own historians.*

From all which you clearly see, First, That it was not till after the six-hundredth year from Christ, that the bishop of Rome had this title conferred upon him. Secondly. That he came not to it by divine right, [was] not made so by God, nor called and chosen to it by a general council of fathers; but by a traitor and a murderer. The pope giving his help to keep the usurper in the saddle, by way of requital this wicked and tyrannical emperor lifts the pope up into the chair. A couple well (O no! mischievously) met to do offices for each other; but both eminently injurious to others by their usurpations,—the one in the state, the other in the church!

As his name and office of "universal bishop" is new, so are those other accumulative, pompous, and some of them blasphemous, titles, not fit to be given to any mortal man. For of old it was not so; for Peter, whose successor he pretends to be, had no such names nor titles, but styled himself "a fellow-presbyter." (1 Peter v. 1.) And the canons of the African church of old were, "that the bishop of the first seat" (that was Rome) "should not be called 'prince of priests,' or 'head-priest,' or any such-like name; but only 'the bishop of the first seat.'" † Caranza, in his annotation upon this canon, saith that the African church could not give laws to the universal church, and therefore by this canon neither did nor could forbid the calling of the bishop of Rome "prince of priests," &c.[*] But they could decree that they would never call him so, nor own him for such; which shows that by them he was not so advanced. But their own canon law forbids that the bishop of Rome should be called "universal."[†] And the sixth council at Constantinople, ratifying the decree of the hundred and fifty fathers formerly assembled in that city, and of the six hundred and thirty fathers assembled at Chalcedon, did also agree with them, and decree that the bishop of Constantinople should have equal privilege with the bishop of Rome, and have equal power in all ecclesiastical matters with him; only that he be the second to the bishop of Rome; and, after the bishop of Constantinople, the bishop of Alexandria should have the next seat; and next to him, the bishop of Antioch; and next to him, the bishop of Jerusalem.[‡] By all which [it] appears that the bishop of Rome was not head of all the rest, the prince of priests; but that all the respect that he had above the rest was, to sit down in the first seat, which is nothing at all to his universal jurisdiction; and then he had not those titles that now are given to him: (1.) As "head over all priests, as a king is over his judges."[§] (2.) "The vicar of St. Peter:" though now they say not, "the vicar of Peter properly;" but, "vicar of Christ properly, and successor of Peter."[‖] (3.) "Most mighty priest."[¶] (4.) That "he hath all laws in the chest of his breast."[**] (5.) "Chief magistrate of the whole world."[††] (6.) That "his sacerdotal dignity as far excelleth kings and emperors, as gold excelleth lead."[‡‡] (7.) That "all the earth is his diocess; and he, the ordinary of all men; having the authority of the King of all kings upon subjects:" that "he is all in all, and above all."[§§] (8.) "If those things that I do be said to be done, not of man, but of God; what can you make of me, but a God? And the prelates of the church being accounted of Constantine for gods, I, being above all prelates, by this reason am above all gods."[‖‖]

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* *Quo tempore intercesserunt quædam odiorum fomenta inter eundem Phocam imperatorem atque Cyriacum Constantinopolitanum. Hinc igitur in Cyriacum Phocas exacerbatus in ejus odium imperiali edicto sancivit, nomen universalis decere Romanam tantummodò ecclesiam, tanquam quæ caput est omnium ecclesiarum, solique convenire Romano pontifici; non autem episcopo Constantinopolitano, qui sibi illud usurpare præsumeret. Quod quidem hunc Bonifacium papam Tertium ab imperatore Phocâ obtinuisse, cùm Anastasius Bibliothecarius, tum Paulus Diaconus, tradunt.*—SPONDANI *Epitome* BARONII *Annal.* in annum 606.

† Ὡστε τον της ϖρωτης καθεδρας επισκοπον μη λεγεσθαι εξαρχον των ἱερεων η ακρον ἱερεα η τοιουτο τροπον τι ϖοτε, αλλα μονον επισκοπον της ϖρωτης καθεδρας.—*Codex Can. Eccles. Afric.* can. 39.

Likewise the power of the pope over general councils is a new power. It was not so of old: he had not the power of calling councils; but it did belong to and was done by civil magistrates. The first general council of Nice was assembled by the authority of Constantine the Great; the second at Constantinople was called by Theodosius the Elder; the third at Ephesus, by Theodosius the Younger; the fourth at Chalcedon, by Valentinian and Martian, &c. Historians tell us that, when once the emperors began to be Christians, from that time forward the church-affairs depended upon them, and the greatest councils were assembled, and so still are, at their appointment. So Socrates.[¶¶] And [in] the council of Constance, (which, Caranza saith,[***] was general, and in the time of pope

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[*] Caranzæ *Sum. Concil.*, *Conc. Carthag. III.* can. 26.

[†] *Nec etiam Romanus pontifex universalis est appellandus.*—Distinct. xcix. cap. *Nec etiam.*

[‡] Surius *in Concil.* tom. ii. p. 1046, *Concil. Constantinop.* can. 36.

[§] *Jus Canon.* dist. xcvi. cap. *Ego.*

[‖] Dist. lxiii. cap. *Constantinus.*

[¶] *Juris Canon.* pars ii. caus. xxv. quæst. 1, cap. *Null.*

[**] *Romanus pontifex, qui jura omnia in scrinio pectoris sui censetur habere.*—*Sext. Decret.* P. Bonifacii VIII. cap. *Licet.*

[††] *Decret.* lib. vi. Bonifacii VIII. in proœmio.

[‡‡] Dist. xcvi. cap. *Duo.*

[§§] *Gloss.* in caus. xi. quæst. 3, *Si mimicus.*

[‖‖] *Decret. de Translat. Episc.* cap. *Quanto.*

[¶¶] *Eccles. Hist.* lib. v. proœm.

[***] Caranzæ *Sum. Concil.* pp. 824, 825.

John XXIV., which was after the year 1400,—mark how lately,—and did depose three popes,—Gregory XII., Alexander V., John XXIV.,) and again in the council of Basil, which began in the year 1431, (mark still how lately,)—in both these it was decreed "that a synod hath its power immediately from Christ, [to] which every one, of what state soever or dignity he be, yea, even the pope himself, ought to be obedient; which if they be not, but shall contumaciously contemn the decrees, statutes, and ordinances of the council, except he repent, [he] shall suffer condign punishment, though it be the pope himself." * And this council of Constance was confirmed by pope Martin V.; (sess. 45;) and the other at Basil, by pope Nicolas V.

By all this it doth appear that the main essential point of Popery is a mere novelty; having not its original till after the six-hundredth year after Christ, and not got up to its full power till several hundred years after this. So that I may (as Voetius doth) confidently affirm that, IN THE FIRST SIX HUNDRED YEARS, THERE WAS NO CHURCH, NO ONE DOCTOR, NO ONE MARTYR, NO CONFESSOR, NO ONE FAMILY, NO, NOR ONE MEMBER OF THE CHURCH, NEITHER IN THE WEST NOR IN ANY OTHER PART OF THE WORLD, THAT WAS PROPERLY AND FORMALLY A PAPIST. What is then become of *the antiquity of Popery?* And this I bottom upon this foundation:—Because there cannot be so much as one (formal) Papist, where the essentials of Popery are not; as, where the essentials of a man are not, there is no man actually existent: But the pope as universal head is the essential part of the Popish religion, without which (according to their doctrine) the church is no church, nor any one a member thereof that doth not own him and submit unto him: Therefore, the pope not being till after the six-hundredth year, so long there was not one Papist (formally and properly) in the whole world.

This being the main pillar of Popery, I have insisted the longer to prove [the] novelty of it; for, this falling, the whole fabric tumbleth down: as therefore it is not necessary that I should be so large in the rest, so for want of more room and paper I must be constrained to contract and but name what follows.

2. *The forbidding of ministers' marriage is a mere novelty.*—For, as their own authors say, Siricius, bishop of Rome, that lived about the year 388, was the first that did forbid it. Yet it was not then received and practised as a duty for them to abstain from marriage; but liberty of marrying was never denied them till Gregory VII. came to be pope in the [year] 1074; † who yet was resisted, as one that brought-in a new custom, never received before. And the bishops of Italy, Germany, and France, met together; and for this decreed that he had done against Christian piety; and deposed him, for that, among other things, he had divorced men and their wives, denying such as had their lawful wives to be priests; when yet, at the same time, he admitted to the altars whoremongers, adulterers, and incestuous persons. ‡

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* *Primò declarat synodus, quòd ipsa potestatem a Christo immediatè habet, cui quilibet cujuscunque statûs vel dignitatis, etiamsi Papalis existat, obedire tenetur, &c.*—*Conc. Constan.* sess. 4, 5; *et Conc. Basil.* sess. 2, 16, 18.

† *Siricius primus sacerdotibus et diaconis, circiter annum salutis* 388, *conjugio interdixit. Non ante pontificatum Gregorii VII., anno* 1074, *connubium adimi sacerdotibus occidentalibus potuit.*—POLYDORUS VIRGILIUS *De Invent. Rerum,* lib. v. cap. 4.

‡ *Magdeb. Centur.* cent. xi. p. 389.

Bellarmine himself and other Popish doctors do grant,[*] yea, he proves by arguments, that by the law of God it is not forbidden that ministers should marry, and that for many hundred years the church of Rome permitted Greek priests to have and dwell with their wives.

3. *That religious worshipping of images hath not been of old in the church of God, nor received and owned by councils,* (for, what particular persons and heretics in this point have done, is not in this controversy so much to be minded,) *nor practised in the church, for some hundred years after Christ, there is sufficient evidence.*—Bishop Usher, in his "Answer to the Jesuit's Challenge," saith, "It might well be concluded that images were brought into the church partly by lewd heretics, partly by simple Christians newly converted from Paganism." The Gnostic heretics had images, some painted in colours, others framed of gold and silver and other matter, which they said were the representations of Christ, made under Pontius Pilate, when he was conversant here among men: and though Eusebius makes mention of the images of Paul and Peter and of Christ, yet there he calls it "a heathenish custom."[†] But they were so far from worshipping them in the primitive times, that a council of ancient fathers did decree, about the year 325, that "pictures ought not to be in the church, lest that which is worshipped or adored should be painted on walls."[‡] Which law, made by this council, set Melchior Canus, the Papist, in such a heat, that he alone would condemn all them, not only of imprudency, but impiety, for so doing;"[§] for the poor man could not otherwise answer it.

In the first four general councils there is nothing for the worshipping of images, which reached to the year 451; and yet if they had been of that opinion, they had had occasion from what was done in the Elibertine council, being about the same time that the Nicene council was, and before the other three.

And it should seem that they were not worshipped in the church of Rome itself for six hundred years after Christ, by the epistle of Gregory the Great to Serenus, bishop of Marseilles; who had broken down images, and cast them out of his church, when he perceived some to begin to dote upon them too much: whom though he [Gregory] reproves for breaking of them, yet him he commends for his zeal that nothing made with hands should be worshipped: "You ought to restrain the people from worshipping of them; that though the people might have had them, whereby to gather the knowledge of the history; but might not sin in worshipping the picture."[||] Judge if it were likely that at that time religious worship was given to images at Rome, when the bishop thereof condemned it for a sinful thing, and commends others for being against it. And though cardinal Bellarmine was of opinion that it is lawful to picture God in the church in the shape of a man, and the Holy Ghost in the form of a dove; yet a greater and one more ancient than he was against it; namely, pope Gregory II.; whose epistle is related by Baronius upon the year 726: whence it seems there was no such picture in the church of Rome at that time; for, saith that pope, "In the church God is not represented before men's eyes, and that the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ is not drawn in colours, because God's nature cannot be painted out or put in sight." [*]

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[*] AQUINATIS *Secunda Secundæ*, quæst. lxxxviii. art. 11; CAJETANI *Opuscula*, tom. i. tract. 27; DOMINICUS A SOTO *De Justitiâ*, lib. vii. quæst. vi. art. 2; in BELLARMINO *De Cleric.* lib. i. cap. 18.

[†] EUSEBII *Eccles. Hist.* lib. vii. cap. 18.

[‡] *Concilium Elibertinum.*

[§] *Illa lex non imprudenter modò, verùm etiam impiè, a concilio Elibertino lata est de tollendis imaginibus.*—CANUS *De Locis Theol.* lib. v. cap. 4. conclus. 4.

[||] *Indico dudum ad nos pervenisse quòd Fraternitas vestra, quosdam imaginum adoratores aspiciens, easdem ecclesiæ imagines confregit atque projecit: et quidem zelum vos, ne quid manu factum adorari possit, habuisse laudavimus. Tua Fraternitas ab earum adoratu populum prohibere debuit, ut populus in picturæ adoratione minimè peccaret.*—GREGORII MAGNI *Epist.* lib. vii. epist. 109.

Moreover, at a council of three hundred and thirty-eight fathers held at Constantinople in the year 754, they were solemnly condemned; and, when they were set up by the second council at Nice in the year 787, were degraded again of their honour by the council of Francfort in the year 794.

Durant purposely sets himself to give us all the councils that have approved the use and veneration of images; and saith [that] the first that did [so] was the sixth council at Constantinople; (which was in the time of pope Agatho, about the year 673;) and quotes the eighty-third—but it is the eighty-second—canon, where the picture of Christ is commanded to be made in the shape of a man.[†] But, turning to the place, I find plainly that this canon doth not at all command any worship to be given to it; but only as historical: [‡] that is nothing to the Popish cause of worshipping of them. "Another," saith he, "is a [the] second Nicene council;" which yet was seven hundred and eighty-seven years after Christ; so that this might pass for a novelty.

4. *The doctrine of purgatory, by the confession of Papists themselves, is ranked among the novelties brought into the church.*—For one of them saith, "No true believer now doubts of purgatory; whereof, notwithstanding, among the ancients there is very little or no mention at all. The Greeks, also, to this day do not believe that there is a purgatory: let who will read the commentaries of the ancient Greeks; and, so far as I see, he shall find very rare speech of purgatory, or none at all. And the Latins did not all of them together receive the truth of this matter, but by little and little. Neither, indeed, was the faith either of purgatory or pardons so needful in the primitive church as now it is." [§] Thus far a Papist, and an ingenuous one too; which is rare to find; [one] that will without partiality speak the truth: which Bellarmine doth not use to do; for he saith quite contrary,—that "all the fathers, both Greek and Latin, have constantly taught from the apostles' times that there is a purgatory." And this cardinal is in such a heat for purgatory-fire that

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[*] *Cur tandem Patrem Domini Jesu non oculis subjicimus ac pingimus? Quoniam quis sit non novimus, Deique natura spectanti proponi non potest ac pingi.*

[†] DURANTIUS *De Ritibus Eccles.* p. 31.

[‡] *Christi Dei nostri instar hominis characterem etiam in imaginibus deinceps pro veteri agno statui jubemus; ut per ipsum Verbi Dei humiliationem mente comprehendentes, ad memoriam quoque ejus in carne conversationis, ejusque passionis et salutaris mortis, deducamur, ejusque quæ ex eo facta est mundo redemptionis.—Conc. Constant. VI.* can. 82. "We command the representation of Christ our God henceforth to be made in the resemblance of a man, even in images, instead of the ancient form of a lamb; that, comprehending in our minds by means of it the humiliation of the Word of God, we may be led also to the contemplation of his conversation in the flesh, his passion and saving death, and that redemption which arose to the world through him."—EDIT.

[§] *Nemo certè dubitat orthodoxus, an purgatorium sit, de quo tamen apud priscos nulla, vel quàm rarissima, fiebat mentio: sed et Græcis ad hunc usque diem non est creditum esse, &c.*—JOHANNES ROFFENSIS apud POLYDORUM VIRGILIUM *De Invent. Rerum*, lib. viii. cap. 1.

he saith, that "it is a doctrine of faith; so that he that doth not believe it, shall never come to it," (no harm, if he do not: I suppose, it is no desirable thing to be in pains no less than the pains of hell, though shorter,) "but shall be always tormented in the flames of hell."[*] But the best of it is, that it is but a cardinal, not the scripture, that saith so. But I will set another Papist upon Bellarmine's back; and, standing betwixt the two, let him shift for himself, and get out as well as he can. They are the words of Alphonsus: "Concerning purgatory there is almost no mention made by the ancients, especially the Greek writers; for which reason to this very day the Greeks do not believe that there is a purgatory."[†]

It is true that many of the fathers speak of a purging fire, both in this life and after; but by the purging fire in this life they understand afflictions. So Augustine: "We confess that in this life there are purgatory pains; as loss of friends, and the calamities of this life."[‡] So also of a purging-fire after this life, through which they make all saints to pass; by which fire they understand the last day of judgment. But the Popish purgatory is another thing, not invented in the days of Gregory I.; who did write in the end of the sixth age, saying, "Because we are redeemed by the grace of our Creator, so much we have of heavenly gift, that when we are withdrawn from the habitation of our flesh, we are presently brought to the heavenly recompence."[§] And though in the writing of this pope there is some mention of purgatory for smaller sins, yet it is not the same that the Papists now assert; for in his "Dialogues" he speaks of the purgation of souls in baths, in rivers, and wind. And it was first bottomed upon visions and revelations and feigned stories of departed souls appearing to others in this life; two of which I had translated, but I find they are too large (for want of room) to be inserted. The one is to be found in Gregory's works; the other, in Bede's "History," in the year 671; and both in the *Magdeburgenses*.[‖]

But above two hundred years after these pretended visions, the council of Aquisgran do show that this was not a generally received doctrine; who show how men are punished after this life. For they sum up all the punishments inflicted by God for sin in this life; and they mention two ways: but "the third," say they, "after this life, is very fearful and terrible; which by the most just judgment of God shall be executed, when he shall say, 'Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels.'"[¶] And yet further to discover the novelty of purgatory: that it was above a thousand years but the opinion of some particular men, and not an article of faith generally received, the saying of Otho Frisingensis, writing in the year of our Lord 1146, giveth evidence. His words be these: "That there is in hell a place of purgatory, wherein such as are to be saved are either only

[*] Bellarminus *De Purgat.* lib. i. cap. 15.

[†] Alphonsus de Castro *Advers. Hæres.* lib. viii. titul. *Indulgentia.*

[‡] Augustinus *De Civitate Dei*, lib. xxii. cap. 13.

[§] *Quia Authoris nostri gratiâ redempti sumus, hoc jam cœlestis muneris habemus, ut cùm a carnis nostræ habitatione subtrahimur, mox ad cœlestia præmia ducamur.*—Gregorius I. in Job xx.

[‖] Idem, *Dialogi*, lib. iv. cap. 55; Bedæ *Eccles. Hist.* lib. v. cap. 13; *Magdeb. Centur.* cent. vi. p. 693; cent. vii. pp. 573, 574.

[¶] *Capit. Aquisgran. Conc. ad Papinum miss.* lib. i. cap. 1, quoted by bishop Usher, "Answer to a Jesuit's Challenge," p. 177.

troubled with darkness or decocted with the fire of expiation, *some do affirm*." Mark, reader, *all* did not teach so, nor *the most*, nor, saith he, *many;* but *some* only.[*]

5. *That the pope's indulgences are a mere novelty that the church of God for many hundred years knew nothing of, we need look no further* [*for*] *evidence than the plain confession of Papists themselves.*—Amongst whom I find Alphonsus making plain and full confession about these indulgences and popes' pardons; saying that, "of all the matters treated of in his whole book, there is not one that the scripture is more silent in, not one that the ancient writers speak less of:" though he would not have them "*therefore* to be slighted, *because* the use of them hath been but lately received; because" (mark what he saith) "many things are known to posterity which the ancient writers were altogether ignorant of. What need we wonder, then, if this be so in the matter of indulgences,—that among the ancients there is no mention of them at all?"

Really this did me good to read; for I love and like that men should be ingenuous, and speak the plain truth. Yet when I read further, and saw that he doth acknowledge nothing for it in the scripture nor in the ancient fathers, yet that those that set light by them or despise them should be judged heretics,[†] I thought it was too much heat in him. This Papist makes no attempt at all to go higher than pope Gregory I. in the latter end of the sixth age, when, he saith, "it is said that he granted some indulgences;" and from thence he slides as far as the Lateran council, which was in the year of our Lord 1215; (so Caranza;) and from thence to the council of Constance under pope John XXIV., which was after the year of our Lord 1400: so late. And this is all the antiquity that he doth pretend unto; from whose confession we might safely place this among the young doctrines and practices held and used in the church of Rome.

But let us try another of them, whose business in his book is to give "the first rise and beginning of things." He also attempts not to rise higher than the six-hundredth year, to the former Gregory. But there he finds little to fasten upon; and therefore steps presently back to Boniface VIII.; who, he saith, "was the first that brought-in the Popish jubilee, when he gave pardons to those that visited the apostles' temples, in the year 1300; which jubilee he commanded should be observed every hundredth year. But when fifty years were almost expired, pope Clement VI. ordained [that] this jubilee should be every fiftieth year, forasmuch as man's age would not reach the hundredth year. Lastly, "pope Sixtus IV., (about" 1471, or, as my present author, "1475,) brought it to every twenty-fifth year: and then" (I pray thee, reader, mark) "the use of pardons, which they call 'indulgences,' began to be famous; which pardons, for what cause or by what authority they were brought in, or what they be good for, doth much trouble our modern divines to show."[*] Reader, is not this a plain case? Can we desire clearer evidence of the novelty of the pope's pardons, by which he beguiles so many souls, and gets so much money into his treasure?

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[*] *Esse apud inferos locum purgatorium, in quo salvandi vel tenebris tantùm afficiantur vel expiationis igne decoquantur,* QUIDAM *asserunt.*—OTHONIS FRISINGENSIS *Chron.* lib. viii. cap. 26, apud eundem.

[†] *Inter omnes res de quibus in hoc opere disputamus, nulla est quam minùs apertè sacræ literæ prodiderint, et de quâ minus vetusti scriptores dixerint. Neque tamen hâc occasione sunt condemnandæ (indulgentiæ), quòd earum usus in ecclesiâ videatur serò receptus; quoniam multa sunt posterioribus nota quæ vetusti illi scriptores prorsus ignoraverunt. Quid ergo mirum si ad hunc modum contigerit de indulgentiis, ut apud priscos nulla sit de eis mentio? Etsi pro indulgentiarum approbatione sacræ scripturæ testimonium apertum desit, tamen qui contemnit hæreticus meritò censeatur,* &c.—ALPHONSUS DE CASTRO *Advers. Hæres.* lib. viii. titul. *Indulgentia.*

And [Polydore Virgil] being so much in the dark himself, he consults another, to seek relief. And the third saith, "It may be, many will put no great trust in these indulgences, because their use is but lately come into the church, and is so found but a little while ago; to whom I say, It is not certain who first began them." And he can, doth, go no higher than the six-hundredth year; and then he speaks *sparingly:* "There was *some* use of them:" and *doubtingly;* for he gathers it only by consequence.[†] But this Popish author, whom before we cited confessing the novelty of purgatory, doth also himself conclude [that] from thence follows the novelty of Popish pardons; for, saith he, "As long as there was no fear of purgatory, no man sought indulgences; for all the account of indulgences depends on purgatory. If you deny purgatory, what need of indulgences? Indulgences began after men were frighted with the pains of purgatory."[‡]

Thus, out of the mouths of these three witnesses of their own, we might let this pass for one of the younger sort, and set it amongst its fellows.

6. *The like I may conclude of prayer for the dead.*—For if purgatory be but a late device, and indulgences granted for their deliverance be but late, prayer for them to be delivered out of purgatory (which is supposed in the manner of the Papists' prayers for departed souls) cannot be of a longer standing; as their bishop before-quoted did rightly argue.

What might be alleged for the antiquity of praying for the dead, used indeed in the church formerly, is nothing to the Popish prayers used now. For it is most evident that they did not pray in relation to their being in purgatory, which they understood not: nor do their prayers express any such thing; but rather the contrary—of their being at rest, which they could not have in purgatory. Therefore, whatsoever prayers they were, or to what end, is not my work at present to inquire: till they be proved to be such as Popish prayers for the dead be, their praying in this sort for them will stand still among the younger practices of the church of Rome.

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[*] *Bonifacius Octavus primus omnium jubilæum retulit, anno qui fuit* MCCC. *salutis humanæ, quo pœnarum remissionem iis præstabat qui limina apostolorum visitâssent. Idem autem pontifex jubilæum centesimo quoque anno servari mandavit. Quinquagesimo post instante anno Clemens Sextus sanxit jubilæum quinquagesimo quoque anno, cùm ætas hominis vix jubilæum illum centum annorum attingere possit. Postremò Sixtus, ejus appellationis Quartus, jubilæum ad vigesimum quemque annum reduxit, primusque celebravit, qui fuit annus* MCDLXXV. *salutis: ac ita veniarum quas indulgentias vocant, jam tum usus celebris esse cœpit; quæ quâ de causâ quâve ex authoritate introductæ fuerint, aut quantum valere videantur, nostri recentiores theologi eâ de re egregiè laborant. Ego verò originem, quod mei est muneris, quæritans, non reperio ante fuisse, quòd sciam, quàm divus Gregorius ad suas stationes id præmii proposuerit.*—POLYDORUS VIRGILIUS *De Inventoribus Rerum*, lib. viii. cap. 1.

[†] *Multos fortasse movet indulgentiis istis non usque adeò fidere, quòd earum usus in ecclesiâ videatur recentior, et admodùm serò apud Christianos repertus; quibus ego respondeo, non certò constare a quo primùm tradi cœperint. Fuit tamen nonnullus earum usus, ut aiunt, apud Romanos vetustissimus; quod ex stationibus intelligi potest.*

[‡] *Quamdiu nulla fuerat de purgatorio cura, nemo quæsivit indulgentias; nam ex illo pendet omnis indulgentiarum existimatio. Si tollas purgatorium, quorsùm indulgentiis opus erit? Cœperunt igitur indulgentiæ postquam ad purgatorii cruciatus aliquandiu trepidatum est.*—JOHANNES ROFFENSIS *in Lutherum, ibid.*

7. *As for the novelty of praying to saints.*—Cardinal Du Perron (a man that would have found it, if there had been any such practice in the primitive churches) doth freely acknowledge, (as Molinæus, that traced him in his book, affirmeth,)[*] that, "as in the holy scriptures there is neither command nor example for the invocation of saints, so likewise in the writings of the fathers, that have written before the first four councils," (which brings us to the year 451,) "no trace is to be found of that invocation." The distinction betwixt the saints' intercession and the invocation of saints should be carefully heeded: for whether the saints in heaven pray for the church on earth, and whether the church on earth might pray to the saints in heaven, are widely differing. That in the first ages it was accounted idolatry to invocate angels, was determined in the thirty-fifth canon of the Laodicean council before quoted.

8. *To show the novelty of transubstantiation, that the substance of the bread is not turned into the substance of the flesh of Christ, I need not stand long.*—For Scotus doth it for me; who saith that "this was not a doctrine of faith before the Lateran council, which was in the year 1215." Which Bellarmine taketh notice of and is offended at, and helps the matter as well as he can, in mentioning one council; (and he names no more; which he would have done, doubtless, if any had been;) and that is a council at Rome under Gregory VII., who was pope in the year 1073:[†] so that, with Bellarmine's grave admonition of Scotus, it was above a thousand years before that was made a doctrine of faith in the Roman church itself. But Alphonsus as to councils rises no higher than the Lateran, according as Scotus did.[‡]

9. *The denying of the cup to the people might be reckoned with the rest for a mere novelty.*—Having its rise in the council of Constance, which began in the year 1414. And there needs no other evidence that this is an innovation, than the very words of the canon whereby it is denied to the people; which are, "Although Christ did administer this sacrament in both kinds, and though in the primitive church the people did receive it in both kinds; yet this custom is rationally introduced,—that the people shall only take the bread; and we command, under pain of excommunication, that no presbyter give it to the people under both kinds, of bread and wine."[§] See, reader: though Christ appointed both, though the primitive times observed both, yet these say they shall have but one, any thing in Christ's command and the church's practice for so many hundred years to the contrary notwithstanding. For this it was called deservedly by one *concilium Non-obstantiense* ["the 'Notwithstanding' council,"] instead of *Constantiense*.

The practice of the church of Rome decreed by this council is but

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[*] Du Moulin's "Novelty of Popery," p. 388.

[†] Bellarminus *De Euchar.* lib. iii. cap. 23.

[‡] Alphonsus de Castro *Advers. Hæres.* tit. *Euchar. Hæres.*

[§] *Licet Christus post cœnam instituerit et suis discipulis administraverit sub utrâque specie panis et vini hoc venerabile sacramentum, et similiter licet in primitivâ ecclesiâ hujusmodi sacramentum reciperetur a fidelibus sub utrâque specie; tamen hæc consuetudo, ad evitandum aliqua pericula et scandala, est rationabiliter introducta, quòd a laicis tantummodò sub specie panis suscipiatur, &c.—Concil. Constantiense*, sess. xiii.

[of] two hundred and odd years' standing: and yet after this the council of Basil granted the use of the cup to the Bohemians; and again the council of Trent denied it: so that Popish councils can say and unsay, do and undo, and that in matters of faith, where dissenters must be heretics; and yet cannot err; and that is pity.

10. *The adoration of the sacrament was after the doctrine of transubstantiation.*—For the reason of their worshipping of it is, because it is changed into Christ's body and blood. The first, then, being new, the other cannot be old. The first [was] brought in as an article of faith in the time of Innocent III., 1215; the worshipping of it, in the time of Honorius III., in the year 1216.* Behold its antiquity!

11. *The practice of the pope's canonizing of saints is a new invention, by the confession of Bellarmine himself.*—Who acknowledges that the first pope that he ever read of [who performed that act] was Leo III., eight hundred years after Christ.† And the same cardinal saith that no saints might be publicly invocated that are not canonized by the pope. Put both together, and it will make a clear consequence, that invocation of saints, at least publicly, was not for eight hundred years after Christ, the Papists themselves being confessors.

But whither do I tend? To run over all particulars controverted betwixt us and them, would sooner swell into a volume, than be contained in a sermon. I can therefore but name some other points; and let it be shown that, for five, six, seven hundred, yea, some for a thousand, years after Christ, they were generally owned or received in the church of Christ; such as these, added to the former:—

12. The infallibility of the bishop of Rome.

13. That the church of Rome is the only church, founded by God himself; or that the church of Rome is the catholic church.

14. That there is no salvation out of the Roman church.

15. That all that the church of Rome delivers is to be believed, whether it be written in the word of God or no.

16. That the pope or church of Rome hath power and authority to make doctrines of faith necessary to salvation, that are not contained in the scripture.

17. That the pope of Rome alone, or his council alone, or pope and council together, are the judge of controversies, to whom appeals from all the churches must be made; and all [are] bound to acquiesce in their or his determinations.

18. That the pope of Rome might judge all, but be judged by none; nor be blamed, though he leads souls by troops to hell.

19. That the pope of Rome hath temporal jurisdiction over princes, kings, and emperors; to depose them from their thrones, dispose of their crowns, and absolve their subjects from their oaths of allegiance to their lawful princes.

20. That the pope of Rome hath authority to dispense with the law of God; to make that lawful which God forbids, and that evil which God commands.

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* *Decret.* GREGORII IX. lib. iii. tit. xli. cap. 10.

† *Primus pontifex (ni fortè fallor) qui sanctos legatur canonizasse videtur fuisse Leo papa III. Antequam fortassè fuerunt aliæ, sed non mihi constat.*—BELLARMINUS *De Sanct. Beat.* lib. i. cap. 8.

21. That the power of calling general councils is inherent in the pope.

22. That the pope, by himself or legates, ought to be president in such councils.

23. That all that general councils do determine without his authoritative ratification, is of no force, but void.

24. That the scripture is imperfect and insufficient; containing in it not all things necessary to salvation, nor for the refuting of all heresies.

25. That it is not lawful to interpret scripture contrary to the sense of the church of Rome.

26. That the church doth not depend upon the scripture; but the authority of the scripture, even *quoad nos*, ["with regard to us,"] upon the testimony of the church of Rome.

27. That the scripture ought not to be translated into the vulgar tongue.

28. That the common people are to be debarred from reading of the scriptures, except they have a licence from the bishop.

29. That the public service and prayers in the church ought to be in an unknown tongue.

30. That there are seven proper sacraments,—baptism, confirmation, Lord's supper, penance, extreme unction, matrimony, ordination: or that there are eight sacraments of order; as the order of porters, readers, exorcists, servitors, sub-deacons, deacons, presbyters, and bishops: to make, indeed, fourteen or fifteen sacraments.

31. That the sacrament of confirmation is more worthy than the sacrament of baptism, and is to be had in greater reverence; and accordingly to be done only by a bishop, when baptism [may be done] by a presbyter.

32. That private Masses are lawful; and in them both clergy and laity [are] to be deprived both of the bread and wine, except the priest that makes it; by the rest only to be seen.

33. That the eucharist, when it is sent unto the sick, is to be adored by all that meet it; and those that do not are to be accounted heretics, and to be persecuted with fire and sword.

34. That it is a sacrifice for the quick and dead, for obtaining, not only spiritual, but temporal, blessings; to be offered to God for health, success in battles, for their horses and their hogs.

35. That a justified person may truly and properly make satisfaction to God for the guilt of punishment, which remains to be expiated after the fault is remitted.

36. That the satisfactory works of the saints may be communicated and applied to others, or that there are works of super-erogation.

37. That absolution by a priest is so necessary to salvation, that persons believing in Christ are damned if they die before they be absolved by a priest.

38. That the confirmation of bishops and institution of archbishops by the pall is to be sought by the pope of Rome from all parts and quarters of the world; without which they are no such officers, and cannot without sacrilege execute their office.

39. That in baptism there is an implicit vow of obedience to the pope of Rome.

40. That the Decretal Epistles are to be reckoned amongst canonical scripture.

41. That the bishop of Rome, if he be canonically ordained, whatsoever he were, is undoubtedly made holy by the merits of St. Peter.

42. That every transgression of the law deserveth not death; but that there are many sins of themselves and in their own nature venial and deserving pardon; that the blood of Christ is not necessary to wash them away; but [they] may be done away with holy water, knocking the breast, and by the bishop's blessing.

43. That clergymen are exempted from the jurisdiction of temporal lords in things civil and criminal, and that the civil judge cannot punish ecclesiastical persons.

44. That the rebellion of a clergyman against the king is not treason; or that it is meritorious to kill princes excommunicated by the pope.

45. That good works in themselves have a proportion and condignity with the reward, and are meritorious from their inward worthiness to be worth the reward, as a journeyman is of his wages for his labour.

Papists themselves do acknowledge that the first beginning of some of their doctrines they cannot tell: and to search for the year when every novelty was introduced, is needless. All these that are named are not in scripture, nor in the primitive church; some not for four, five,—some not for six, seven, eight, nine, twelve,—hundred years: [so] that I might conclude that *Popery is a very novelty, and doth vainly and falsely boast of its antiquity.*

USES.

USE I. 1. *Is Popery a new way, and the religion of Protestants the old religion taught by Christ and his apostles? Then this is a safe way and a safe religion.*—In it you may be justified, sanctified, and surely saved. It is the old way, that Paul and Peter and believers in the primitive times obtained an everlasting kingdom and crown [in]. Be not frighted with the uncharitable and groundless doctrine of the Papists,—that out of their church there is no salvation.

2. *Then it is the wisest way.*—The folly of men shows itself in the new ways of Popery; and wherein they profess themselves to be wise, they are become fools: but in the old way is manifest the manifold wisdom of God.

3. *Then it is the purest way.*—The nearer the fountain, the purer the streams; the nearer the copy, the fairer is the writing. The church of Rome doth vainly glory in titles of holiness: "The most holy pope; the holy church; the multitude of holy days, holy rites and ceremonies," &c. *That* is holy and pure that is consonant to the holy and pure word of God. If you are to travel, you would go the cleanest way: you are travelling to an everlasting state; the old way of faith in Christ, repentance for sin, inward holiness, and new obedience, taught in the Reformed churches, agreeable to the doctrine of Christ and his apostles, is the cleanest way that you can go in,—to keep a clean and pure heart, a clean and pure conscience, to have a clean and pure conversation.

4. *It is the nearest way.*—If you leave this way, the further you go, the more you are out of your way. You go about; you must back

again: or you go on to a place where there is no rest night nor day, but the smoke of their torment ascendeth for ever and ever.

5. *Then it is the most comfortable and most pleasant way.*—All the ways of wisdom are "ways of pleasantness, and all her paths are peace." It might be strowed with outward troubles; briars and thorns may be in this way: but there is inward peace, and inward joy, and solid, sure, and lasting comfort, to be found in it.

6. *Then it is the only way.*—The way of faith in Christ, the way of regeneration and holiness, the way of new obedience, and perseverance therein, is the old way to heaven, and there is no other. If you will choose new ways yourselves, or walk in new ways chalked out by others, contrary to the good old way; you will lose God and Christ and your souls for ever.

USE II. 1. *Get a right understanding of the greatness of your mercy.*—That you were not born in times and places of Popery; that you have ministers to teach you the good old way, and magistrates to defend you therein; that you are not burned at a stake for not receiving new Popish doctrines; that you have Bibles, and [are] not burned for having of them. Know your mercy.

2. *Bless God for this mercy, when you understand how great it is.*—Indeed, when you rightly know it, and duly weigh it, you will bless God that you were not brought up in Popish darkness and idolatry; that you were not brought up to worship images, pray to saints, &c., but God alone.

3. *Pray to God for the continuance of this mercy to you and to your children after you.*—That Popery might never return, but the generations to come might be taught the Protestant religion, that is, the good old way to heaven; that your children and children's children might enjoy the Bible, and have the old truths of God preached to them. For their sakes pray much.

4. *Then walk in this good old way.*—If you see the way to happiness, and [do] not walk in it, you will fall short of it. You might be Protestants in opinion, and yet be for ever damned. A drunken Protestant, a whoring Protestant, a swearing, impenitent, unbelieving Protestant, shall not be saved because in opinion he is a Protestant. You might refuse to commit idolatry in bowing to and worshipping of images; and yet go to hell for making an idol of your money, and over-loving of the world. You might renounce the pope as head, and in judgment own Christ as only Head of his church; and yet be damned for not believing on him, choosing of him before all, nor loving him above all.

Let all old corrupt things be done away; as, (1.) Your old ignorance, (2.) Your old false hopes, (3.) Your old self-love, (4.) Your old false peace, (5.) Your old enmity against God and holiness. (6.) You must be cut off from the old stock. In a word: (for I can but name a few of many [things] that might be said for the practical improvement of this text:) crucify the old man, destroy the body of sin. For, to keep your old hearts, and yet think to go to heaven, is to look for a new way of salvation.

Let all things be new. None can walk in the old way but [those] who are new creatures. (1.) Your understandings must be new; new valuations of Christ. (2.) Your wills new; new elections of Christ. (3.) Your affections new. (i.) New love to God, to Christ, his ways, his people, his precepts. (ii.) New desires: "O that I had God for my Father, Christ for my Lord and Saviour, grace as a pledge of glory!" (iii.) New sorrows for walking in a way of sin so long, neglecting Christ so long, swearing so much, praying so little. (iv.) New delights. (v.) New hatred. (4.) As affections new, so your ends must be new; God's glory. (5.) New cares to get, keep, a good conscience, to live holy, die happily, and to be saved eternally.

Except you be thus made new, you might know the good old way, but you cannot walk in it; which if you do not, woe! woe! a thousand woes to you for ever! A damned Protestant! How? A damned Protestant! that was told which was the good old and only way; that lived under the constant, plain, and powerful preaching of the same doctrines that Christ himself and his apostles did deliver! I profess, your case will be worse, and your torments will be greater, than the Heathens'; who might say, "Lord, we never had a Bible; never heard of Christ, nor of the way of salvation: no Ministers were sent to us, no gospel preached to us." Yea, worse will be your case and greater will be your damnation than [that] of many amongst the Papists, that have not been so plainly taught, so frequently instructed, so faithfully warned, so earnestly entreated, as you have been. You are not told that "ignorance is the mother of devotion," as they be: you are not kept from reading of the scripture, as they be; but are pressed, urged, and exhorted to it. You have not public worship in an unknown tongue; but by plain language are you warned of hell, commanded in the name of God to forsake your old wicked ways. How oft have you been persuaded to come to Christ, who is "the Way, the Truth, and the Life!" How long hath God waited! And will you on in your wicked ways still; in your old course of profaneness and lying and sabbath-breaking; in your old course of careless neglect of God and Christ and your own immortal souls? That is an old way, indeed; but it is not the good old way. If you will go on, take your course; if you will not turn to the good path, take what falls. But know that the way of sin leadeth directly unto hell. Proceed a little further, go on a little longer, and thou wilt drop into a bottomless pit, and be a damned wretch, and take up thy everlasting lodgings with the old dragon, with the old serpent: and canst thou there have rest? *Rest!* how canst thou, under the heavy load of God's wrath? *Rest!* how canst thou, under the strokes of an angry, provoked, and revenging God? Thou canst not rest upon a bed of down, when thy conscience is seared, and God afflicts thee with the stone or plague or burning fever, though all thy friends be round about thee, administering cordials and comforts to thee: and canst thou rest in a bed of flames, in a burning fiery furnace, in a place more dreadful and more hot than is a vessel full of boiling lead and burning brimstone; when thy conscience shall be awakened, the worm gnawing within thee, the devils round about thee, and an angry God above thee, and not one nigh thee to pity or relieve thee? For God's sake, sirs, and for your souls' sake, as ever you would avoid endless and easeless and remediless torments hereafter, walk in the good old way of faith and holiness, repentance and new obedience, now!

And if you would now walk in this good old way, you shall, (1.) Be taken into a new covenant; (2.) And have new employment, better, more noble, more profitable, more pleasant, than ever yet you were engaged in. (3.) You shall be taken into new relations; to be the sons of God, the daughters of God, the servants, people, and friends of God. (4.) You shall become a new habitation for Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. (5.) You will have ground of comfort when you come to die. Death is the old way into another world; and if you walk in the good old way while you live, you may be comforted, if you can appeal to God, having the witness of a good conscience, and say, "Now, Lord, remember how I have walked before thee in the good path with an upright heart." And then, (6.) You shall enter into the New Jerusalem; where you shall have, (i.) Universal, total rest; (ii.) Seasonable rest; (iii.) Eternal and, (iv.) Delightful rest: and that,

(i.) *From sin.*—From the reigning and conflicting power of sin, from the guilt and indwelling of sin.

(ii.) *Rest from the temptations of Satan.*—He shall never trouble nor disquiet you more. Commission of sin is now a burden to you, and temptation to sin is now a burden to you; but the good old way will bring to rest from both.

(iii.) *Rest from all afflictions from God upon your bodies.*—Now sickness is a burden that makes you to be restless. But then you shall have an aching head no more; pained bowels, a sick heart, no more for ever.

(iv.) *Rest from all troubles from men.*—No more imprisoned, persecuted; rest from all their slanders and reproaches, &c.

(v.) *Rest from all those holy duties that are now as a means to bring you to this rest.*—You shall rest from repentings and mournings for sin, from all the pains that now you are at to mortify corruption; though not from loving of God, delighting in God, and admiring of his love: nay, this your love shall be one part of your rest.

(vi.) *Rest from all doubts and fears and jealousies of heart.*—Now you doubt, "Doth God love me? Do I love God? Is Christ mine? and am I his? Will God save me? pardon me? Sometimes," thou sayest, "I hope he will; and that doth lighten my heart: sometimes I fear he will not; and that is a burden, O it is a heavy burden, to my soul, under which I cannot rest!" But this good old way will bring thee to a rest where thou shalt doubt no more and fear no more. Canst thou doubt whether it be day, when thou seest [that] the sun doth shine? or that fire is hot, when thou seest it burn, and feelest [that] it doth warm thy hand? No more shalt thou doubt, when thou comest to the end of thy walk in the good old way, whether God doth love thee, when thou shalt be filled with his love, and feel that he doth love thee, and see to what a blessed place of rest and peace, of life, of light and joy, his love hath brought thee.

(vii.) *Rest from all desertions.*—God shall no more frown, no more depart or withdraw from thee for ever.

(viii.) *Rest from all thy worldly labours and employments.*—When thou hast now wearied thyself in thy calling all the day, thou takest thy rest at night; and O how sweet is rest when thou art weary! But when the day returns, thy labour also doth return; and thy noble soul [is occupied] by mean and low employment: (yet thy duty while thou art here:) one, in making bricks; another, pins: one, in working in wood; another, in silk or silver and gold: poor employment for a rational soul! by reason whereof God hath few of thy thoughts, little of thy delight and love; and [it] doth distract thee often in thy holy duties. But this way will bring thee to a rest from all these, when God shall have all thy thoughts, delight, and love.

Stand, then, and see which is the good old way. Nay, you do see which is it. God hath showed it unto you; it is chalked, marked out, before you. Rest you are promised, and rest you shall find, in walking in it. But let none of you say in words or heart, [or] by your practice, "We will not walk therein;" lest you come unto a place of torment, where you never shall have rest.

END OF THE MORNING EXERCISES.

INDEXES.

I. OF THE NAMES OF THE AUTHORS OF THE SERMONS, TOGETHER WITH THE SUBJECTS OF THE SERMONS SEVERALLY CONTRIBUTED BY THEM.

II. OF TEXTS OF SCRIPTURE WHICH ARE THE SUBJECTS OF THE SERMONS, AND THE SCOPE OF WHICH IS FOR THE MOST PART EXPLAINED.

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THE ROMAN NUMERALS SEVERALLY REFER TO THE VOLUMES; AND THE ARABIC FIGURES TO THE PAGES OF EACH VOLUME.

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THOMAS TEGG.

73, *Cheapside, April* 18*th,* 1845.

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* In a few of the early copies of the first volume, the authorship of this ninth sermon was erroneously attributed to the Rev. Christopher Nesse, principally (in the absence of more definite testimony) on account of some peculiarities perceptible in the style. But, soon afterwards, I discovered the author to be the Rev. Thomas Nest or Neast, of whom Anthony à Wood, in his *Fasti Oxonienses*, (col. 773, London, 1692,) gives the following account, under the enumeration of "Masters of Arts" admitted A. D. 1650:—

"Jan. 14. Thomas Neast of New College. This person, who was originally of Jesus College in Cambridge, was lately made Fellow of New College by the Visitors, and afterwards by his Warden and Society presented to the rectory of Hardwick in Bucks. Thence going to London, [he] lived, for some time after his Majesty's restoration, a Nonconformist, and preached in conventicles. Afterwards conforming, he became minister of St. Martin's church in Ironmonger-lane, and, a little before the grand conflagration, was presented to St. Stephen's church in Coleman-street, London. He hath extant *Sermon* on Eph. vi. 24, printed in *the Morning Exercise at Cripplegate*, &c., London, 1661, and perhaps other things."

I am inclined to think that this Thomas was a relation of Christopher Nesse, notwithstanding the slight discrepancy between the two names,—a variation not uncommon at that time even in members of the same family.—Edit.

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